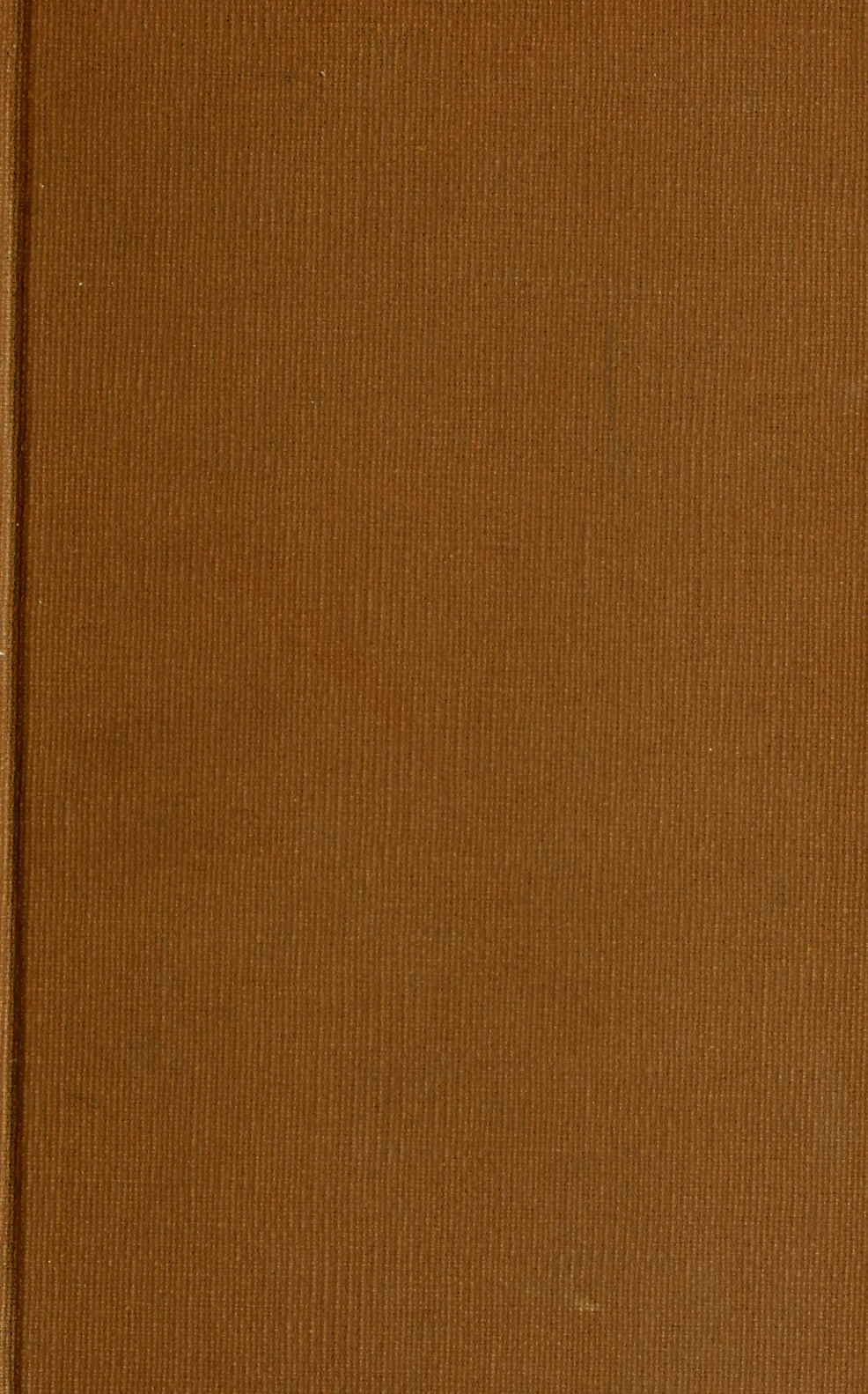






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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,
OR
CRITICAL JOURNAL:

FOR
JULY, 1905 OCTOBER, 1905.

TO BE CONTINUED QUARTERLY.

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THE
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No. CCCCXIII.

ART. I.—HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY.

Reden und Aufsätze. Von ADOLF HARNACK. Two volumes, pp. 728. Gieszen: T. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1904.

THE idea of the reunion of Christendom has a not unnatural attraction for many minds. The narrowness of modern sects contrasts unfavourably with the spaciousness of mediæval Christianity; and the particularism of national Churches, at best a compromise between the two, shares the common fate of compromises. Compromise is the creature of circumstance: when circumstances change, and it has served its purpose, it falls into disrepute. Reunion, however, in the shape in which it presents itself to enthusiasts, belongs rather to the realm of vision than to that of reality: the reduction of the various elements which compose the Christianity of to-day to one external polity is neither to be expected nor desired. We can scarcely conceive the Churches rallying either to the Book of Common Prayer or to the Westminster Confession: while the Papacy, which, under favourable circumstances, might have served as a centre, has isolated itself. Imposing as is its historical bulk, and numerous as are its adherents, its growth is arrested; it has lost touch with life. The times have changed, and not the world only but the Church has changed with them; the unity of Christendom must be conceived under a new form. Undivided, by which is meant mediæval, Christianity stood in essential relation to mediæval society; the Holy Roman Empire was the condition and complement of the Holy Roman Church. The disappearance of the former brought about, if

* All rights reserved.

not the disappearance, certainly the transformation of the latter: it became one among many Churches; it was no longer the One Church. And, this apart, the modern State and, in general, modern society are more highly organised than ancient or mediæval; and the balance between the several forces that constitute them is correspondingly more delicate. Religion is one, but only one, of these forces: nor must it be forgotten that, admirable as they may be on their religious side, the aims of religious corporations are seldom purely religious. An international religious organisation would too easily gain an undue preponderance, and become a menace to the harmony and developement of society as a whole.

But if corporate reunion is a dream, it is one which it is good, if not to dream, at least to have dreamed: like the Messiah hope in Jewish history, the idea which it represents has a lasting value and may be realised outside the limitations of its form. It is not only that there is a soul of the Church, an interior unity among good men however externally separated, but that a basis of positive fact is being arrived at with regard to which experts are at one, and on which the superstructure of theological opinion, take what shape it will, must be built. Hence two permanent gains: the establishment of a common foundation, and the limitation of possible divergence; history is a canon to which variations must conform and by reference to which they must be tested. It is obvious, for example, that the recognition of the part played in early Christianity by the belief in the Parousia affects the Catholic doctrine of the Church, and a historic appreciation of Paulinism the Protestant conception of sin and justification. It is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between history and dogma: either the facts must be manipulated to meet the theory, or the theory stretched to cover the facts. As history becomes better known, the former alternative becomes impossible; and theologians are reluctantly driven back on the latter. It is difficult to foresee how far it will take them—further, perhaps, than they suspect; but, for the time, it is in the ascendant. What has been the result? Not a fusion of the Churches. Catholics continue Catholics and Protestants Protestants; nor is it likely that these historical distinctions will be effaced. But we are coming to see that they lie on the surface of things, and are to a great extent matter of time, place, and temperament; that the real lines of division lie deeper, and are based on other considerations than these.

That this is so is due mainly to criticism, and in particular to the historical criticism of the last thirty years. The critic has a doubtful reputation in orthodox circles : criticism is—to borrow an expressive phrase from theologians—‘offensive to pious ears.’ It destroys, it is thought, for destruction’s sake ; riding roughshod over tradition however venerable and sentiment however legitimate ; substituting prose for romance, indifference for enthusiasm, taking the bloom from religion and the flavour from life. Well, critics are many, and it might be rash to assert that none have laid themselves open to charges of this kind. The detection of falsehood may become an end in itself—wrongly ; for it is only in so far as we can replace it by truth that its detection is profitable ; failing this, we do but substitute falsehood for falsehood : a new for the old wrong. ‘Wer keine Ueberzeugung hat, lügt immer, er mag sagen was er will.’* Again there is a good as well as a bad opportunism. ‘There are ‘religious opinions, absurd in themselves, which cannot be ‘surrendered without danger ; because they have elicited ‘conscientiousness, humility, and devotion ; or because these ‘virtues cling to them as the vine to the trellis.’†

Critics, however, are one thing ; criticism is another : independent of the former, the latter pursues its path, elaborates its methods, and advances towards its end. The question of origins is vital. What was Primitive Christianity ? What was the soil in which it took root ? What were the conditions under which it developed ? The first step to an answer was to sift the material—to discriminate, to interpret, to digest. Before this work was taken in hand it lay unsorted—a confused mass of history and legend, text and commentary, representing the literature, the religion, the science, the folklore of the ancient world. It is a mistake to think only of the Middle Ages in this connection : the culture of antiquity was indeed in its decadence when Christianity became a power ; but, such as it was, it passed over bodily into the Catholic Church. Hence her power over human nature : she represents not one past epoch, but the past as a whole. It was natural that the first results of this criticism should be wanting in finality. The yoke of tradition is so heavy that a certain limitation of view is inevitable in the generation that escapes from it ; it is a later age that sees the past in its true colours, and appreciates it at its real worth. Those who have felt its

* ‘Reden und Aufsätze,’ ii. 376.

† Ibid., 379.

burden resent it too keenly to be impartial. The Encyclopædists, for example, underestimated the complexity of the phenomena, conceiving as clear and simple what was in fact obscure and intricate: the Tübingen school, fruitful and epoch-making as it was, relied overmuch on formulas, and thought to open all locks with one key.

More, perhaps, than any one man, Professor Harnack represents the reaction against the inadequate hypotheses and premature conclusions that were current half a century ago. The nature of this reaction has been misunderstood. It has been argued in certain quarters that the earlier criticism has been refuted by the later; and that the traditional position, if not rehabilitated, is well on the way to rehabilitation. It is difficult to take such assertions seriously. The traditional position is as dead as the Ptolemaic astronomy: the idea of its resuscitation belongs to the world of dreams. The later criticism is in two respects, and two only, a reaction against the former: it has disposed once for all of the Voltairian legend that Christianity was the invention of a fraudulent priesthood; and it has assigned an earlier date to the canonical books of the New Testament, and generally to ecclesiastical dogma and institutions. Catholicism—by which is meant not Roman Catholicism only, but dogmatic and institutional Christianity as a whole—was not indeed the original form of Christianity, but it was a very early and, under the circumstances, an almost inevitable modification of it. There was a time when it was not—to borrow the Arian formula: but it is difficult to arrest this time; we catch it fleeting and on the wing. The rapidity and completeness of its transformation supply Catholic theologians with a weapon which they have not been slow to use with effect. Is it not inconceivable, from a religious point of view, that the Gospel should have been brought into the world to perish in a generation? and, from an historical, that it should have passed over into something so diametrically opposed to itself? Like begets like; but here it has begotten unlike: the birth is not in the nature of things. The Protestant who attempts the struggle for life in the medium of ecclesiastical history will find himself, says Newman, in an element in which he cannot breathe. ‘So much he must grant, that if such a system of doctrine as he would now introduce ever existed in early times, it has been clean swept away as by a deluge, suddenly, silently, and without memorial. Strange anti-type, indeed, to the

'early fortunes of Israel!—then the enemy was drowned, and "Israel saw them dead upon the sea-shore." But now, it would seem, water proceeded as a flood "out of the serpent's mouth," and covered all the witnesses, so that not even their dead bodies "lay in the streets of the city." . . . He must allow that the alleged deluge has done its work; yes, and has in turn disappeared itself; it has been swallowed up in the earth, mercilessly as itself was merciless.* But theories, however plausible—and this theory is excessively plausible—must yield to facts: and the facts are as fatal to the theory for which Newman was arguing as to that which he denounced. Primitive, by which he meant Patristic, Christianity, if it was not precisely Papal, was certainly not Protestant: there he proved his case up to the hilt. Just as certainly, however, Primitive Christianity, in its genuine form, was not Catholic: it was the common root from which Catholicism and Protestantism, with their various sects and offshoots, came. Nor—observe the sophism—was the note of identity lost in that of difference: striking as are the manifestations of the latter, the former subsists, and is 'spiritually discerned.' The Gospel did not perish: planted in the heart of mankind, it took on new forms as mankind developed. Look at the history of religion from without, and you may miss it; from within, and, varying as is its setting, it is there. The relation of form to content is not one of opposition so much as of contrast: they are different, indeed, but interdependent. An anti-Origenist writer, Marcellus of Ancyra, in a notable phrase taken by Harnack as the motto for his 'Dogmengeschichte,' draws attention to the human element inseparable from the notion of dogma. Τὸ δόγματος ὄνομα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔχεται βουλῆς τε καὶ γνῶμης.† The thought is capable of, and demands, a wider application. As dogma has a human origin, the Gospel, subsisting as it does among men, has a human side. The search for an abstract, that is an unrelated, Gospel is predestined to failure; there is no such Gospel; there never was, there never will be. The union of the Divine and the human is the key not only to the Person of Christ but to Christianity. 'The Gospel can enter into combination with all that is not sin. It did so with Greek

* Newman, 'Historical Sketches,' i. 417. Cf. 'Development of Christian Doctrine,' 7.

† Apud Eusebium c. Marc. i. 4.

‘philosophy. Why not with the monarchical episcopate, with ‘Roman law, with the Papacy itself? provided that these ‘things are not made part and parcel of it.’ * Its history is a history of such combinations—of positions exchanged, of standpoints successively gained and abandoned. Hence its twofold note: unity in diversity. Neither can be overlooked; the significance of neither can be overestimated. The parable of the leaven illustrates their union: the leaven enters into the meal, at once transformed and transforming; it seems to have lost its identity, but it leavens the whole lump.

It cannot be said that this position has been thoroughly acclimatised among us. The English mind is practical; and—having the defects of its qualities—suspicious of ideas. It holds to facts; forgetting that what we call a fact is often an imperfect generalisation of experience, and that it is in ideas that the truth of things resides. No German theologian expects to find the Confession of Augsburg in the New Testament: we shall not, if we are wise, attempt to discover in it the Westminster Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles, or even the Catholic Creeds. Such an attempt issues necessarily in confusion and misunderstanding: these symbols have a history and a justification; but they belong to a later period than that of the New Testament and must be defended on other than Scriptural grounds. To recognise this is to recognise that the history of Christian beliefs and institutions has to be rewritten. The sources, which bristle with problems, must be tested and criticised; a new perspective and orientation must take the place of the old. If this perplex and depress us, the perplexity and depression are but for a time. The attestation of religion is not to be found in its so-called ‘Evidences,’ but in the spirit; for ‘only spirit recognises spirit.’ † When the insecure structure of symbolism, dogmatic and institutional, breaks down, we are thrown back upon the eternal verities. They are strong enough to sustain us: the theologian had reason who bade his pupils have faith in criticism—and in God.

To his criticism as such, the critic’s religious standpoint is indifferent: but it is not an impertinent curiosity which leads us to ask how the religious problem is worked out by those who have analysed its terms. In the ‘Wesen

* Harnack, ‘Dogmengeschichte,’ i. 305.

† Cf. Hegel, ‘Philosophy of History,’ p. 338.

'des Christentums'—noticed in this Review in July 1903—Harnack defines his attitude to the central question. He conceives religion as a fact of spiritual experience: a relation between God and the soul, realised in various forms and in greater or less measure, but in itself unchangeably the same. The book is one of the most memorable of our generation: it cleared the air. For centuries religion had been associated by believer and unbeliever alike with a mass of propositions—historical, scientific, psychological, political, &c.—some true, some uncertain, some demonstrably false, but all essentially non-religious. Hence confusion of thought and obscuring of issues. Religion was made to stand or fall with alien and heterogeneous subject matter—the authenticity of this or that text, the occurrence of this or that event, the correctness of this or that inference: a writer of religious fiction represents not Christianity only but the whole spiritual and moral sense of mankind as shattered by the successful forgery of a contemporary document recording the removal of the body of Jesus by the disciples from the grave.* The Catholic is suspicious of inquiries into the origin of the Papacy; the Anglican of questions as to the rise of the monarchical episcopate; the Protestant of the history of the Canon of Scripture. Such fears are at once idle and unworthy. The discussions by which they have been aroused are inevitable; but they belong to the varying and historical setting of Christianity, not to its eternal substance. Not till this is recognised will religion dwell at ease in her tents.

The addresses and essays contained in these two volumes extend over a period of some twenty years, and embrace such subjects as—

Legend as a source of history.

The Confessions of St. Augustine.

The idea and history of monasticism.

The significance of Luther in the history of knowledge.

The Apostles' Creed.

Christianity and history.

The present condition of Protestantism.

The present state of research in early Church history.

What we have to learn and what not to learn from the Church of Rome.

Ritschl and his school, &c.

* 'When it was Dark.'

They do not contain, as did the 'Wesen,' an explicit statement of the writer's religious standpoint, but they illustrate it indirectly from various sides, and, in some respects, more fully than the earlier book.

The Gospel—by which is meant the personal teaching of Christ—has passed through four great transformations, (*a*) from its original shape into Catholicism; (*b*) from Catholicism into the compact structure of Mediævalism; (*c*) from this in the sixteenth century into Protestantism; and finally (*d*) in our own time into a larger and more spiritual atmosphere, a standpoint rather than a creed, representing the temper of Christ in many respects more nearly than did the ecclesiasticism of the intermediate periods. The second and third of these transformations are the more important for political history; the first and fourth incomparably the more vital for religion and thought. In none was there an abrupt break with the past; the new issued from and was conditioned by the old, the process falling easily enough into the categories of the Hegelian dialectic. The history as a whole indicates two conclusions: (1) that the lines on which mankind is advancing are not those of ecclesiastical or dogmatic Christianity; (2) that the Gospel is independent of these lines, that it is passing beyond and will survive them. It is the merit of Professor Harnack to have illustrated these theses with the learning of a theologian and the earnestness of a religious teacher; the union of these qualities gives him his distinctive position and strength.

I

The opposition between the Gospel and later ecclesiastical Christianity lies deeper than the surface text of Scripture, the appeal to which has so frequently and so vehemently been urged as decisive. That this is so is shown by the fact that after centuries of controversy of this kind the points at issue have not passed beyond controversy, the passages by which they are established or refuted being still, as of old, tossed to and fro by contending theologians in sterile and unending sport. The explanation is that the question is one not of authorities but of standpoint. And history is decisive of standpoint; the standpoint of a particular time or place is historically discerned. If, for example, the mediæval conception of the Papacy as directly and immediately instituted by Christ is rejected, it is not on account of this or that interpretation of Matthew xvi. 18, 19,

but because it is seen that, given the circumstances of speaker and period, such an institution is unthinkable; if the belief in the inspiration of Scripture has become attenuated, the result is due not to any new exegesis of such passages as II. Timothy iii. 16, II. Peter i. 21 &c., but to an increased knowledge of the influences and conditions under which the inspired books came into existence and the canon assumed its present form. The appeal to tradition is, in the main, an appeal to ignorance.

‘What did the Middle Ages know of early Christian history, of the history of Christ, of that of the Apostolic age, of the persecutions, of the origin of Catholicism or of the Papacy, of the revolution that took place under Constantine, of the rise of the State, or Empire, Church? It is no exaggeration to say, less than nothing. On the one hand, the memories of the past were dim and uncertain; on the other, a monstrous and unchecked growth of legend, crushing everything but itself out of existence, overran the soil. . . . It was taken for granted that in the time of St. Peter and the early Roman bishops everything in Rome and in the Church was as it is now. This assumption, which lay like a winding sheet over history, was the inevitable result of the legend formation referred to; and it established itself in an incredibly short space of time. Since then the past of the Church has been regarded as a reflection of her present.’ *

Assumptions are suspect: but the opposite assumption, that nothing in the past of Christianity was as it is in the present, would be nearer the truth.

The key to the Gospel standpoint is twofold: the attitude of Christ towards contemporary Jewish religion; and the belief in the Parousia. With neither of these is this projection of the present into the past compatible; it is not only that the thing was not so, but that by no possibility could it have been so. It is inconceivable that the denunciation of the old and the construction of a new law should have proceeded from one and the same teacher: this were self-contradiction; a building again of what had been destroyed. It was the legal temper as such, not this or that particular law, which was foreign to the Gospel. Here Paul read the Master rightly; the antithesis was between law and grace. Again, the belief in the Parousia was inconsistent with any but the simplest and most temporary organisation, with anything like provision for the future of the Church. There was, and could be, no future; the Lord was at hand. Such was the teaching of the Synoptic Christ; such was the belief

* Reden und Aufsätze, i. 5, 8.

of the Christian community.* There was no ground for institutionalism: the ground was cut away.

It was impossible, however, that Christianity should remain in this amorphous stage. After the destruction of Jerusalem Judaism ceased to be a serious antagonist: the Pauline polemic against legalism, never perhaps wholly intelligible or acceptable to the average Christian, fell into the background; the key to its meaning was lost. The belief in the Parousia broke down under the test of experience; no community could permanently maintain an attitude of expectation towards a miracle which did not occur. The numerical increase of believers made organisation and external observance necessary. The charismata, the distinctive note of the first age, declined: the question was not whether a process of fixing or externalisation was to set in, but what shape it was to take. This was decided by the circumstances of the time and place; the Græco-Roman world of the Empire. The translation of Christianity from a spirit to an institution began on Jewish soil. When Jerusalem met Galilee the air lost its freshness; the freedom of the hills, the spaciousness of their horizons was gone. But we must go beyond Judaism to account for the completeness of the transformation. Christianity was a world, not a local, problem; it became a world, not a local, Church. Baur and his followers were the first to emphasise the need of going below the surface of the history. 'The highest praise has been awarded when we confess that the main problem, the rise of Catholicism, was first rightly defined by this school as problem . . . and that, following the only true method, it discovered at once the clearest and surest point with which all inquiry must begin—Paul and Paulinism.' Since its rise science has become richer in historical points of view. Catholicism, we see, was the result not only of the varying relations between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, but of the contact of the Gospel with ancient civilisation. 'The ancient world built up the Catholic Church on the foundation of the Gospel; but in so doing it built itself bankrupt.' This saying of Richard Rothe, observes Harnack, is the egg of Columbus. 'What a store of historical knowledge is packed into it! Only if it be carefully applied in all branches of Church history will this history be really understood.'† The determinative principles

* Matthew x. 23, xvi. 28.

† Reden und Aufsätze, ii. 220–230.

of Ritschl's 'Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche'—now unfortunately out of print—have found general acceptance, and represent the point of departure of modern research. These principles are:

(a) The divergence of the Christianity of the sub-Apostolic from that of the Apostolic age is to be explained by the fact that the Gentile Christians either did not know or did not understand the Old Testament beliefs which the Jewish Christians possessed.

(b) The Gentile Christians brought into Christianity the religious interests, hopes, and aspirations which animated them; and could accept at first only some of the fundamental ideas of a Gospel which rested on the Old Testament.

(c) Where, therefore, we find among the Gentile Christians any peculiarities of doctrine, cultus, institutions, &c.—and such peculiarities occur from the very first—we must not, in order to explain them, draw in the Pauline theology, still less Jewish Christianity, but must consider as factors—(1) certain fundamental thoughts in the Gospel; (2) the letter of the certainly not understood Old Testament, which the Jewish Christians treated as a collection of divine oracles; and (3) the state and institutions of the Græco-Roman world at the time of the first preaching of the Gospel.

(d) The resultant, the Catholicism which has in the third century become fully formed, is therefore not to be understood either through Paulinism or through Jewish Christianity, or apprehended as a compromise between the two; but the Catholic Church is rather that form of Christianity in which every element of the ancient world has been successively assimilated which Christianity could in any way take up into itself without wholly losing itself in this world.

If these considerations be borne in mind, the difficulties presented by the history of Christian dogma and institutions are, if not solved, at least on the way to solution. The constituents of historical Christianity—that is, of Catholicism—are not to be found in Galilee and Jerusalem alone, even if Alexandria be thrown in; but in Greece, at Rome, and generally in the ancient world as a whole.

II

The passage from the earlier, or patristic, to the later, or mediæval, Catholicism was not so much from old to new as from less to greater definiteness: it was rather an explication than an evolution in the proper sense of the term. The Church of the Fathers, rapidly as it underwent the catholicising process, retained traces of its former freedom, though less frequently and less distinctly as time went on. The Episcopate, the fixed creeds, the canon of

Scripture, were slow to establish themselves in certain communities—notably (with the exception of Asia Minor and Constantinople, where stereotyping influences, spiritual and secular, were dominant) in the East. In Egypt and Syria the old freedom died out slowly: at Carthage, authoritative as was the African temper, it flashed out in Tertullian and even in Augustine. ‘*Ecclesia spiritus per spiritalem hominem, non ecclesia numerus episcoporum;*’ and ‘*differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus. Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus et offers et tinguis et sacerdos es tibi solus.*’* Again, ‘*Numerus ille justorum qui secundum prepositum vocati sunt, ipse est (ecclesia). . . . Sunt etiam quidam ex eo numero qui adhuc nequiter vivant aut etiam in hæresibus vel in gentilium superstitionibus jaceant, et tamen etiam illic novit Dominus qui sunt ejus. Namque in illa ineffabili præscientia Dei multi qui foris videntur intus sunt, et multi qui intus videntur foris sunt.*’† It is impossible to fit such sentiments into the mechanical conceptions of later theology: the divergence is too radical to be bridged. The evolution of religious beliefs may be compared with that of the fauna and flora of a continent: Christianity emerges from a conflict between competing and incompatible candidates for existence; the weaker perished, the stronger survived. This strength and weakness are of course relative to the particular stage of the struggle: an idea too great at a given time for its environment may perish temporarily but prevail in the long run. Rome stood from the first for centralisation: the triumph of this tendency was in effect the conquest of Christianity by Rome. This conquest, politically if not religiously the most momentous in history, has been variously estimated and accounted for. It was provided for, urges the Catholic, by the promise of Christ to Peter, and is of the essence of religion and society. It was the downfall of the Gospel, answers the Protestant; the victory of anti-Christ over Christ. Such estimations and solutions lie outside history: the historian will judge the event by other standards, and account for it by other causes than these.

It is difficult for a later age and a new civilisation to realise what Rome meant to the ancient and mediæval world.

* Tertullian, ‘*De anima*,’ xi. 21. ‘*De Monog.*’ 7.

† Augustine, ‘*De Bapt.*’ v. 38.

'Rome, par des prodiges de vertu civique, a créé la force dans le monde; et cette force, en réalité, a servi à propager l'œuvre grecque et l'œuvre juive, c'est-à-dire la civilisation. La force n'est pas une chose aimable, et les souvenirs de Rome n'auront jamais le puissant attrait des choses israélites et grecques; l'histoire romaine n'en fait pas moins partie de ces histoires qui sont le pivot des autres, et qu'on peut appeler providentielles, parce que leur place est comme marquée dans un plan supérieur aux oscillations de tous les jours.' *

Such was the function of Rome in history; and its discharge was provided for by a corresponding prestige. This prestige was as unlimited as it was commanding. Outside was barbarism; Rome was not only the centre, it stood for and was the equivalent of the civilised world: what was found elsewhere fragmentarily and in isolation was contained in it in plenitude and in union with the other elements which constituted civilisation as a whole. What could be more inevitable than that this conception should pass over into the Church? that when the Gentiles, at first barely tolerated, became in virtue of their numbers, wealth, and attainments the predominant partner in the Christian community, they should have brought into it the sympathies, the instincts, the patriotism of their past? To the fanatic Jew, taking as his ideal separation from all that was not Jewish, the Empire was the abomination of desolation, standing where it ought not. The Gentile judged more justly: he saw in it the greatest and most efficient instrument for the good of mankind that the world had yet seen. It gave its subjects peace, security, law, and such liberty as could be granted without injury to larger than individual interests. The writer of the Acts of the Apostles brings out the wisdom and equity of Roman administration: Gallio is a representative type. The world went well when such men, reasonable, just, indifferent, were its rulers: and, independently of the later weakening and final transfer to the East of the Imperial Government, the traditions of place and temper made a *communicatio idiomatum* between the secular and the religious easy. Hence the primacy of Rome. The Roman Church was the World-Church to the particular Churches, as the City was the World-State to the nations under its sway. This primacy was no mere theory; not theories but facts welded the Christian communities, often stubborn and recalcitrant, into one. Before the monarchical episcopate, which developed in Asia Minor earlier than in the West,

had established itself in the city of the Caesars, the Roman Church spoke with authority, and had put forward an unmistakable if inchoate claim to the *potior principalitas* among the Churches. Empire was, and is, in the soil: 'L'autorità papale esige perentoriamente una sede universale' says a recent writer. 'Roma sola ha nel mondo tradizioni così auguste, così grandiose, da essere la meno insufficiente alla maestà veneranda del successore di Pietro. Fuori della cinta di Roma, il Pontefice sembrerebbe perdere qualcosa della sua grandezza: ogni altro luogo è angusto per Lui. . . Oggi Roma è la città nuovamente elaboratrice del pensiero mondiale, e intorno a lei rifulge l'aureola di madre della civiltà. Fuori di lei potrà trovarsi la ricchezza, l'intensità di vita, il fervore dei commerci, la febbre dei guadagni. In lei, e in lei sola, la misteriosa suggestione di una esistenza storica, ricca e complessa, benefica ed austera, inimitabile.'* That Rome should be the seat of the Papacy is matter of life or death. This idea, however misconceived, lies at the root of the struggle for the recovery of the Temporal Power; the Vatican sees more clearly, perhaps, than its opponents, that a transplanted Papacy is a contradiction; that a Pope in Malta, at New York, or at Jerusalem would be no longer Pope. The notions, Roman and Catholic, tended from the first to fuse into one another: the Church of the Universal Empire was universal or Catholic; the source and centre of this Empire, and, it came to be held, of this Church, was Rome. The Emperors, non-Christian as well as Christian, encouraged this centralising tendency; the Petrine tradition, with which in course of time the Pauline associated itself, did but confirm an existing and extending usage. With this qualification Renan's dictum—'Pierre et Paul (réconciliés), voilà le chef-d'œuvre qui fondait la suprématie ecclésiastique de Rome dans l'avenir. Une nouvelle qualité mythique remplaçait celle de Romulus et Remus'—may be accepted; the legend lent the halo of religion to the fact. Theologians are on indisputable ground when they maintain the antiquity of the Roman primacy: what they overlook is the foundation on which it was built, which was not Peter but Rome. But it is as old as the hierarchy, the creeds, the sacramental system, and the whole institutional side of Christianity: it has as much and the same kind of Scriptural

* Questioni Politico-Religiose: Osservazioni di un Prelato Romano, p. 40.

warrant; it is the outcome of the same historical and psychological process; together these things stand—or fall.

The Roman Church survived the Roman Empire, whose fall at once enhanced her pretensions and gave her greater power to enforce them than before. She stood for that older Rome, the

‘Madre Roma, signora in tutti i liti’

of the poet,* which lived on in idea, immortal, stimulating the imagination and the heart of men. She had retained many of its best qualities—public spirit, the instinct of authority, the sense of law. The rude nations with whom she had to deal were awed by her majesty: the story of Attila retiring from the siege of Rome at the bidding of Leo the Great in fear of the drawn sword of the Apostle that overshadowed the Pontiff is ‘legend, but true legend:’ the idea underlying the narrative is that of the moral pressure exercised by Roman Christian culture on a barbarian king. Where true legend was insufficient to support the superstructure in process of formation, the aid of false was freely invoked. ‘The time when Gregory IX. consolidated the canon law, that fertile source of fabulous ideas of history, is well known to coincide with a general failure of historical insight and veracity which operated well-nigh as strongly upon the actors in the events of this period as upon its chroniclers. Fictions were everywhere accepted as truth and used recklessly to explain existing facts; and among these fictions two had a diffusion and influence which it is difficult to overestimate.’† One of these was the Donation of Constantine, by which that prince was alleged to have abdicated his imperial authority in the West into the hands of the Pope—the abdication was represented later as an act of restitution, and the original donation as made by Christ to St. Peter, this being the received exegesis of Luke xxii. 38; the other, that of the Translation of the Empire from the Greeks to the Franks by an official act of Leo III. The *Venerabilem* of Innocent III. put forward this audacious falsification of history as a cardinal fact in the relation of the Church to the World.‡ The fact was moulded to the

* Carducci, ‘Juvenilia,’ 49.

† R. Lane Poole, ‘Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought,’ p. 249.

‡ Cf. Döllinger, ‘Kaiserth. Karls des Grossen,’ 297.

theory; in the new construction the Pope was at once Pontiff and Caesar. Dispute as Guelf and Ghibelline might over terminology, the vital point was conceded in the very terms of the alliance. The spiritual sword, as such, had the pre-eminence: the function of the Imperial was to register and enforce the decrees of the Triple Crown. The intrinsic logic of the situation placed the secular power at a disadvantage in its long conflict with the ecclesiastical: given the premisses, reason was with the Pope. In stirring lines addressed to Gregory VII., Alphanus of Salerno brings out the central thought.

‘Take the First Apostle’s brand,
Peter’s gleaming sword in hand;
Break the rude barbarian’s might;
Let the tribes of ancient night
Bear the old yoke for evermore.

‘Thine the keys that loose and hold :
Victories that in days of old
Caesar’s craft or Marius’ power
Gained in battle’s bloodstained hour
See! a word obtains for thee.

‘Rome by thee exalted high
Sings thy triumphs gratefully :
Scipio’s self no loftier praise
Won, nor bloomed in ancient days
Garlands better earned than thine.’

It is the Latin genius lording it over lesser races, and content with nothing short of universal rule. ‘If a man consider, he will easily perceive that the original of this great ecclesiastical dominion, the Papacy, is no other thing than the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.’

III

Whatever judgement be formed of its embodiment, the idea of the Reformation is easily grasped. The intimate and momentous alliance between Christianity and classical civilisation of which Catholicism was the expression could not come about without a certain obscuring of the original Gospel.

‘What is the Reformation but the work of God, which was to set the Church free again from the bondage which had bound her to the ancient world for 1,400 years? All may be expressed in the single

formula : the Reformation is the return to the pure gospel. Only what is sacred shall be held sacred ; the traditions of men, though they be most fair and worthy, must be taken for what they are, viz. the traditions of men. Yet, in recognising this, let us not condemn the old Catholicism and the whole developement of the Church up to the Reformation. Everything has its time and every step in the history of the Church was needed. It was God's Providence that so guided the developement of the Roman Empire that it resulted in that wonderful covenant between Christianity and the ancient world which endured nearly 1,500 years. When it had done its work, this covenant was dissolved ; and it could be dissolved because the Church in her New Testament possessed Scriptures which have nothing to do with that covenant, because they are older than it. There lies the abiding value of the New Testament.' *

This reminder is opportune. It is not only that not all the elements in Christianity are of equal value ; but that it is possible for mischievous or even deadly germs to lodge in the organism. Not everything that comes about under Providence is providential : the expulsion of these germs may be called for at all costs. Whether this was so in the sixteenth century is the question on the answer to which our judgement of the Reformation depends. We cannot, indeed, return to the Christianity of the first days ; those days, with their requirements and possibilities, are gone. But this Christianity retains its regulative value ; by conformity, not indeed to its letter, but to its spirit, later developements of religion must be judged.

The character of the Mediæval Church was formed by her circumstances. She was at once World-State, school, and '*Versicherungsanstalt*' † : the first in her exterior polity ; the second for those who in religion as in other things were children ; the third against the vague but awful possibilities of the future for men who, while desirous of the promises of the Gospel, were strangers to its power. The Church of Rome preserves these notes to-day. The first has become a source of weakness to her, because the morality of the secular State has advanced beyond that of the ecclesiastical : as polity, this Church, 'instead of being a purely spiritual organisation, is practically a huge political machine worked 'for mundane ends.' The second and third constitute her strength, the charm by which she retains her hold on the senses, the imagination, the fears of men. Were we all intelligence or all virtue, her day might be near its end. But intelligence and virtue are but ingredients in our

* Reden und Aufsätze, ii. 233.

† Ib. ii. 250.

nature. Now, as ever, the average man prefers tutelage to independence in religion, the latter involving an effort to which he is unable or unwilling to rise; now, as ever, the future haunts him, and he is attracted by an institution which, for a moderate present outlay, makes itself answerable for the inevitable passage into the unknown.

‘ O that thy creed were sound !
For thou dost soothe the heart, thou Church of Rome ’

wrote Newman before his secession. And when heart and head come into conflict, it is seldom the latter that prevails. An institution, however, which appeals to feeling and custom to the exclusion of understanding, far as it may be from dissolution, is in a state of decline. It lives on its past, assimilating no new material; gradual as may be the divergence, its path and that of mankind diverge. The Church is a static force: the dynamics of life are foreign to her; she resisted them as long as resistance was possible, and accommodates herself under protest to the new world which she anathematises and hopes against hope to destroy. No single claim of the Mediæval Papacy has been, or will ever be, withdrawn. Her approximation to the new order of things is provisional—*temporis ratione habita*.*

ἡ γλῶσσ’ ὁμώμοχ’ ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

She bides her time. Pity that so much energy and perseverance should be wasted! She waits in vain; because the world does not go back.

The conflict between this conception of Christianity and that held by the northern nations was in the nature of things. Not only did Catholicism remain mediæval; it became more and more exclusively Latin. Mediævalism and Latinism are its distinctive notes. As the Middle Ages, therefore, receded into the background, it became obsolete; and as civilisation ceased to be Latin it lost its universality. The practical abuses of the system would not have resulted in its break-up had not an interior fermentation been at work, a conflict of opposing sympathies and incompatible ideas. The antithesis between letter and spirit became acute. Never had the yoke of the past pressed so heavily upon Christendom as in the period that immediately preceded Luther. Beliefs and institutions live not on their defects but on their qualities: the mediæval system had

* Concordat with Austria, art. 13, 14.

prevailed because it met the wants of men more or less satisfactorily. But, as these wants changed, its hold on the world weakened: it did not, perhaps it could not, change. It would be a mistake to attribute this impotence only, or even chiefly, to the obscurantism and cupidity of the clergy. Its roots lay deeper. Catholicism, as has been said, had taken over the inheritance of antiquity; and now this inheritance was exhausted: a new departure had to be taken by a new world. Could not this departure have been taken from within? Separation from the main body of Christendom was a loss not only to sentiment: the spaciousness, the sweep and swing of the old Church were gone. With all its merits there was something provincial about Protestantism: the schism could be justified only by the impossibility of attaining the end in view by other means. It would be rash to forecast the future of Catholicism. But men have to act for to-day, not for to-morrow; and in the sixteenth century what was obvious was that the reform movements which had been attempted from within had failed. The effort to re-establish the conciliar system had broken down under the uniform and persistent pressure of the Papacy; the Franciscan revival of evangelical religion had been absorbed in the routine of ecclesiasticism; the Renaissance had entered on its decadence before it received its death-blow from the 'brutale Hispanisierung Italiens,' for it was of its essence that it was a return to antiquity—the genuine, indeed, as opposed to the ecclesiastical counterfeit—while what was wanted was not a return to the old but a way out into the new. This threefold failure made the Reformation possible: what actually brought it about was the necessity of escape from bondage and falsehood into freedom and truth. The emancipation was obtained at a great, some may think too great, a price; but it was obtained.

No Scottish or English Reformer holds the place in popular imagination occupied by Luther. Nor is this surprising; for no one man embodies the temper of the Reformation—its spiritual disquietude, its impatience of tutelage, its appeal from the periphery to the centre—as he. Then as now, many excellent persons found peace in the Church. But this is not the point. The age did not and could not do so. There was room and to spare in Catholicism for those who could be religious without thinking about religion: those were straitened who were unable to partition off their minds in watertight compartments,

who were impelled by an interior necessity to co-ordinate, however provisionally, their experience as a whole. Were these to be left to oscillate between scepticism and exterior conformity? The latter alternative was, no doubt, open. It is a mistake to suppose that under ordinary circumstances Catholicism is exacting in its demands on its adherents. The axiom *Ecclesia non judicat de internis* is capable of, and receives, a large interpretation: conformity covers a multitude of sins. Non-religious, however, in itself it is powerless to satisfy religious needs. The experience so vividly described in the Epistle to the Romans was that of countless men and women in Christendom: the distant God, the burdened conscience, the sense of doom. And what Paul and Augustine had been, each in his generation, that Luther was: an element of ferment and disturbance; a voice proclaiming to a degenerate race the greatness of its fall, the imminence of its destruction, and the means of salvation placed within reach of all. Did he teach any new truth? The question is as idle in his case as in that of religious teachers greater than he. The fire was there, but it smouldered under the ashes: not till these were removed could it kindle into flame. The effect of the Reformation was to break down artificial barriers: it restored man and the world to God. They were His, and only by a fallacy could they be separated from Him; the three were essentially akin. The faith that saves was a recognition of this kinship: it was 'no submissive assent to ecclesiastical dogmas; it was neither an opinion nor a manner of life, but a personal surrender of the heart to the all-embracing God.'* This God manifested Himself not in the sphere of religion only, but in nature and in life. Hence a new orientation. The 'Weltflüchtigkeit' of mediæval religion bound men hand and foot. It is difficult to overestimate the liberation brought about by its rejection. The conscience of Christendom was distorted: non-ethical obligations—asceticism, celibacy, &c.—lay heavy upon it; the conventional stifled the moral. Luther dealt with ceremonial bondage of this kind as Christ had dealt with the old ritual law—*καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα* (Mark vii. 19), and this, in particular, with regard to the central point of sexual morality. 'Marriage was no longer a concession granted by the Church to the weak; but the free and divinely

* Reden und Aufsätze, i. 154.

'appointed union between man and woman, needing no ecclesiastical patronage or apology, the highest ethical school.* He had the courage to inculcate this truth by example as well as by precept; thus providing his opponents with a weapon which they were not slow, after their kind, to use. Its worth is rhetorical, not real. The immorality is on the other side. What shall we say of a system which takes boys and girls ignorant of the simplest laws of physiology, hypnotises them by the ascetic idea, and condemns them to curtailment of life, material and moral, debarring them from love, home, children, and all that makes existence human, linking it through its humanity to the Divine? The outcry raised against Luther's marriage rests on two assumptions: the first, that celibacy is morally the higher state; the second, that the law enjoining it was generally observed by the clergy secular and regular of his time. That the former is unfounded is perhaps as certain as a moral truth can be; that the latter is equally so is a matter not of opinion but of fact. The Popes who framed and enforced the existing discipline were statesmen, not fanatics; they foresaw the inevitable consequences of their legislation, and chose them as, from their point of view, the lesser of two evils; the individual was to be sacrificed to the system, the fact to the idea. Efforts at reform had not been wanting. At the Council of Basel in 1434 John Bishop of Lübeck proposed '*ut sacerdotibus Christi uxores restituerent*'—note the term '*. . . inutiliter uxores esse præreptas sacerdotibus: vix inter mille unum reperiri continentem presbyterum, omnes aut concubinarios aut adulteros aut quod pejus est inveniri.*' '*Res erat complurimis accepta*,' adds the narrator, Æneas Sylvius, later Pius II.; '*sed tempori non conveniri judicata. . . . Quidam senes damnabant quod assequi non poterant. Religiosi, quia voto astricti erant, haud libenter audiebant presbyteris secularibus concedi quod sibi negaretur.*'† Hence a social evil of incalculable extent and complexity: and the effects of the supposed obligation on those who observed, or attempted to observe it, were often more disastrous than on those who transgressed. Nature in the long run revenges herself on those who disregard her laws. '*La legge del celibato può essere per alcuni organismi (prendiamo la cosa da igienisti) una camicia di forza che o sarà infranta o sarà*

* Reden und Aufsätze, i. 161.

† Fea, '*Pius II. a calumniis vindicatus*,' Romæ, 1823, p. 57.

‘ causa di gravi malori. Quante follie di sacerdoti, quanti perturbamenti nervosi derivano da un vincolo di castità a cui si vuol obbedire, sacrificando esigenze fisiologiche? C’è qui evidentemente un pericolo che bisogna ad ogni costo evitare.’* The time had come to separate the conventional in ethics from the real; to concentrate moral effort on moral subject matter, diverting it from the unmoral or immoral. A strong hand, a stout heart, must be his who would undertake the task! a task that runs so counter to the prejudices, the fears, the virtues even, if the weaker virtues, of men. ‘Deux sortes d’hommes méprisent l’opinion; les scélérats et les saints.’ Luther certainly does not fall under the former category; and if we hesitate to place him in the latter—saints are few—he had at least one of its characteristics, he never feared the face of man.

The Reformation synthesis was weaker than its analysis. Nothing is more difficult than to keep knowledge and conduct in touch; yet nothing is more essential: a purely spiritual religion is for purely spiritual men. ‘Alles was unsern Geist befreit, ohne uns die Herrschaft über uns selbst zu geben ist gefährlich,’ says Goethe. The danger has not been wholly escaped by Protestantism, which, tested by religious results, is open to criticism on more than one side. As compared with Catholicism, it has been less of an obstacle to progress, material and intellectual; morally, though it has laid stress on the natural virtues, so called, rather than on the supernatural, and so set up its own standard, there is probably little to choose between the two. But the Church knows human nature better: Catholicism is the religion of the concrete, Protestantism of the abstract man. Hence in practice, and taking mankind in the mass, the former is the more successful. The average man, be his belief what it may, is indifferent; and the indifferent Protestant loses touch with religion more easily than the indifferent Catholic; Protestantism demands more effort than he is able or willing to make. He slips, in consequence, more easily through its meshes: Catholicism is more accommodating; it deals with men on their own level and addresses them in their accustomed tongue. If this be a source of weakness on one side—

‘Ye cannot halve the Gospel of God’s grace’—

* Questioni Politico-Religiose: Osservazioni di un Prelato Romano, p. 59.

on another it makes for strength. The Church is human, and counts nothing human foreign to herself. Nor is her strength due only to her hold, be it worth what it may, on the half-hearted: she strikes more effectively than Protestantism the specifically religious note which stirs the imagination and fires the heart. Matthew Arnold contrasts the Memoirs of Eugénie de Guérin with those of Miss Emma Tatham, of Margate; it is difficult to picture a Presbyterian Francis of Assisi or an Anglican Curé d'Ars. A price has been paid for this superiority. The sense of the supernatural has too often degenerated into superstition; devotion has been brought down to the level of the vulgar, or below it; and thus Catholicism has fallen out of touch with the best factors of modern life to an extent to which Protestantism has not. But, on the religious side, the latter has not a little to learn from the former. Harnack specifies four heads—Worship, Sacrifice, Confession, and Monasticism—under which the unreformed Churches have retained elements of value which the reformed have lost.* The sacramental system, if not evangelical, is marvellously adapted to human nature, on a long and intimate knowledge of which it is founded; if it has been productive of immense evil, it has been productive also of immense good. It requires sifting and discrimination: as it exists it is open to abuse and abused. But it goes far to make the attraction of Catholicism: it is in virtue of the sacramental principle that the Church appeals to the idealising side of our nature; to the enthusiast as well as to the indifferent, to the spiritually aspiring as well as to the morally weak. She subsists more than we think on the shortcomings of her opponents: 'Sie lebt noch weil die Modernen Fehler machen, und nicht alle Bedürfnisse zu befriedigen verstehen.'

IV

These shortcomings, it may be urged, resolve themselves into this, that the idea of Protestantism was greater than its reality. This may be said of any human institution or formula; but in the case of the Reformed Churches a special weakness came in. They went either too far or not far enough. They used science and scientific methods as far as these told against Rome, and then dropped them; forgetting that reason has an inherent movement, and carries men with it whether they will or no. The position

* Reden und Aufsätze, ii. 253-259.

was inconsistent: hence the strength of Catholic controversy. It is not only temperament and circumstances that lead men to 'ask for the old paths.' These motives, indeed, must be taken into account. There will always be converts to Catholicism, as there will always be converts to Christian Science; and for the same reasons: the significance of the conversions being much the same in each case. But the logic of the Roman Church is far from being a negligible quantity. As long as one stops short of analysis of the premisses, it is irrefutable; conclusion follows conclusion; there is no escape from the chain. Given a strong view of inspiration, a surface knowledge of Scripture and Church history, with a taste for syllogisms, the *Unam Sanctam* and the Syllabus of Pius IX. follow. The nearer Rome the variety of Protestantism from which the departure is taken, the more obvious, but not the more necessary, is the conclusion; that it is not more generally drawn is due not to any defect in the argument, but to the fact that men think confusedly and act from other than logical motives. There is as much Scripture proof for Papal Supremacy as for Baptismal Regeneration or the Real Presence; and Rome has on her side that continuity which goes for so much both in fact and in law. In accounting for the various Catholic or Catholicising reactions that have taken place since the Reformation this greater perspicuity of Catholicism, and the kindred fact that certain philosophical tendencies—*e.g.* Positivism—have been worked in its direction, must be borne in mind. The argument no doubt cuts both ways. There are those who when faced by the alternative, all or nothing, fall back on the latter, not of choice but of necessity. What is called anti-Clericalism is not necessarily irreligion; it is oftener than not an attitude taken up because no alternative between two equally impossible extremes is seen.

The tendency of criticism is to demonstrate the existence of such an alternative; hence its religious value. That the Reformation was a moment in human progress will not be questioned: to have thrown off the yoke of the hierarchy was a clear gain. Extravagant as were the pretensions of the Protestant clergy, as *e.g.* in Scotland and at Geneva, they were short-lived; with the Mass and Confession the roots of Sacerdotalism were cut away. But to have fallen back from the Church to the Bible, if a gain, was not an unmixed gain. It was a gain in so far as it regulated a too exuberant tradition by reference to an earlier

and purer standard. But the content of Scripture is not of one texture; it was no advance to exchange the ethics of the Inquisition for those of Joshua and the Judges, or the dialectic of the schoolmen for that of St. Paul. Again, Scripture, being a document, not a living voice, was less flexible than the Church, and—here was the essential point—not a whit less external; the ancient wrong done to spirit, by subjecting it to authority, was not redressed, but replaced by another wrong. Spirit is its own authority, but the times were not ripe for this to be recognised. When the appeal made to the individual conscience by the wilder sects ended, as it was bound to end, in anarchy, Catholic and Protestant alike pointed to its results as a new argument for control. Not till a collective judgement could be formed could a real step in advance be taken; and not till sufficient material had been acquired could this judgement be formed. In our own time this condition has been verified. Every generation has its own standpoint. 'Till the eighteenth century 'religion was based on tradition; in the eighteenth on 'reason; in the first half of the nineteenth on speculation; 'throughout the part played by history was secondary; 'there was always a higher tribunal to which an appeal lay.'* With us there is none; history is the pivot on which all turns. Hence an at least approximate standard. The notional difficulties in religion—such as those connected with the origin of evil, with immortality, with the problems of theism, &c.—are insufficient to disturb faith, however much they may trouble the imagination, because they have their origin in the nature of our understanding. Intellectually insoluble, because the laws and procedure of the mind are what they are, they are solved by living through them; feeling and the moral sense supply the answer for which we interrogate the understanding in vain. 'Cottage dames' are as competent as philosophers to deal with such questions; they are 'spiritually discerned.' But when history comes in it is otherwise. Here the cottage dame ceases to be an authority. No degree of moral virtue enables us to have an opinion on purely scientific subject matter; the decision must rest with those who know. Criticism is corrected by criticism; and, as there is no infallible tribunal, it is probable that differences of opinion will always exist on points of detail. But the broad lines of the position have been settled, and settled in a sense incompatible with tradi-

* Reden und Aufsätze, i. 287.

tionalism, or any approach to traditionalism; the question is closed.

An inevitable friction arises from the readjustment of ideas going on around us. It is not felt only on one side. If the believer is perplexed by the solvent action of knowledge on opinion, and exclaims with the pious solitary when convinced of his error in attributing a material form to the Deity, 'They have taken away my God,' there are more than we think who resent the identification of the spirit with the letter, of the faith that saves with the fallacious opinions of men. We realise the scandal given by the Greek to the barbarian; we do not realise the scandal given by the barbarian to the Greek. Where prudence and veracity conflict, the latter is to be preferred; we must follow the lead of thought, take us where it will. For no seeming good may we tamper with evidence or play fast and loose with fact. This is Jesuitism; doing evil that good may come. The temptation to act in this way is, at times, great, for there are questions which can scarcely be raised without danger and apparent irreverence.

The future of religious thought—and religion though it is other than, can never divorce itself from thought—is not doubtful. Ideas diffuse themselves: like spirit, they penetrate through all barriers and pass all doors. Their ultimate influence on existing ecclesiastical organisations is less certain. Organisations, as such, look to the past, not to the future; and resist, even where they submit to, change. The looser their texture the less effectual is their resistance; in the Protestant Churches freedom has practically been won, and as Scripture has been their standard from the first it is improbable that the appeal from its false to its true sense will cause more than a temporary and inconsiderable strain. With the Church of Rome it is different. Her standard is not Scripture, but tradition; and Scripture as interpreted by tradition. And her attitude towards anything like a reform of theology is unmistakable: its advocates exist in her as a foreign body, and because her endeavours to expel them have, so far, failed. From a practical point of view it is obvious that the Church has everything to lose by this attitude; that the liberalising movement, properly engineered, might do much—especially in Latin countries, where the religious instinct, such as it is, is Catholic—to restore her waning influence and prestige. So obvious, indeed, is this, that the *non possumus* of the Vatican, accentuated as it has been under the present

Pontiff, can be accounted for only by the reflection that persons exceptionally acute on their own ground are often exceptionally the reverse of acute outside it, and that Rome is interested in politics, in administration, occasionally perhaps in piety—never in ideas. It is possible, however, that a change of policy, while advantageous to Catholicism, might be of doubtful benefit to religion. Rome stands for the principle of authority, and an increased efficiency given to this principle might react injuriously on the forces that make for liberty. The existence of a liberalising school in the Church is a check, if an inadequate check, on the tendency of authority to run riot, and so in the long run to stultify itself: while the fact that this school exists precariously and on sufferance makes it impossible for the Church to exploit it; the lines on which the two advance are, if not divergent, at least parallel, and never meet. Again, the half is often more than the whole—‘Rien de plus dangereux que la demi-absurdité; car l’humanité est médiocre; elle vomit le trop fort virus; elle vit avec la dose de sottise qui n’est pas suffisante pour la tuer.’ The Catholicism of the ‘Civiltà Cattolica’ is, from the point of view of the future, a negligible quantity; the Catholicism of M. Loisy, in less worthy hands than his, might conceivably become a force for mischief in the world of thought and things. That what is called Liberal Catholicism is spreading, and will continue to spread, is certain; the Pope can no more check it than Canute could turn the tide. Whether those who identify themselves with it will continue Catholics in any real sense is another question. Ecclesiasticism is a vanishing, if a slowly vanishing, quantity in religion; and ecclesiasticism is, or seems to be, co-extensive with Catholicism. As the one declines the other loses its significance: organisation becomes, as in the Reformed Churches, matter of expediency and arrangement rather than of divine right. It is possible that this account of the matter is not exhaustive; but Huxley’s question, What would become of things supposing them to lose their qualities? suggests itself. The process of defaecation may be continued till nothing of the original substance remains. Catholicism, as a distinctive form of Christianity, is capable of a sufficiently plausible natural explanation; it is very much what we should expect it to be from its history. Are we to interpret its claims by its history, or its history by its claims? The latter alternative is no longer open to us; if the former be adopted, how much, it may be asked—and this perhaps is the unconscious explanation of the *non*

possumus—is left of the claims? The framework, in other words, is too small for the facts; it is impossible to get them into it. Yet this framework is so much of a piece that the attempt to enlarge it is dangerous; the house, if we touch it, threatens to come down about our ears. The instinct of the Church divines the danger, a danger which does not affect her alone. Admit the conception of Christianity which embodies the Christian idea, as such, in an external form, whether that form be an institution or a book, a priesthood or a dogma, and you have the Mediæval Papacy; the logical process of construction is inevitable. Question the Mediæval Papacy, and the process of dissolution is equally inevitable. The conception of an embodied Christianity falls to pieces: you are thrown back on a radically different conception of Christianity, in which it appears not as letter but as spirit, not as institution but as idea.

These, however, are secondary matters: *Ecce labora, et noli contristari* is the note of confidence with which Harnack concludes. Those who look at religion from without, from the standpoint of institutions and formulas, may despair of the future; for, whether these institutions and formulas survive or perish, the future is not theirs. There are more important questions than whether a man belongs to this or that Church, or holds this or that theological opinion; the kingdom of God does not consist in these things. But while women are loved, and men achieve, and children link heart to heart as they pass the lamp of life with increase from generation to generation, its interests are secure. To idealise is the one thing needful: what we idealise is of less consequence, for in the idea all things are one—

‘Wherefore, thou,
Worship the Power—in this all creeds agree—
Which from Olympus speaks, or Sinai’s brow,
Or beams, diviner, from beloved eyes.’

That this sense of the ideal is being developed among us, that the horizons of life are becoming more luminous, that the field of moral effort is enlarging its borders, that we are coming to think more worthily and therefore more truly of God and man—this may inspire us with courage and hope—*Historia non facit saltum: darum Geduld.*

ART. II.—PAINTING AS THOUGHT.—G. F. WATTS.

Exhibition Catalogues of the New Gallery, 1897 ; Royal Academy, 1905 ; Tate Gallery, &c., &c.

Two broad and necessarily inadequate terms, 'reproduction' and 'representation,' indicate the divergent tendencies of modern painting. To reproduce by means and mediums proper to art, and to suggest where those prove deficient, the actual semblances of things seen with all possible exactitude, is the predominant, if not the ultimate, aim of the artist whose formula might be summarised, 'the eye sees, the hand paints.' Thought and idea, symbol and allegory, are prohibited by his decalogue. He must dismiss mental preconceptions. The supplemental aids memory or knowledge affords normally to the interpretation of objects of sense must be utilised with precaution, lest exactitude of detail so obtained detract from truth of effect. The quality of such art—apart from technical skill—depends on the gift of visual instinct and perceptive vision. The eye of the non-gifted sees form, the eye of the gifted sees those evidences of life and change which animate form. In delineating one arrested pose of nature, one momentary effect of light, he conveys a sense of transition ; in his registration of a single crystallised phase of the outward aspects of things, he imparts a sense of growth, of movement, of transmutation, of, in fact, those infinite variations of surface appearance conditioning all visible objects. The facsimile must be living as nature, the verisimilitude must portray the vitality of truth. Yet in suggestion he must suggest only what the object or scene before him suggests ; the impressions conveyed must be those only immediately derived from external reality. He must paint 'le thème vu' in contradistinction to 'le thème pensé.' The value of art for him is in its relationship to actuality.

Under the second and far more elastic term : representation, art includes other aims. Its purpose is still to image pictorially aspects of nature's many semblances. But, not content to serve as a mere mirror of indelible reflections, it endeavours to transmit meanings, ideas, emotions, drawn from all sources, from sight, from imagination, from memory. It evokes associations whose connexion with the objects seen and painted is mental, not visual ; it asks the spectator to think with his eyes and see with his mind ; it appeals to his intellectual and emotional sympathies no less than it betrays

those of the painter. The image on the canvas becomes, howsoever naturalistic the method, primarily, in Rossetti's phrase, a 'rendering of motive,' and the thing signified bears the same relation to the form that the imaginative conception of a poem bears to the sound of the words and the rhythm of the verse. Such art, in one division, resolves itself into illustration, as in the 'Briar Rose,' the 'Perseus,' the 'Pygmalion' series of Burne-Jones narrative pictures. In other sections it becomes the symbolic expression of emotion, thought, or abstract ideas.

How far art loses in becoming a tool and instrument to thought is a question each man will decide according to the bias of his own opinions. Our perceptive faculties, whether of sense or brain, do not normally respond to dual and multiple appeals as they respond to a single appeal. The same concentrated and conscious acuteness of perception does not seem to be lodged in an equal degree and simultaneously in the several organs of sense and intellect. Listening intently, we become wholly absorbed in what reaches the ear; watching intently, sounds pass us by as silences; thinking intently, the mind shuts the door of its cell upon itself and we are blind and deaf to the outer world. In opera the dramatist's art may theoretically combine with the musical and histrionic arts to produce an impression of perfect artistic unity. But, so far as the impression is complex, neither music, acting, nor dramatic composition, as separate entities, win that monopolist control over any one of the senses without which no organ of perception touches its highest watermark. Thus, except where secondary appeals are kept strictly as subordinate and auxiliary to the central appeal, impressions are apt to lose in vigour what they gain in expansion, and although an undercurrent of emotional excitement stimulates the exercise of any one faculty and enhances the effect of the single impression, an overplus of the reflective tendency in any art of which the primary aim is to reach the senses, in diverting the focus of attention, weakens it. Pictorial art is an art of colour, form, and design; its direct appeal is to the eye. The art of the symbolist invokes the response of the mind. It trenches, for good or ill, on regions where other laws than the principles of art are paramount. It is an art of suggestion where the material form is wedded to the intellectual conception, and where, in the artist's intention, neither can be detached from the other without detriment to both: 'not soul helps sense more than sense helps soul.'

For his art as the symbolic expression of thought, Mr. G. F. Watts has insistently challenged recognition. Of all modern painters none have defined more explicitly an esthetic philosophy. He has set before us in unequivocal sentences the moral purpose his paintings interpret and enforce. He has enunciated the creed of the apostolate of art, nor has he left a loophole for misconstruction of his aspirations and endeavours. The supreme autocracy of art as art has been asserted, for him, in vain. 'Handmaid of 'religion,' wrote Mr. Swinburne, 'exponent of duty, servant of fact, pioneer of morality, she cannot in any way become, 'she would be none of those things though you were to bray 'her in a mortar. . . . It is at her peril if she tries to do 'good. Her business is not to *do* good but to *be* good.' Such a doctrine was at every point adverse to Mr. Watts's canon law. So far as the peril incurred was genuine, he courted it.

'The great majority of these [he writes of his works in the Exhibition of 1897] must be regarded rather as hieroglyphs than anything else, certainly not as more than symbols, which all Art was in the beginning, and which everything is that is not directly connected with physical conditions. In many cases the intention is frankly didactic; excuse for this, generally regarded as exasperating, being that it has been found, not seldom, that the attempts to reflect the thoughts of the most elevated minds of all ages, even in an unusual and halting language, have not been without interest at least, if without profit.

'Whatever type may have been used, classical, mediæval, or other, the endeavour has been to impress distinctly the direction of modern thought. . . .'

His instinct, no doubt, modified perceptibly his aim, his aim his instinct. Each may have stimulated and restricted the other. But whether the embryo inspiration were of the eye's vision or the mind's evolving, it is essential in any study of his life-work to bear in mind that the principle he advocated, however disputable, was inseparably connected, if not incorporate, with his individual genius; that he was impelled intuitively to ascribe to each form of beauty, strength, grace, and dignity, to each revelation of colour, to each design in whose compass those forms and colours found a logical *raison d'être*, some vivid spiritual significance. Symbolism was not his choice, but his vocation. His individual proclivities determined its character. As a thinker the bent of his thought was towards intellectual, spiritual, and moral abstractions, their relationship to one another and man's relationship to them. His art became the

utterance of his thoughts. Further, his stronger impulses as a painter—even in portraiture they betray themselves—led not so much to the pictorial embodiment of what is external as to the pictorial externalisation of what is within. It follows that criticism cannot sever the artist from the thinker without misapprehension of both.

As a painter, power,* dignity, directness, balance, sanity, a spiritualised human tenderness, an idealism based on truth to nature, are, with an ordered wealth and splendour of colour, characteristics of his works in their totality. The esthetic embodiment, the imaged form of the idea, was always in accord with the intellectual form of the thought. He was untinged by the subtleties, the caprices, and the incoherences of the *symboliste* of contemporary art. He was no disciple of those obscure cults where the idea is itself but a symbol of what lies beyond the idea, a cipher of a word which cannot be uttered, which cannot so much as clothe itself in the first envelope of consciousness—thought. Nor has he any leaning towards mysticism. His art is not a veil, but an exposition, an elucidation. His thoughts revolve in the circle of thoughts with which prophets and priests, old and new, have ever striven to arrest the errant steps of pilgrims who wander on the high road of the soul. They are moral, not speculative, and the interpretation his art gives to them is mainly that of accentuation and enforcement. Thus, setting aside technical considerations belonging to another plane of criticism, the study of what he names his ‘hieroglyphics’ is simplified. The difficulty for the lay picture-loving commonalty lies not in the comprehension of individual pictures, but in following the continuity of thought, in the recognition of the underlying unity of idea, of which each work manifests a phase or aspect. They line the walls like scattered sentences of torn pages; each, howsoever complete in itself, reminds us that the key to the full understanding of any rests in some ordered apprehension of all. His thoughts, no doubt, ran in wide currents, but there is as true a unity in direction as in centralisation, and it may be said that to their unvacillat-

* T. Carlyle’s verdict on his own portrait, now in the South Kensington Museum, ends with, from him, a singular criticism. ‘Decidedly the most insufferable picture that has yet been made [of me], a delirious-looking mountebank, full of violence, awkwardness, atrocity and stupidity, without recognisable likeness to anything I have ever known in any feature of me. . . . The fault of Watts is a passionate pursuit of strength.’

ing unity of direction every severed fragment of his pictorial symbolism owes something of its impressiveness, its force and sincerity. Here his genius mirrors the heavens, there the earth; now a mountain, now a broken tendril of a vine, is reflected on the surface, but beneath one and all the river winds on to the predestined sea, and the intellectual processes of his art of thought reveal themselves as surely as, by another method of study, we learn the material processes of his art of painting. Catalogues tell of dates, of signature, of the facts collectors, past, present, and to come, require for identification and proof. Critics tell of mediums, methods and vehicles of the painter's craft, trace developments of youth, maturity and age, detect influences, appraise varying degrees of skill testified by failures and successes, analyse what is original, what derived or inherited, and define the artist's place in the general history of art. Such technicalities—interesting as they are—are beyond the range of discussion where the question considered is the position claimed by Mr. Watts as the Painter of Thought. Moreover, neither the colour sense, nor the sense of form and design, is conveyed with any appreciable exactitude by verbal disquisitions. The description of paintings as colour and composition has usually proved, of all descriptive efforts, the most ineffectual. The tones and scales and qualities of colour have few direct counterparts in language; far-sought analogies, pressed into the service of speech, exhaust themselves, and only a vague, inconclusive approximation to the pictorial reality is the result. Colours luminous as in 'Olympus on Ida,' brilliant as in 'Charity,' dusky and soft as a moth's wing in the 'Death Angel' or 'Endymion,' colours which burn blue, red and green on the canvases of the symbols of abstract idea (for which he reserved his most intense hues), colours which deepen to purple or flame into the orange golds of winter sunrises, all these reach the eye of *le passant* in art as sounds the ear of the uninitiated music-lover, and the design gives coherence to their colours and rhythmic articulation to those tones. They make themselves felt like living things reflected in a living mirror, and this not by what they suggest to the mind but by what they impress on the vision. And here comes in the special demand of the painter of thought. To touch and stir the senses was not his ultimate endeavour. True, the rule holds good for him that 'if the artist desire to express certain philosophic conceptions by means of symbols he must never forget that, art being representative, the

'symbols chosen must possess in themselves a charm independent of what they mean,' that 'art is picture-painting not picture-writing.' Yet that the mind of the veriest passer-by shall stretch out its hands beyond the senses and grasp not only the esthetic impression but the ethical significance, is his avowed and asseverated intention.

As symbolist it is in the accurate correspondence between thought and form that Mr. Watts's genius lies. Very rarely does the climax of the idea clash with—if one may use the term—the climax of the pictorial interest. The rhythm, as it were, of sense and semblance runs parallel; the accents fall in the same place as the accent of the song-word falls in accord with the accent of the melody-note. It is seldom that he uses a pictorially insignificant detail for the enunciation or even elucidation of the idea. There are exceptions. In 'Hope,' perhaps his most popular design, the epitome of the allegory lies in the pictorially unimportant fact that the lyre Hope holds has but one string. As design it is of little or no account whether there be one string or a full complement of strings. Symbolically that single string is charged with the concentrated sentiment of the whole picture. Again, in the figure of 'Faith' (clad in the colours of Charity and wearing Love's crimson heart), the sword she has sheathed is—as the stringless lyre—the summarised point of the parable. And here again pictorially it is of no account whether that blade be covered or bare. In a less degree in the large finished canvas of 'Progress,' he has used detail, apart from its pictorial value, more than is his wont, if not as emphasis, as interpretation. The scholar's dying taper, the goldseeker's coins, slide almost into narrative; moreover the one true Illuminate, the figure turning with eager arms towards the Sun-clad Rider, seems inadequately to portray its spiritual importance. These exceptions throw the general principles of his symbolism into relief. It is the absence of such interpretative details which gives to these works their characteristic breadth, strength, dignity. They are the symbolism of condensed impression and simple outline divested of the riddles of emblematic trivialities. Where some subtler touch of meaning may be ascribed—as in the 'Fata Morgana' when the pursuing knight closes his grasp only on what veils the *feu follet* of his illusion—it is, one conjectures, by a mere pictorial chance the more complex note is struck.

Viewed in relation to thought, the ordering of Mr. Watts's works into some intellectually intelligible sequence

is not purely arbitrary. To paint in some sort a 'chronicle of life' would seem to have been the immense shadowy scheme which haunted his imagination. Of that vast record, indeed, he accomplished but some scattered pages. Yet in those few the thread of this central idea may be dimly discerned, and the trend of sentiment, more distinctly, may be deciphered. Life nascent he painted in Chaos. In themes drawn from Mosaic tradition he illustrated the phases of the beginnings of human life. In a second picture of origins, now called the Genius of Greek Poetry, he represents the creative imagination of man as a prelude to his treatment of classic myths. A third group of paintings are of subjects taken from mediæval and Renaissance literature. *La vie contemporaine*, except in his capacity as portrait-painter, has found little reflection in his art. Though his genius—too often overlooked—as landscape-painter evidences the depth of his sympathy for natural surroundings, there is, besides his portraits actual and imaginary, scarcely a theme taken from the common life of his century. 'Waiting,' 'Prayer,' 'Spring,' a girl at a half-open door, a woman, ragged and starved, under an arch, with some few others, make up the small sum total of their number. His life-work, as he himself would estimate it, lay elsewhere. For him it culminated in the paintings expressive of abstract ideas, of laws, powers, and dominions that condition life, in their relationship to one another and in their relationship to humanity, and on these he expended the full energy of his genius.

Thus classified, the starting-point of thought is the conception his pictures embody concerning the origins of things material and spiritual. The scene of 'Chaos' takes priority as the first episode in the drama of creation, the *mysterium magnum* of science and faith. Here, as elsewhere, he has discarded the imaginations of past classic literary tradition. Milton's vision of the

' wild abyss,
The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,'

is in singular opposition to the painter's. For the poet it was

' a dark
Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height,
And time and place are lost ; where eldest Night
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy. . . . '

It was a realm beyond Hell's gateway where Chaos itself was an artificer, not an elemental state of anarchy, a region—according to the great mediæval theosophist—‘bearing the fundamental stamp of the wrath of God, with the fierce consuming fire, materialisation, darkness and death.’* With such sinister portrayals this pictured ‘Chaos’ contrasts at every point. It is a primæval landscape in whose wilderness of deep blues and golds and browns, in whose tinted exhalations of smoke and vapour, of ether, water and fire, a whole waste world of living matter seethes with vital activities and is pregnant with the forms of all things that shall one day be. In rock, flame, flood, all tumultuous agencies take to themselves their typical shape. It is a vision of dormant substance, awakening to motion; a vision of fermentation, mobility, of the transmutation of the formless into the formed, of eternity breaking forth into time, of horizonless space taking to itself limit and proportion. It is the vast birth-scene of Nature, the nativity of creation, of matter and of spirit, and of long-forgotten mythologies. Titanic giants, brown-limbed against measureless depths of blue, blue from whose intensities all summer skies shall draw their hues, lie, drowsy with ageless sleep, on the rock above the Abyss. They are of one race with that brooding Prometheus of another painting outstretched upon the sea-bathed rock in a mid ocean of emerald blue; of one race with the woman Titan, the great ‘Mother of discord and harmony’ (again, a dark-hued figure against fathomless, but clouded ether), who sits, the many children of her travail, some at strife, some in peace, crowding round her feet, and who, sitting, gazes wearily, blind-eyed, into the impenetrable mists of futurity. But while Prometheus wakens to suffer and endure, while the Eternal Mother muses in the dim uncertainty of fear and hope, these Titans who dominate Chaos still dream—dreaming, it may be, the universe into life. Below, one shooting meteoric figure bridges as it spans the central gulf which ‘divides stability from instability, the shapen from the unshaped.’ Round the base of huge boulders gathers a garland of newborn dislinked hours, miniature effigies of dancing nymphs, for, for the Titan, a thousand years count but as a watch in the dawn. These foreshow the making of Time, although, as we divine, their feet still move to the rhythm of eternal silences. They are emblems, fragile as flowers, of that which passes

* Martensen, ‘Jacob Böhme.’

who, in their dance, seek—it is the old symbolic paradox—the pattern of that which passes not. They are the hieroglyphics of Transition ranged in the Circle of Perpetuity. It has been justly said that this picture shows, in a marked degree, a characteristic trait of Mr. Watts's art. 'He is a painter of *processes*. When other painters have attempted to represent creation they have commonly painted things created; not so Mr. Watts: we see creation actually going forward under his brush.'

From the creation of the world to that of man is the second step in the story of origins. In archaic emblazonments, in 'Bible-cycles,' in primitive decoration and ornament, early Christian art sought a convention expressive of the genesis of the human race. In these renderings of Old Testament scenes, Adam appears for the most part as *Figura Christi* and the epic of Paradise is viewed from the standpoint of mystical and allegoric interpretation. But no less when later art cast off the harness and yoke of allegory, 'the Creation of Man haunted the mind of the Middle Age like a dream. The tradition centred,' Mr. Pater adds, 'in the Sistine Chapel.*' Henceforth Michael Angelo's conception impressed its seal on the imagination of men. Alone amongst English artists, the great visionary, William Blake, touched the same theme in a master-work 'Elohim creating Adam.' Here it is a birth-agony of creation, an epitome of all the woes and pangs of all nascent vitalities to be. It is creation as Blake saw it, looking backwards through the dark glories of centuries of sins, of centuries of the soul's battlefields and the dust-clouds of pain and death. Man is the martyr, on whom Life here inflicts itself; it is the torture-hour of the primæval *chambre rose* of God.

The two creation-visions of Mr. Watts—so far as is known the birth of man was a subject he never essayed—deal with the nativity of woman; both are visions of light and life triumphant. In one,† a nude figure over life-size, the creation is not so much of woman as of the elementary principle of all womanhood. It is in truth a figure only semi-human, and contrasted with the 'Eve Tempted' and the 'Eve Penitent,'‡ of declared human individuality, it carries us back, not to Mosaic tradition, but to the thought of the dimly apprehended Nature-Mothers of remote mythologies, to the great goddesses of fertility, flitting and shadowy

* W. Pater, 'The Renaissance.'

† 'She shall be called Woman'—Tate Gallery. ‡ Tate Gallery.

and vast personifications of the eternal motherhood of earth, deities of conception and increase, or, it might be, to that Demeter 'about whose form the spirit of beauty breathed, ' whose long yellow hair descended waving over her shoulders, ' whose head rose and touched the roof, and whose presence ' filled the doorway with a divine brightness,' as she crossed the threshold of the dwelling-place of man.* Mr. Watts's painting is of an effluence, an emanation, with its vagueness of form, the sunrayed glory, the girdle of crocus blossom—white, purple and saffron, the encircling doves, silver-hued and red, whom Venus will wrest to her service. The symbolic figure, with its strong limbs half veiled in gleaming hair, is herself the incarnation of all these, is herself lily, crocus, spring, dove and sun. She is further—for, half lost in the sunrise-coloured splendour, one single frail butterfly hovers above—that winged ethereality we call soul. In this picture the artist deviates from his general practice when giving visible esthetic expression to an abstract idea. In general he has used the concrete human form with an unblurred normalism of outline and modelling, and this whether the symbol (defined as a single cipher signifying a passive abstraction) stands alone, or whether it expands into allegory (defined as a more complex presentment involving action and combination, or implying narrative sequence). Abstract ideas, where they are of sane imaginative offspring, find their analogies in semblances the sanity of sight demands. He rarely sought refuge in the fantastic or the eccentric as the equivalent of the preternatural, except (as in the use of winged figures) where the convention belongs so wholly to custom that it neither startles nor estranges the eye. To exaggerate, distort, or outrage the formations of man, beast, or plant, may be a remove from conformity to nature, but it is by no means a certain approximation to visionary reality. True, in 'Mammon,' the 'Minotaur,' more or less in 'Pluto's Wife' and 'Jonah,' there is monstrosity or exaggeration. The reason is not far to seek. Gold-worship being a deformity of soul, he has figured it in the exaggerated grossness of the monster-god, whose hand is on the woman, whose foot is on the man. The beast-god of the Labyrinth in the same fashion he has painted as a vice-grotesque. The 'Jonah' again denotes the semi-delirium of soul the Dervish of the desert exhibits. Thus in one and all of these unbeautiful ciphers the em-

* Pater, 'Greek Studies.'

bodiment coalesces with the idea, their distortions are necessary, significant and emphatic; their place amongst his works is that of side-pictures intended to accentuate aspects of truths less legibly inscribed in comelier forms throughout his symbolic decalogue.

The 'Creation of Eve,' unlike the vague iconography of abstract womanhood, is painted in accordance with his general scheme of idealisation. In it he passes from symbol to allegory. The work of creation is accomplished—yet creation is incomplete. Whatever doctrine mystical writers professed concerning the severance of Adam's original unity of being into man and womanhood, humanity, as we conceive it, demanded for the full developement of its higher as of its lower instincts a duality of sex, a duality bringing with it new laws of duty, sacrifice, and love, new gifts, new debts, and new human faiths. Fire and Light must be separated to re-combine. It is the April of the universe, but the Rose-garden of God lies, like those deserted palaces of folk-tales where the prince wanders from hall to hall, bower to bower, chamber to chamber, seeking in vain for whose coming the throne is set, for whose feast the golden cup is filled, for whom the roses bloom and the fountains flow, and for whose sleep the silken tapestries screen the inner shrine. Life is not given to man—that guest of Time—that he should pass it in an eternal monologue. In Eden-boughs the doves mate. In Eden grasses the doe has her lair, fawns play in the thickets, and the time of the singing of birds has come. Around the tree-trunk the crocus-blossoms, dear to the painter, bloom. Man, woman, child—two of earth's trinity are lacking to Love's unity. Shall man alone in the spring-time of all centuries to come have no love-song with which he may sing to his beloved, 'Behold, thou art fair, there is 'no spot in thee. . . . I am come into the garden, my 'sister, my love, my undefiled one . . . rise up, my love, 'my fair one, and come away. . . .' There is a blank on earth, a void in Paradise, there is something the world awaits, for womanhood is uncreate, the love-communion of Bride and Bridegroom is unknown, and no errant footfall of childhood's light feet has set its print on earth's expectant grasses, no Noël-cry has yet acclaimed in gladness that 'unto us a child is born.'

Then in that strange and most beautiful of Eastern allegories, whose outlines the painter retraces, comes the scene of the afterthought of the divine workmaster. One essence is fashioned into two principles. Adam slumbers:

‘God giveth His Beloved sleep.’ His dream—surely God-given as the sleep—becomes incarnate. In this picture, again a portrayal of process, Adam, a half-recumbent figure, upheld by one of those ‘creative spirits’ who, with blown draperies, rise as flames upspringing to their native element in a swift Godward ascent, is outstretched in trance, ecstasy, or death-swoon. Humanity without womanhood in his figure sleeps—or, sleep being death’s effigy, is as dead. Between the sleep of man and the flight of angels Eve is drawn forth into being, one hand still grasped in the strong clasp of the last of the heavenly ministrants, an angel red-clothed as with the blood of love. She awakens, with all the slow languor of sleep and death upon her limbs, to conscious existence, her soul still drowned in the anodyne of a slumberous rapture. Thus she comes to the sleeper, life-mate, play-mate, love-mate. A woman who has never lived her childhood, she enters the House of Life with no prelude of years when the bud is folded and the heart is hidden; she comes, Eve, his heart’s desire made visible, to have and to hold, the shadow which was his thought made substance, woman and wife, song of the morning stars, joy of the sons of God.

Such is the first scene of the Eve-cycle. In another we see her, in the completed awakening of conscious existence, erect in Eden-garden, serene and glad. The strong youth of her first life-days has supplanted the drowsy dawn of birth. And those days are days of sun and summer, of flower and bird, where, to this laggard newcomer, every one of earth’s unfolding delights was an unread scripture, and Eve herself and to herself was but a part of nature, a page in the illustrated missal of life’s great book. Nowhere more than in the nude figures of Eve, that Eve whose plaything is the bird upon her hand, and those other Eves, by whatsoever names the painter has christened his undraped studies of ideal grace, has he asserted the dignity of creation with more explicit intention. Ascetic art, whether of the mediævalist in connexion with religious imagery, or of the revivers of mediævalism in their appropriation of ascetic semblances to emotional themes, became the negation of the physical manifestations of life. Aiming at the spiritualisation of matter, or at the supremacy of emotionalism, art attenuated substance. Here, in the Eves, Daphnes, in Psyche, in Thetis—perhaps the most lovely of all as she stands white against the grey-toned waters of one of those wide seas which recur so often in these pictures, there is no

such evasion. The human body is not degraded into an opaque shell, but neither is it reduced into a mere transparency, a mere envelope of the soul within. The attitude of the painter, in all his delineations of human form, is one of affirmation, not apology. The body may be—is—an expression of the soul—it is an imperfect expression. It is also an expression—most perfect and concise—of the whole life, of the vital essence, call it what we may, which animates nerve and muscle; which touches, tastes, sees, hears, in the organs of sense; which loves, hates, sorrows, rejoices, in the emotions; and which, finally, in the separation, the disintegration of death, abandons the fabric it has moulded into shape. Of this vital principle Mr. Watts painted the human hieroglyphic, a hieroglyphic of form more than of colour: not, one may conjecture, from any repudiation of colour in its association with sensualism in art, but by reason of its superior fitness as suggesting greater durabilities and wider universality.

Yet, whatever might be the perfect ability of human nature, creation was doomed to undergo those moral episodes allegorised in the story of the Fall. 'No man's soul is alone; the serpent has it by the heart, or the angel by the hand.'* And in 'Eve Tempted,' the angel of creation has in truth loosed his hold, the coils of the snake close round the feet of the woman, and the flowers of the blossoming apple-boughs reiterate his counsel as they whisper in her ear. It is a picture of those days chronicled in old mythological traditions whose echoes survive in the stories of all nations, the stories of Friendly (and unfriendly) Beasts, when nature's offspring, animal, plant and man, are seen in closer kinship than later years can recognise, days when in a vivid acknowledgement of the common motherhood of each living thing, Daphne might change into a laurel and Syrinx to a reed, when faun and centaur might efface the harsh lines of demarcation between man and beast-kind, without violating aggressively the possibilities of primitive scientific belief. And here in Eden the serpent's voice is heard as the voice of one who spoke a familiar speech, and his wisdom is weighed in the balance with the lesser wisdom of winged birds and the four-footed denizens of wood and field. Eve listened. She ate of the Apples of Wrath and found in the fruit the sting of the serpent. So runs the allegory. To revert to the broader outline of the

* Ruskin, 'Modern Painters.'

thought of which Mr. Watts has painted the symbol. A law typified by a command, its use and meaning unknown to the transgressor, has been set aside; the 'Denunciation' inevitably follows. Those eternal forces, creative spirits in the birth scene, here denunciatory angels, which take no account of excuses, which are deaf to every plea of ignorance and blindness, and whom no promise of amendment can propitiate, come into action. Their outstretched hands foreshadow calamity present and to come. Mr. Watts has used the intensity of colour belonging to his Venetian ancestry in art to heighten the emotional impressiveness of the painting. The background of the skies darkens into a blue-burning flame of gloom, the storm-cloud of the descending spirits flickers like some conflagration in the dusk. But—and here lies the individual touch of interpretation—already, beneath the divine hurricane, a new sanctity re-consecrates humanity. Pity is born; Adam's arms are out-held to shelter the bowed head of his fellow-sinner as the two crouch together under the anathema of the spiritual blast.

There, for the painter, the allegory ends. All which comes after is included in this one scene. No need to exile those sad souls from Eden; they it is who have exiled Eden from their souls. The joy-garden in which they sojourned was their own hearts; henceforth the heart's paradise, watered by the four streams, is as a parched desert, thorns grow there and briars upspring, and the aloe, bitter and sweet, and the poison weed. The Kingdom of Eden, no less than the Kingdom of God, is within you. Eve has eaten the fruit which was fair; Psyche has kindled the wick of the forbidden lamp; knowledge has brought its forfeiture of peace; joy has fled;

'Sorrow, which to that house scarce knew the way,
Is now the lord of it.'

And with sorrow, death. In the pictures dealing with the slaying of Abel and the dying of Cain, as in the episodes of Eden, the artist, in electing themes so familiar to popular imagination, makes special demands on our perceptive faculties. The formulas of Bible-story are overburthened with associations, by force of incessant repetition the picture seer is apt to pass by their pictorial presentment without the effort towards individual realisation less sophisticated subjects evoke. Acute sympathetic response to any appeal of art depends to a certain extent on

freshness of sensation. Tieck asserts—and, exaggerated though the statement may seem, it strikes a vein of truth—that ‘it is not above twice or at most thrice in a man’s ‘life that he has the fortune to see in any true sense a ‘sunrise.’ This is to say that in the familiar our senses rarely reach the maximum of that self-conscious activity which is their full measure of enjoyment. Neither eye nor mind can be continuously intimate with any given object without outwearing the appreciative instinct. When a painter re-images well-worn subjects, he has to contend with this induced blankness of mental or visual capacities. He must efface old at the same time that he imprints new versions of ancient stories. He must present the known so that it shall take on itself the semblance of the unknown. Heaven is made up of first hours, says the proverb, and the effect of a work of genius must always include the illusion of intrinsic novelty in the conception or transmission of the idea. In Pater’s phrase, the artist ‘must break through ‘the veil of familiarity,’ the most dense of all impediments to true vision.

In the second ‘Denunciation’ (the death of Abel), where Cain, first child of the world, has slain his brother, without any re-arrangement of conventional formula and by sheer force of emotional power, Mr. Watts rent that veil. To the tragedy he paints he has given universality; it is not of Genesis, but of yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow. It is the deepest of all tragedies: the tragedy of the revenges of the dead. It portrays that ultimate, dumb vengeance, the wronged, the weak, the outraged take, *sæcula sæculorum*, upon the oppressor. They suffer, they fall, they are slain, but their sufferings, their overthrow, their dying, writes his doom upon the wall. In the picture, as in the first ‘Denunciation,’ those infinite Potencies by whom man’s path is encompassed, and of which he is the voluntary servant or the impotent tool, come forth from their ambushade of invisibility. They bear witness with down-stretched hands of condemnation, where the blaze of sacrifice rises with drifting smoke-clouds, to the evil of the deed. Abel’s white figure lies motionless in the first death-sleep of God’s green forest. Cain stands, his face in shadow, a dark form with upraised hands against the pitiless light-shaft which illuminates his consummated sin. And is it by pictorial accident only that for us the face of the slain is made visible, and the face of his slayer is in obscurity? The whole tragedy is in those two figures.

Blot out the nimbus of the angelic host; let the voices of their *Dies iræ* be mute; leave Cain solitary under the great silence of the trees, leave him amidst the cold neutralities of nature. What need to proclaim his sentence? Abel's dumb lips, his unseeing eyes, his limbs that weigh heavily upon the darkened earth, the flint wound—can life escape by so small a door?—these pronounce Cain's doom. Abel is dead. No cry of man or woman, howsoever bitter, can penetrate the shroud of that long slumber. Cain, the shadowed figure of the living beside the pale unshadowed figure of the dead, is confronted by the penalty of his own act. The soul of Abel has flitted to Hades, but the soul of Cain has entered Hell. He has looked on death, and in Abel's dying he has beheld his own.

Some years later Mr. Watts painted the sequel. To Cain the sun-bronzed outcast, who has borne the burthen, the heat, the toil and the terror of life, death comes at length, lenity after judgement, light after the darkness of day, supreme peace after the storm. There is no echo, in the desert place where Cain sinks upon the hewn altar-stone, of Coleridge's marvellous vision of the Titan wanderer—a sinister vision of limbs wasted as by fire, of a rank tangled mass of matted curls, stained and scorched as though a burning iron hand had striven to rend them, of a countenance telling in strange and terrible language of agonies that had been, and were, and were to be. A vision where the ghost who calls himself Abel pierces the heart of Cain with his wail: 'Woe is me, for I was well-beloved by the God of the Living, but the dead have another God;' and where, amongst the naked rocks in that land without water, Cain's misery adopts the new despair of doubt, and his answer is a reiteration of the phantom's cry: 'The curse of the Lord is on me, but who is the God of the Dead?'

No such menace has place in the painter's conception. Here and throughout all his works he has constituted himself a resolute herald of peace, a messenger of good hope and patient courage. The wanderer's agony ends in deep repose. Esau and Jacob the Supplanter meet in renewed fraternity of love. The overwhelming waters of the Flood sink in undulations of subsiding waves, unbroken by friction of rock or cliff, the smooth curved lines uncrested by spray or foam in the windless, sunless daylight. Nothing tells us that the long pulsations of that shoreless sea entomb

* S. T. Coleridge, 'The Wanderings of Cain.'

a whole generation, uncounted myriads of the drowned children of a submerged world. After the Flood the Ebbtide, and after the Ebb a great calm. The 'Dove that 'returned not' has found his footing, a broken bough hung with seadrift of floating treasure, poor vanities of women, toys of folly and pleasure, where she may rest her wings. A 'Pentecostal Earth' of light and radiance shall emerge from that second Chaos of grey drowning, from that 'Baptistry of a new birth.' On all these themes—the imaginative property of the multitude—Mr. Watts has set the seal of his genius. They served him as ready-made formulas, comprehensible to the multitude, of his own moral and idealistic conceptions. Beyond these incidents, drawn from Mosaic tradition, he never appears to have returned to primitive periods or prehistoric episode. One little idyl only, a painting belonging to some side mood of the grave painter's musings, may be taken as a fragment of homely literalism set in those remote and long-forgotten ages of the world's history. It is a picture not familiar to most; yet in its wistful gaiety, in the gentle savagery of the two denizens of the wild earth depicted, it is so alien to Mr. Watts's customary idealisation that it claims an interest of its own. It is an idyl of soft-eyed, destructive, boy and girl playmates; their riddle—a nursery puzzle—the shut envelope of the 'First Oyster-shell.' Their playground is the seashore, their toys the delicate sea-shells they have threaded in armlet and necklace, fragile ornaments for their free, wind-blown, wave-washed limbs. The colours are dim and faint, as befits a scene viewed through the gauze of centuries, but the boy and the girl live amongst the dull hues of green and grey, and the wondering laughter of their lips is the sound of the laughter of the lost childhoods of long ago.

With the 'Genius of Greek Poetry,' and the group of pictures whose subjects are adapted from classic myths and legends of poets, Mr. Watts enters a second marked epoch in what he designates the evolution of mankind. In this symbolic representation of the birth of Greek mythology, we have, as it were, a supplementary version of the emergence, the egress from chaos, of the phenomena and properties of nature; but this time we see them re-created by the mind of man into definite shapes of personified elementary beings, shapes of dryad and sylph and naiad, spirits of air and water. It is an intellectual creation succeeding to the material creation. In the first Chaos the painter saw the

processes which culminate in the making of man, in the second the processes which culminate in the making of the gods of man, the creations of man's fantasy, possibly of his needs. As in the earlier picture, the depths of blue ether, the mists of seas, give birth to spiritual forms which people the air and haunt the clefts of the rock where the Genius of the Greek Spirit rests, thinking them into deity, thinking them into the myths Greek art immortalised. 'Nature' is the first chief element by which we are enabled to conceive the spirit of the Greeks. The key to their mythology is here. Here is the secret of their sympathies, the well-spring of their deepest thoughts, the primitive potentiality of all things they have conceived in art.* Thus the gods here seen, born of nature, are the deities whose throne shall be Olympus and whose cult shall be not alone the outcome but also the inspiration of all imaginative conceptions of ideal beauty and ideal youth of centuries to come.

From Greek tradition, nevertheless, Mr. Watts has borrowed few themes, fewer than might have been anticipated. But in this section of his work, as elsewhere, he has shown his tendency to dwell with inexhaustible interest upon any subject which commended itself to his taste; it was a habit characteristic of the unhurried, unfettered genius whose patience was never outwearied, and whose self-imposed standard always seemed to demand a more perfected excellence of workmanship. He painted two Ariadnes—Ariadne the lonely sea-gazer, whose sad eyes watch for ever for the black sail of Theseus' ship upon the far horizon of the blue, wave-rippled water, for the ship that will nevermore return to the shore of well-wooded Naxos. In vain she forsook the hall of carven stone, in vain she deserted her father's palace; vain her love-gift of the sword for the slaying of the Minotaur, vain her gift of the clue for the windings of the Labyrinth, vain her gift of greater things than sharp-bladed weapon or fine-spun silken thread. The monster is slain, the Labyrinth explored (the skein of scarlet lies on her knee), but her heart wanders in a maze of grief whence there is no exit; a sword has pierced her with a wounding no herb will heal. Theseus has loved and has left her, and although (for the woman whose hand † is on Ariadne's arm points landwards) Dionysus comes, the vine-leaves in his hair, the fawn-skin on his shoulders, though he

* A. Symonds, 'Greek Poetry.'

† See 'Ariadne' of 1875.

will comfort her with the solace of the immortals, remembrance will abide. She will dwell truly amongst the stars, her story will pass, a strange mutation, into Christian art as an allegory of resurrection faiths, but we know that green island and that sailless sea will remain for ever the home of her heart's sorrow.

Between these two variant Ariadnes there was an interval of some thirteen years; between two of the three fully-finished Endymions an interval (so far as dates indicating the completion of works can be taken in guidance) of ten. In the illustrations of the Moon-Myth Mr. Watts touches a note of emotionalism somewhat foreign to his common wont. The colours seen and the colours suggested are vehicles of that emotion. The intense night blue of the deepest veins of lapis-lazuli between the brown tree-stems in the smaller variant, where Diana is seen in clearly outlined womanhood; the far more haunting, because more evasive, colours of the large and very different version, lend themselves to the illusions of that trance of passion. In this second painting it is but a phantom of a moon within the half-circle formed by the phantom of a woman. All the shadowy exhalations of the woods are there, all the tints of lunar rainbows, spectrums of green and blue and silver and dusky brown enfold the two, when 'she who wanders in the night' leaves heaven to kiss the sleeping shepherd of Latmos. More beautiful than when that ethereal presence fashions itself into perceptible loveliness, the moon here is no more than a luminous disk, a curved film of Diana's godhead. She is less than a vapour, more imponderable than a mist; she is the very ghost of a god as she leans over her lover, while the shut eyes of the dreamer—his limbs bathed in the blue incandescence of that light—see the full vision of the dark paradise in which he sleeps, see the full rapture of her face who comes

'With silver lips
Kissing dead things to life.'

And it is the dream Endymion dreams, his head thrown backwards to meet her kiss, that is painted; it is a trance within a trance, a vision within a vision. And vision, dream, trance, are those that leave their signature written in characters no years efface upon the soul and heart of men.

In another mood Mr. Watts painted what Paris saw, 'Olympus on Mount Ida.' On this theme again he has spent the resources of his art with lavish care, as the

several studies attest. The two finished paintings present widely different aspects of the scene. In the smaller, with its cool monotones of silvered browns and greys and greens, the Three stand in the quiet perfection of living statues. The whiteness of their limbs is the whiteness of time-tinted stone, set in the clear light of—is it dawn or day? He painted them a second time some ten years later. In this larger canvas the three figures face us; the dusty golden glory of the encircling cloud, with its opal prism of dim hues, encompasses them; Here has unbound the draperies, rose and orange-hued, she lifts; and Venus, crowned with leaves, holds back with one hand the bright hair that falls through slim fingers to her very feet. The cloud of sunshine-colour rests on the darkened hilltop it overshadows where soon CEnone shall weep forsaken, while Paris, her sometime lover, lies in fair Helen's arms; where, in yet farther days to be, Prince Paris shall return with wounds CEnone will not salve, and, even as common men whom Venus has never gifted with her grace, he shall die forlorn, alone, unshielded from the stroke of fate, afar from Helen and afar from Troy—the golden gods are gone.

In all these paintings, as in the nursling-god, 'Zeus ' amongst the Nymphs,' with its blue carpet of gentians, the greenness of leaf and grass and grape, its stars and daisies, and the crimson strawberries spread for the little god's feasting; in the 'Europa;' in the 'Arion,' coloured like gems of turquoise and sapphire; in 'Hebe,' with her hair of red rust on its blue background; in Iris, afloat in her rifted rainbow colour-scale of pink, green, purple, blue, yellow; in 'The 'Bacchante,' the 'Amorini'—the list extends itself—Mr. Watts's art is unshackled by thought, unrestricted by deference to reality, and unencumbered by ethical preoccupation. Riddles are set aside, enigmas are ignored. These Immortals and their mortal consorts, with their grace of body, are at once without souls and without, in baser sort, desires. They are types, whether in the slim pliancy of youth or in the dignity of fully modelled maturity, of the uncontaminated purity and virility of corporeal life. They are the translation into art of the core of Hellenic worship—the worship of material life in its balanced equipoise, physically undegraded and spiritually unattenuated.

The 'Orpheus' trenches upon other ground. Through the serene and sunlit meadows, yellow with crocus and asphodel of mythic Greece, came the wail of Demeter bereft of her child. Over the land a mist has floated chill and grey;

over the blue hills a wind has blown, black-winged with shadows and fears. At the gate of Death, Orpheus, the divine singer, stands in mute anguish—Eurydice is lost. It was a subject that above all other classic myths lent most opportunities to the allegorist. But it is not the mystic psychology of the story, the reiteration of forfeiture entailed by the backward-looking of mortal men from Lot's wife onwards, that is dwelt on. The sentiment is not concerned with the losing, but with the loss; with the impotent endeavour to hold what has already flown beyond recall. It is a rendering, here in action as elsewhere in symbol, of the oldest, the commonest, the most inevitable episode of human passion, when Love and Death contend for possession and mastery. Life is the song, Death is the ever-recurrent refrain; and Orpheus, holding the dead body of Eurydice in his arms, has yet to learn that no lyre, even though it be wrought of the gods, has power to waken one least echo in the Land of the Dead.

It is the key to much in his works, and they are always at one with themselves. The gist of all he has to say is indeed simple, and nowhere, perhaps, does it make itself so clearly felt as in some of the paintings which fall into the third group, comprising the subjects drawn from Renaissance literature. The realities of life's surroundings are those Immaterial Powers that environ man's moral being, creative spirits or eternal laws. The material, the substantial, the 'Great Possessions,' these are of those things that pass, these are the true *Fata Morgana* of a man's desire: they are blown as a soap-bubble on the wind of illusion, they vanish and are gone. The dream of the Soul is that which endures. What shall slay a vision? Where are the years hidden in which a dream shall grow old? What grave shall entomb that which is born not of dust but of thought? This persistency of moral imagination gave pronounced qualities to perhaps the most beautiful as well as the best known of his illustrations adapted from Spenserian themes and the legend of the *San Graal*: the *Britomart*, the *Una*, and the *Galahad*. He has significantly chosen, amongst his subject figures, the *Girl-knight*, as the enchanted mirror behind her discloses its magic fore-showings; the *Knight-maiden*, as he passes on his spiritual quest. For *Britomart*, though neither the great full-flowering lily beside her, nor the steel breast-plate on the floor near at hand, nor all the wisdom of the open book outspread before her eyes, will guard her Amazonian girlhood

from the love of womanhood to come, yet the shadow-knights of the enchanted glass ride on—for true eyes—for ever in strength and justice and loyalty. For Galahad—though the story of his young dying were untrue, though his youth, the fair, bright youth, with its grave rapture and eager aspiration, were fled; though in days to come the silver cord were loosened, and the grasshoppers become a burden, and the languid spring leaves of that chestnut-tree had faded and fallen for many an autumn; though his white shield were tarnished with long disuse and his armour rusted on the wall, though another Rider on a paler horse stood at the gate—the San Graal would still shine with a great light, as of many sunbeams, amidst the fellowship of angels in the City of Sarras.

In these pictures there is a singular sadness, an overcast atmosphere of a world whose very aspirations imply a confession of the incompleteness of earthly happiness. Nowhere is the impression stronger than in the painting of those two lovers, the Red Cross Knight and Una. They ride together, he in his strength, she in that higher strength, her weakness, through a dim greenness of summer lands under a sky whose grey silver reflects faint luminous yellows from some lost sunlight gold. There is no colour to break the dull monotonies, save the red reins of the dun-black horse. Una, grey-robed, with her sad face and sunken eyelids, recalls, more than all else, old pictures of pale Madonnas in the flight to Egypt. She looks to the ground, the knight looks down to her, grave and silent. There is no gladness here; peace there is, as, even in the dusky flame-circuit of Hell, Francesca and Paolo in death-welded passion have found peace. But all love's gladness, all joy of man and womanhood, is lost in this cloistral companionship of soul with soul. Love is theirs, but—as in the words attached to the painting called 'Aspiration'—'they are standard-bearers 'sobered by the burden of life's responsibilities.' So too the dim colours of the 'Ophelia' reflect the sadnesses of earth; and all is summed up in the mournful gaze of the armoured figure, the pallid warrior-maid, looking forth into the darkness; the question she asks is asked of one and all, 'Watchman, what of the night?'

In the last group of subject pictures, symbolic images of purely abstract ideas, Mr. Watts's customary bent towards physical ideals of calm beauty, health and temperance, took shape in far greater brilliancy of colour and vigour of sentiment. The conceptions thus figuratively presented belong

equally to all ages, and whatever may be their comparative value with regard to others of his paintings they must be accepted as attesting above others his special position as the painter of Ideas.

He has imaged Time, Death, Judgement, Progress, Destiny, Love, Life, Oblivion, Humanity, the Angels of the Apocalypse, War, red-horsed, the bearer of the sword for Him who 'makes war for peace alone,' and who with upward gaze seeks inspiration before he strikes. He has painted the Victor-Rider with star-children for outriders; the sombre Rider of the black horse, ruthless and swift, the scales in his hand; and last, that pale scythe-wielder, Death with his sharp-spiked coronet, the wolf anear, Death 'the rider who breaks in youth.' And besides these the ancient trinity, 'Faith,'* 'Hope,'* and 'Charity,' the moral endowments of humanity, also its idolatries, vanity, greed and wealth; the wedding of the soul to 'Great Possession,'* 'The Dweller in the Innermost,'* with her emblems, the wings of aspiration and the arrows of conscience.

Each Figure follows out its own history in the several paintings where it appears. Time, 'poised in mid-air betwixt 'the orbs of day and night,' goes forth to condition human life. He is a son of day, strong in all the austerity of his ever-renewed youth. For him the past is not. Wide-eyed he gazes always before, and there is no looking backward. He is the Hour that tarries for no man, and whose relentless passage none can stay. Time is To-day, is the word of the painter. Yesterday has fallen from him as a discarded mantle, and To-morrow is unborn. Thus he comes, in the great fresco-like picture, bringing with him for companion Oblivion, her with whom 'there is no remembrance 'of former things, neither shall there be any remembrance 'of things that are to come with those that shall come after;' her whom, considering how valueless are the memories most men leave behind them, we may surely hold a friend at need. 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all 'thy might,' is the inscription written above these two figures, 'for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, 'in the grave whither thou goest.' And equally surely in our ears rings the cry of the revellers, as he who saw vanity under the sun heard them crying in the streetway: 'Let 'no flower of the spring pass by us. Let us crown ourselves 'with roses before they be withered,' for the day passes, and

* Tate Gallery.

the night. For every man his hour—the hour that ends ; for the children of joy as for the children of sorrow, for him who labours and for him who feasts, there is nor pleasure nor work in the grave whither both are going, nor is there any backward road, nor in that war is there any discharge ; what has been has been, and will be never more again. ‘ Weigh me the weight of the fire, or measure me ‘ the blast of the wind, or, call me again the day that is past ’ saith the preacher.

Time is once more represented in the often repeated design, ‘ Time, Death, and Judgement.’* On these paintings the painter has lavished all the glories of his palette, with the splendour of dark jewels in half-lights, or the glow of painted windows at sunset in the dusk of a grey cathedral. ‘ The Greeks represent Kronos (or Time) as a very aged ‘ man,’ wrote William Blake, the greatest, among artists, of visionaries. ‘ This is a fable, but the real vision of ‘ Time is an eternal youth. I have, however,’ he adds, ‘ somewhat accommodated my figure of Time to the common ‘ opinion, as I myself am almost infected with it and my ‘ vision is infected, and I see Time aged—alas ! too much so.’† No such contagion has dimmed the sight of the later artist. For him Time has the morning in his eyes and the whole strength of the noonday in his limbs. He has the energy of the Reaper who does not hold in vain the scythe his right hand grasps, the vigour of the vine-dresser when the day of the ripening of the grapes has come. For here it is in relation to Death Time is portrayed. He is Death’s bridegroom, and his bride ‡ with her twilight face and bowed head, with the red roses of summer, and youth, and love, and joy of love, the blossoms her pale hands have gathered, caught in the folds of her grey raiment, is—in all her dim beauty—Death herself. And above and behind these two is ‘ he who follows ’ both, he who adjusts the balance with an equal hand, the scales whose weights are always just, ‘ a just weight and balance are the Lord’s ; ’ he who holds the sword of truth and on whose brow burns the flame of righteousness. Oblivion is not effacement. In the kingdom of death are many mansions, and howsoever fast a man may fly, the Rider on the Black Horse—first painted of all the Angels of the Apocalypse—will overtake him in the race.

* Tate Gallery.

† Gilchrist, *Life of William Blake*,

‡ Tate Gallery version.

Then comes the end of the story. More than any other the Figure of Death would seem to have become the pre-occupation of Mr. Watts's art. Heretofore in pictorial art death had presented itself mainly in its effects and accompaniments. In countless Crucifixions, Pietàs and martyrdoms, in battle-scenes, or again of late in hospital ward and ambulance, we see the dying and look on the dead. Death truly is the chief factor, but it is a factor off the stage. In the guise of an impersonation it has indeed been encharioted with the figures of Chastity, Love, Time and many another, in the processional Triumphs depicted by Italian art, moving with stately splendour down thronged highways and streets decorated for the high pageant of royal entries. But apart from these effigies, so far as Death was imaged in popular imagination, Western Europe set aside the suggestive metaphors of her sacred books, the Reaper, the Angel, the Sleep-giver, and adopted in their stead the crude emblem of the skeleton king, the grim materialistic sensationalism of the Danse Macabre or the grotesque shrouded Terror of old Moralities, as the semblance of the Force which rules man's exit from the land of life. In the wider range of literature, other conceptions, it is true, abound. Love itself has not a more fairly blazoned psaltery than is contained in the pages of the world's great book of pity and death. Moreover, those pages are illuminated with a tenderness and passion which, had Death not been, creation had sought in vain through all its eternities of invulnerable immortality. Dirges, monodies, death-scenes, lyrics and dramas, and, in another art, the *funérailles*, requiems and death-songs, have been, so far as ideal beauty is concerned, in another sense than those Renaissance panels *Trionfi della Morte*. Yet, as a general rule, it is the Death-sentiment in sadness, despair, compassion, that poets have sung, and nowhere is the sentiment so overladen with the old horror than in the death-dramas Maeterlinck has charged with the atmosphere of that invisible, inaudible, immaterial presence, whose entrances and exits are as distinctly indicated as those of any other of the *dramatis personæ*. The physical repulsion moral allegorists wedded to the sense of sin and the menace of hell is exchanged—in the region of secular emotionalism—for a phantasmal fear wedded to a sense of the irremediable malady of living.

To create a symbol, a new symbol, adequate esthetically and ethically, for the expression in Art of his conception of Death, to displace all associations of past grotesques, the

memento mori of skull and shroud by an ideal of beauty; to substitute for the Danse Macabre a Hymn of Peace, for the notes of sombre and mournful acquiescence, of impotent rebellion and unavailing protest, the calm formula of a great mystery, was Mr. Watts's deliberate purpose. True on the pale horse Death passes with the menace of the wrath of God, but it is a solitary image of a single aspect of Death's visitation. As the Bride of Time we have seen her face and know that it is fair. Veiled in the grey raiment of that neutrality of all neutralities, Fate, she crosses the threshold of the open door, barred by Love's broken wing.* But it is as the nurse of immortality's infancies that she has entered the shut chamber, where, her finger touching the dead man's arm, she, the Messenger of Peace, holds his soul, the child of that new birth of dying, to her breast.† 'O Death, acceptable is thy sentence unto the needy and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age and is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth,' the very words of the Son of Sirach seem to find their response in this quiet death scene. In another picture‡ a dead child rests upon her knee; the soft-hued oval of her wings—the dim tints suggest some human bird of night—frame her bent head, proclaiming her angelhood, as the caressing hand announces her motherhood. Once more the illusion of her actual presence is felt, tranquil as the very plenitude of tranquillity, in the death picture§ where she is unseen. The shrouded form rests on the lonely bier; not a feather of those peacock plumes strewn, purple, green, and blue, upon the floor, stirs at her passing, not a petal of those fallen petals is swept by the hem of her trailing robes; the quietude of the untenanted place, filled with tokens of life's lost handiwork, its joys, labours, and companionships, is accentuated to the extreme, and we know that the sleeper sleeps the sleep of an eternal rest. And last Death sits on high,|| enthroned—Queen Death—receiving the great surrenders of life, the sword of man, the heart of woman, the youth of the young; the cripple brings to her his staff, and old age its weariness, and infancy its trust, the beggar his hunger, and the oppressed his wrongs. It is the Court of Death, but a Court which might serve as antechamber to a Palace of Life.

* 'Love and Death'—Tate Gallery.

† 'The Messenger of Peace'—Tate Gallery.

‡ 'Death crowning Innocence'—Tate Gallery.

§ 'Sic Transit'—Tate Gallery.

|| 'The Court of Death'—Tate Gallery.

And Death herself, although a queen, must die. Love is stronger than Death, and in 'Love Triumphant'* the final scene of the drama of Abstract Idea closes. Love, as ever, in a vesture dipped in blood—his own—rises radiantly victorious, his wings uplifted against a luminous cloud. Time and his grey Bride, hand touching hand, lie prostrate, outstretched in death upon the shadowed earth beneath Love's feet; Time who was his enemy, Death who was his rival, are slain. It is the Gloria in excelsis of his glad Ascension.

Such is the law and the gospel of these paintings. Love is Humanity's steersman,† Love is Life's guide,‡ and the All-pervading Spirit,§ on whose knee is the globe of the Universe, is the Divine Motherhood, Wisdom, of whom it is written: 'I dwell in high places, and my throne is 'a cloudy pillar. I alone compassed the circuit of heaven 'and walked in the bottom of the deep. I am the Mother of 'fair Love. I, therefore, being eternal, am given to all my 'children.' And in the atmosphere, serene and serious, of these pictures, with their continuous enunciation of thoughts which, if thinking be of any avail, tend towards high endeavours, manhood, patience, and the oblation of ignoble instincts, the passer-by of life's street may look through an open doorway into a tranquil house of peace. He may not dwell therein, he may not perhaps so much as cross the threshold, but for a moment the dust-cloud of the spirit is laid, and he will carry away a memory of clear spaces, sunlit or twilight, of the soul's true vision and the heart's far-off destiny. And one may well believe that those who seek in his painting that which is of painting, no less than those who seek in his art that which is thought, will alike find that in his life-works—to borrow the eloquent sentence of a reverent critic of another day—'es flammt 'ein wenig brennendes Lebensöhl welches nie vor unsern 'Augen verlischt.'

* Tate Gallery.

† 'Love steering the Boat of Humanity.'

‡ 'Love and Life'—Tate Gallery.

§ Tate Gallery,

ART. III.—A MODERN UTOPIA.

1. *The Republic of Plato*. Translated into English by JOHN LLEWELYN DAVIES and DAVID JAMES VAUGHAN. Cambridge: Macmillan. 1852.
2. *Utopia*. By SIR THOMAS MORE. Louvain, 1516. Translated into English by Ralph Robinson. London: Vele. 1551: and reprinted by Edward Arber, F.S.A. London: Southgate. 1859.
3. *New Atlantis*. By FRANCIS BACON, Viscount St. Albans. London, 1627. Reprinted by J. A. Saint John. London. 1836.
4. *Civitas Solis*. By TOMMASO CAMPANELLA. Frankfort, 1623. Translated into English by Thomas W. Halliday. London: Routledge. 1885.
5. *Oceana*. By JAMES HARRINGTON. London. 1656.
6. *Voyage en Icarie*. By ETIENNE CABET. Paris. 1840.
7. *Looking Backward*. By EDWARD BELLAMY. Boston (Mass.) 1888. London: Reeves. 1889.
8. *News from Nowhere*. By WILLIAM MORRIS. Boston (Mass.) 1890. London: Reeves. 1891 [1890].
9. *A Traveller from Altruria*. By WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS. Edinburgh: Douglas. 1894.
10. *Anticipations*. By H. G. WELLS. London: Chapman & Hall. 1902 [1901].
11. *The Discovery of the Future*. By H. G. WELLS. London: Unwin. 1902.
12. *Mankind in the Making*. By H. G. WELLS. London: Chapman & Hall. 1903.
13. *A Modern Utopia*. By H. G. WELLS. London: Chapman & Hall. 1905.

IT was said by a wit no longer among us, that our maps of the world are of little use, for they all omit the country of Utopia, where Humanity is for ever landing. Certainly that voyage has been often made, and crowds have listened eagerly to every tale of it; but there are always many of the contrary opinion. In Utopia there is generally too much poetry for the practical man, and too much prose for the poetically minded. Women are apt to find there much that is tedious, and some notions that are

intolerably masculine. In a woman's ideal city there will never be anyone to propose a community of nurseries; the town clerk may, perhaps, order the universal dinner, the medical officer may conceivably design the statutory dress; but any attempt by the local authority to take over all children from the month will certainly be resisted at the barricades.

Alone then, as a rule, the male traveller embarks for these islands; and though he too finds difficulties and disappointments in plenty, yet he is more than compensated by the hopefulness he learns there, and by the intimacy of those who conduct him with so much courage and so endearing a simplicity. For all the great explorers of Utopia have had the charm of earnestness; they write in many styles, not always of the best; they are sometimes prolix, sometimes unduly brief; one is dull and another witty; but they are all alike self-forgetful and intent upon the matter in hand. It is a great matter too; their faith is involved, and in the service of the cause, as they conceive it, they have acquired something of the highmindedness of the Utopians, something of the manners of the future.

It is greatly to be hoped that this may be as true in coming times as in the past; for however thoroughly we may have explored the world as it is, there can never be an end of voyaging in the world as it is to be. In every new generation, that is, in every generation of thought, man will need a fresh Utopia. In our own time no less than three notable ones have been discovered; two of them almost simultaneously, by Edward Bellamy and William Morris. The last of the three was described by Mr. W. D. Howells, more than ten years ago, and we have the 'Wanderlust' upon us again. But in these ten years we have grown a good deal, and it is no narrow island, no hurried visit, that will satisfy us now. Happily Mr. Wells, who offers to conduct us, is aware of this; he promises nothing less than a new world, and he is prepared to spend more time and trouble upon the journey than any guide since Plato.

Let us say at once that we are glad to have fallen into such good hands. Mr. Wells has all the necessary qualifications for his task, though he cannot be said to have them all in the same degree; he falls short of one of his predecessors in this excellence, and of another in that, yet in some respects he is undoubtedly first, and in none does he fail so completely as each of them has somewhere failed. In the logical completeness of his survey he easily surpasses

them all, including the Athenian father of the rest. In other respects he is as good a Platonist as need be; he could not be more severe with Aristotle if he had been a Balliol scholar and kept his diary in Greek. It is clear that by some, at any rate, the 'most pellucid air' of antiquity may be effectively breathed in a translation, and we hope Mr. Wells's example will be widely followed. From Plato he has borrowed some notable ideas, including the institution of a ruling class of 'Guardians;' but it must be added that even in this borrowing he has shown marked originality, and that he rather resembles than follows his greatest master in the width and clearness of his view and the fervour of his intellectual temperament. As a writer of English he lacks the certain touch of More or of Morris, and he is not studious to charm the ear; he has nothing like the memorable quaintness of Bacon or the ordered eloquence of Harrington. But he is superior to the rest, and as his style is the true child of himself and his subject, and is still of an age to learn, he may yet rival those whom he will certainly never imitate. He does not attempt, like Cabet and Bellamy, to carve an elaborate frame of narrative for his theories; but he surpasses all his predecessors except Plato in the ingenuity with which he contrives to throw upon his work the changing light of different personalities. If he knows little of the artistic passion which gave us 'News from Nowhere,' he has another quality in which Morris was deficient, a sly humour worthy at times of the author of 'Utopia' himself; a 'wittie subtiltie' for those who think with him, and here and there in a footnote 'a privie 'nippe for them that do otherwise.' It is a pity that he has not More's freedom from professional bias or class prejudice, but he has much of Bacon's fervent belief in science and its effect on human life, with some of Mr. Howells's deeper enthusiasm for experiment in service and self-sacrifice.

Above all—and this is a point of much interest to us, though possibly of very little to himself—Mr. Wells is a pure-brained Anglo-Saxon, an Englishman from the bottom of his soul to the tip of his pen. Even when he is rebuking us for our shortcomings he is often himself exemplifying one or another of our most evident foibles. Artistic feeling is only too likely to be classed by him with undesirable weaknesses; and while he proclaims somewhat positively that 'the formulæ and organisation' of Protestantism 'wax 'old like a garment' he himself reproduces all 'that moral 'austerity—that touch of contempt for the unsubstantial

'æsthetic' by which it has 'played a noble part in the history of the world ;' so that rulers must be forbidden 'the religion of dramatically lit altars, organ music, and incense,' as indulgences too dangerous even in a social order which allows 'group-marriages' and all kinds of terminable unions. Other inborn prejudices there are which Mr. Wells has creditably subdued, though they were confessedly part of his inheritance; he has but lately schooled himself to bear the idea of equal fellowship with the black and yellow races in the world of the future; he is still intolerant nearer home, and would take a short way with the whole of the idle, drunken and criminal classes. He has, in fact, all our national Puritanism; his noble rulers are to be as athletic as the Alpine Club and more ascetic than John Milton, for they will do their annual climbing without guides, and as for the delights of wine and other 'small pleasures' they must spare to interpose them altogether. War Mr. Wells intends mankind to do without; but it is only three years ago that he took a very healthy and intelligent interest in it, and there remains in his fine conception of the 'Samurai' or Governing Order a striking survival of the chivalrous spirit of our ancestors. We have said enough to show that a typical combination of stern common sense and glowing idealism, of an exacting love of truth and a profound religious instinct, gives at least a fair prospect to those who are willing to embark with him; from Sir Thomas More downward, men of English blood have excelled all others as Utopists, and they have done so in virtue of the character and traditions which Mr. Wells possesses in common with them.

In one respect, however, he stands entirely apart. He is not only of our race but of our generation, the age of science, patient, tentative, and universal. It was by no sudden and confident descent that he reached Utopia, but only at the fourth attempt. We should lose much if we took no account of his preliminary voyages. These began in 1902 with the publication of his volume of 'Anticipations,' an original and very interesting forecast of probable developments during the coming century. He begins by dissociating himself, upon the first page, from those whose object or method has been to declaim against tendencies rather than to observe them. He avoids the form of fiction and resists 'the provocation of the satirical opportunity'—except on one occasion, when he relapses so far as to caricature Mr. Gladstone and another present-day statesman. On the whole, however, he is true to his resolution and to his character

of Utopist-in-the-making; for satires are not ideals, and even Butler's 'Erewhon,' even the matchless 'Travels of 'Gulliver,' cannot claim a place among Utopias. The 'Anticipations' begin characteristically with a chapter on Locomotion in the Twentieth Century. Railways, improved railways, elevated railways, railways without rails, motor cars and more motor cars, motor cars for the million, motor cars on 'specialised high-speed roads' with guide-rails—a discourse on these, with a footnote on 'the coming invention 'of flying,' could not fail to captivate an English audience at the outset. These things are, however, as the author says, only the background and the fittings—the scene before the play. The play itself begins when we come to trace the results of all this more rapid and easy locomotion. 'The 'general distribution of population in a country must always 'be directly dependent on transport facilities.' And again, 'the determining factor in the appearance of great cities 'in the past, and indeed up to the present day, has been 'the meeting of two or more transit lines, the confluence of 'two or more streams of trade, and easy communication.' These are facts, and old facts, but when Mr. Wells touches them they become premisses, causes, fertile seeds of change. The centripetal influences which have made every great town into a kind of irresistible whirlpool are now about to lose their power; the tendency is towards centrifugal movement and the segregation of groups, drawn together by similarity of beliefs and tastes, and by antipathy, it might be added, to other groups with other beliefs and tastes. So there will be in an England which Mr. Wells draws with some picturesqueness, cottage suburbs, villa suburbs, manorial suburbs, smart, smug, gardening, golfing, racing and rowing suburbs, specialised beyond our present experience and dotted all over the country between the cathedral towns and other old centres. Little is said of segregation on the deeper grounds; but we gather that the Protestant will no longer sit down with the priest, nor the young Radical play tennis with the Primrose Dame; only birds of the same feather will be found roosting in the same tree. 'Certain 'Social Reactions' will result. One of the new classes which are fast superseding the old order of 'gentle and simple' is the 'shareholding class,' a body of irresponsible independent and wealthy people, who feel the urgency of no exertion the pressure of no specific positive duties. It is a class by nature unfitted for co-operative defensive action, but in default of some modifying social force it is certain, Mr. Wells

thinks, to be still present a hundred years hence. He is temperate in his account of it, but he finds eventually, when he reaches Utopia, that he can no longer tolerate the inheritance of 'safe investments.' The vices of a shareholding class must include the hampering of honesty and originality in the arts, of which it is the sole patron, and the deterioration of women's ideals by the prizes which it is able to offer to the more adventurous among them. For our comfort we are at the same time promised the growth and eventual cohesion of a new class of 'educated and 'intelligent efficient': a most important element, since it will spring up partly from among the shareholders themselves and will supply the only force capable of imposing any vital change upon the social mechanism. One of these changes must be the prevention of the multiplication of the Unfit, the removal of the present class of unemployed and unemployable. Our old social order, in Mr. Wells's view, has now melted and mingled into 'a vast intricate confusion 'of different sorts of people, some sailing about upon floating 'masses of irresponsible property, some buoyed by smaller 'fragments, some clinging desperately enough to insignificant 'atoms, a great and varied multitude swimming successfully 'without aid, or with an amount of aid that is negligible in 'relation to their own efforts, and an equally varied multitude 'of less capable ones clinging to the swimmers, clinging to 'the floating rich, or clutching empty-handed and thrust and 'sinking down ;' and this will soon be the typical aspect of all civilised societies. The description is a much juster and more subtle one than Mr. Bellamy's well-known picture of the coach on which the fortunate travellers who have for the time secured seats are dragged along, callous, remorseful, or apprehensive, by the envious and miserable poor. It gives the economic aspect of a process which Mr. Wells sees to be going on in every direction, 'a world-wide process of 'social and moral deliquescence.' He wastes no time in lamenting it; it is producing at present a variety of types and ideals so mingled that they give, as mingled colours do, a general effect of greyiness—'the Government of the Grey' is Mr. Wells's phrase for Democracy, which he criticises from the standpoint of one to whom it represents 'the mere 'emptiness and disorder of the general mind.' But the outcome of it all will be, he thinks, a birth of power; not a one-man power, but 'the steady developement of a new and 'quite unprecedented educated class as a necessary aspect of 'the expansion of science and mechanism;' a class com-

posed apparently to a large extent of doctors and engineers, scientific and disciplined people capable first of conducting modern war, and finally, at some more distant period, of bringing about 'the Larger Synthesis'—the establishment of one World-State at peace within itself. In this part of his discourse Mr. Wells shows an interest in war and foreign relations, and a grasp of both subjects, which are typical of the greatest political nation in Europe, and amusingly out of key with the ideal state on the high road to which they are conducting us. He concludes with a chapter on the 'Faith, Morals, and Public Policy of the New Republic.' It is more positive than final; but speculation so courageous and well mannered can bring no shame to its author even when he has outgrown a good deal of it. 'Quite inevitably,' says Mr. Wells, and this opinion he retains, 'the pre-dominant men of the new time will be religious men.' But he uses the word in a strict sense of his own. 'Being themselves, as by the nature of the forces that have selected them they will certainly be, men of will and purpose, they will be disposed to find, and consequently they will find, an effect of purpose in the totality of things.' They will take a share in the eternal process, and aim at harmony with the universal will; for any further or more intimate seeking after God Mr. Wells has nothing but stern reproof. He has not yet applied his scientific methods to an inquiry into the facts of religious experience, though he has thought enough on such matters to be reasonably dissatisfied with Christianity as it is often preached. His forecast of morals is even less orthodox. The men of the New Republic will favour 'the modest suicide of incurably melancholy or diseased or helpless persons'; they will extend the use of capital punishment—by narcotics—and they will regard the sexual relation as no more sacramental than a game of golf, with which, if we dissociate it from questions of offspring, it is 'entirely on all fours.' For the Unfit they will have 'little pity and less benevolence.' And the coloured races, 'who do not come into the new needs of efficiency?' 'Well, the world is a world, not a charitable institution, and . . . they will have to go.' On the other side it must be admitted that the new moral sanction—the welfare of the coming race—is evidently to Mr. Wells as binding as any known to influence men; and if the religion he anticipates is vague and impersonal it is none the less a pure and inspiring one. 'By faith we disbelieve' is its watchword, and the world has long needed such a battle-cry against the superstitious and the persecutor.

This brief sketch can give no idea of the unflagging interest and originality of 'Anticipations;' it passes over many stimulating topics on which the author shows that if his views are novel it is not for lack of reading; indeed, width rather than depth is his quality. What we have noted are certain milestones on the road which we must take if we are to arrive at an understanding of Mr. Wells or his Utopia. We go beyond them as he has gone beyond them. The book, he says himself, 'would stand a vast amount of controversial footnoting . . . it is written to 'provoke.' He reminds us here of Harrington's saying that 'Truth is a spark to which objections are like bellows;' and conveniently forgets his own first page where he told us that 'Necessarily diffidence will be one of the graces of 'the performance.' But if there is not diffidence, there are other graces, seriousness and courtesy; forgotten once, when public schools and headmasters are glanced at; but here Mr. Wells draws from a long inexperience and speaks more in anger than in earnest. The book as a whole is remarkable for its combined frankness and freedom from offence. We leave it with an impression of the author as a pleasant and stimulating companion possessed by two main ideas: a preference for the future over the past as a source of inspiration, and a belief that human character is mainly the product of environment. When we meet him again, however his mental physiognomy may have changed, we may be sure of recognising these two features at least: they are the eyes through which he looks out upon the world.

We do, in fact, find them again in his two succeeding books. The first of these, 'The Discovery of the Future,' was originally delivered as a lecture, and might be still more appropriately described as a sermon, for it is pitched in the key of faith, and is more eloquent than convincing. It begins by distinguishing two divergent types of mind: the retrospective, legal, or submissive type, which 'interprets 'the things of the present, and gives value to this and 'denies it to that, entirely with relation to the past;' and the constructive, legislative, creative, organising or masterful type, which sees the world as one great workshop and the present as 'no more than material for the future.' The reason why the former is and has always been the predominant type is obvious. 'All people believe the past is 'certain, defined, and knowable, and only a few people 'believe that it is possible to know anything about the 'future.' This however is, in Mr. Wells's view, only the

belief of 'a mind without an imagination trained in scientific 'habits of thought;' as one assimilates the broad conceptions of science one becomes persuaded 'that the adequacy 'of causation is universal,' that the future, being in reality just as fixed and inevitable as the past, is also 'just as 'possible a matter of knowledge.' What we know of the past is derived from three sources: records of personal memory—a small and not entirely trustworthy class; records of history and tradition—a larger but less trustworthy class; records of the non-historical, geological or astronomical past—scantier, but wider in range and generally admitted to be beyond question. This non-historical past has come to us through 'a new and keener habit of inquiry and no 'sort of revelation;' it may be fitly named the 'Inductive 'Past.' If, then, we spend an equal amount of labour upon the search for operating causes, we may be able to throw a searchlight of inference forward instead of backward, and attain a knowledge of the Inductive Future 'as clear, as 'universally convincing and infinitely more important.' Man, with his conscious and incalculable will, seems to introduce an uncertain element; but even man 'works out' if taken in the mass. Heroes and hero-worship do not exist for Mr. Wells: he believes that 'if Julius Cæsar, 'Napoleon, Edward IV., William the Conqueror, Lord 'Rosebery, and Robert Burns had all been changed at birth, 'it would not have produced any serious dislocation of the 'course of Destiny.' Mr. Hardy in 'The Dynasts' has said much the same thing in a vast and sombre manner of his own. He showed us nations as antheps and navies as moths; but the great men he meant to take away he gave back to us in great literature. Mr. Wells, with his face towards the Inductive Future, perceives that 'man and all 'the world of men is no more than the present phase of a 'development so great and splendid that, beside this vision, 'epics jingle like nursery rhymes and all the exploits of 'Humanity shrivel to the proportion of castles in the sand.' Man—even the efficient man of the coming world-state—is not final; beyond him are the beings who will inhabit 'the 'uplands of the future . . . still more gracious and splendid 'than anything we can either hope or imagine.' This is the purpose of the Will, and we must work to further it.

Our interest and sympathy would not suffer us to interrupt Mr. Wells in such a vein; we dread and deprecate the merely conservative view of the past as strongly as he does. But the ordinary man may surely reply, without being 'legal'

or 'submissive,' that he is 'retrospective' because there is a real difference between our knowledge of the past and of the future. It is one thing to be given a result and trace it back to the main ancestral cause which it implies; it is quite another to take a cause and speculate on what progeny its line may produce in the distant future when the descent has been complicated by crossing with a thousand or a million other strains, most of them unforeseen. A man may know a good deal about his ancestors, but he cannot foretell his grandchildren's characteristics, even if he can guess who is to be his daughter-in-law, because he is not as intimate with her family history as with his own. To know all would be to foreknow all the rest; but the number of operating causes is infinite, and infinite knowledge is not to be had or co-ordinated even by scientific man. The field of astronomy—the most exact and positive of the sciences—is strewn with the wrecks of deflected planets and comets that never returned, or returned only as showers of meteorites. The past was at any rate once actual; the future remains largely hypothetical, and to the practical man a dead dog will always be more real than a hypothetical lion, and a fossilised fish more lifelike than a whole race of Inductive demigods. As for the masterful processes of constructive organisation and legislation, a man may be—we wish that all men were—as determined as Mr. Wells to improve on the past, but may still, whether for guidance or warning, prefer it to a possibility upon a possibility ten times removed.

There is a further consideration which helps to give the past 'its enormous predominance in our thoughts.' Among the possibilities of the future is always the possibility that there may be no future. Mr. Wells is desperately awake to this. He admits that he cannot show 'why certain things 'should not destroy and end the entire human race and 'story; why night should not come down and make all our 'dreams and efforts vain.' He rules out this possibility by an act of faith; 'it is not unreasonable that for fundamental 'beliefs we must go outside the sphere of reason and set 'our feet upon Faith.' But then the new sanction—the welfare of the future—is no more scientific than the old ones. We could no longer work—it is Mr. Wells who says it—in harmony with the Universal Will if that Will were possibly intending to blow Humanity out like the flame of a candle. The more scientific religion, however, would clearly be that which should accept all conceivable intentions of

the Universal Will, annihilation included; which should, in fact, aim at a state of harmony with God's nature rather than God's supposed purpose; and there is an end of the theology of 'Anticipations.' But the loss is no loss; Utopia, when we reach it, will be the more tolerant for this fiasco and less in peril of a 'reign of the Saints.'

This hope is realised at the very outset of Mr. Wells's next volume, 'Mankind in the Making,' a book which the author wishes to be regarded, together with the two preceding ones, as 'An Essay in Presentation.' What is presented is not a Utopia, but it is a series of contributions towards a Utopia. The first step is the proposal of a formula of citizenship, a bond of co-operative union, for the New Republic or transition state which has been germinating in Mr. Wells's mind. The formula is the one we have heard already; the New Republicans are those who desire and endeavour 'to leave the world better than they found it.' But this is no longer the sole definition and test of religion. We are to discuss practical measures, and it is now admitted that 'these questions appear to be on a different plane from religion and religious discussion; they look outward, while essentially religion looks inward to the soul; and given the necessary temperament, it is possible to approach them in an unbiassed manner from almost any starting point of religious profession.' This is a very different way of putting the case: if once our outward life is admitted to be only one-half of our being, no one can have any objection to accepting Mr. Wells's formula; 'practical' life has always been conducted upon a working hypothesis of some kind, and men of all creeds may well unite in adopting this one. Catholics or Calvinists, Positivists or Parsees, 'they may derive their ultimate motions and sanctions from the most various sources, they may worship in the most contrasted temples, and yet meet unanimously in the market place' with a belief that the human race is intended to continue and to raise itself, and with a desire to organise their political and social action on that basis. Mr. Wells, we observe, continues to speak here and there as if he, for his part, adopted the opinion that man's existence is limited to birth, reproduction, and death, that he is 'only the transitory guardian of an undying gift of life.' Some of us would omit the word 'only,' but we may all agree that too often personal religion has been 'an over-accentuation of man's egoistic individuality,' and we may even join in regretting that 'the whole literature the world produced, until the nineteenth

'century had well progressed, must needs be lacking in any 'definite and pervading sense of the cardinal importance in 'the world of this central reproductive aspect.' Our regret is tempered, however, by a reflection which has happily occurred to Mr. Wells too, that Love, the hero of the poetic arts, has for all his thoughtless egoistic babble been half consciously thinking from time immemorial of this same central aspect, and has seldom undervalued its importance. Moreover there is, by hypothesis, plenty of time for the poets of the New Republic. Mr. Meredith has already reminded us that we may regard not only our spiritual but our physical and social lives as faithful service in the march of Humanity, which like an army 'issues out of wilderness With battle 'plucking round its ragged flanks.' Others are following; but Mr. Wells must not insist on a too exclusive devotion of literature to this one subject, or we shall end in a sort of Darwinian militarism, and be flooded with Evolutionary Barrack-Room Ballads.

On the more practical side, what will be, from the common point of view, the main concern of our new society? 'Births and the training and preparation for future births,' says Mr. Wells, and he means it as Harrington would have meant it. "'Give us good men and they will make us good' "Laws," is the Maxim of a Demagog, and is (through the 'alteration which is commonly perceivable in men when they 'have power to work their wills) exceedingly fallible. But "'Give us good Orders and they will make us good men" is 'the Maxim of a Legislator, and the most infallible in the 'Politicks.' Mr. Wells is a Legislator to the backbone; perhaps a little too much of one at times, as for instance when he moves an adjournment to call attention to the monarchy in England. We are only too well aware of the shams and subserviencies, to say nothing of other evils, which often gather round kings, but there is another side to the question, and Mr. Wells with a curious want of penetration chooses just that side which is least vulnerable for his attack. To argue that such ceremonies as the Coronation Service are 'entirely irrelevant to the purpose and honour of our race' is merely to avow a personal blindness, to forget the true position of the monarchy as the historic symbol of national greatness and the central expression of national aspiration. Whatever those near the King may feel (and as to this we cannot accept Mr. Wells's 'private conversations' as evidence) the mass of the nation kneels to no man as man, but to the outward sign of memories and hopes that are

greater than themselves. In any case what base impulses there are among us would not be destroyed by abolishing the monarchy; nor indeed by handing over the peerage to be elected by special juries. These are mechanical devices for changing national character: constitution-pies too carefully kneaded and cooked. We are tempted to exclaim with a seventeenth-century critic, 'Who has taught you to cast away Passion, an't please you, like the Bran, and work up Reason as pure as the Flower of your Cake? Are you acquainted with the Author of Oceana, that has seen Foreign Countries, convers'd with the Speculativi, learn'd of the most Serene Lady *Venetia* to work with Bobbins, makes you a Magistracy like a Pippin Py, and sells Butter-prints with S.P.Q.R.? Have done, I say; will you vy that green in your Cheeks with the purple of the State? Come, when I live to see Machiavel in puff paste, a Commonwealth come out of a Bake-house, where Smocks were the Boulters, let me be a Mil-horse.'

But there remain two lines along which legislation may be pushed with hope of good results. Mr. Wells's proposals for improving the health and vital standard of children are admirable both for what they do and what they do not include. He would aim at a real economy, and a real 'equality of opportunity;' at giving every child born a fair chance of growing into 'a proud ambitious clean-handed and 'capable man.' On the other hand he meddles neither with such 'ugly superstitions' as the belief in hereditary drunkenness and crime, nor with such beautiful chimeras as the prize-dog theory of marriage; he answers Galton and annihilates Nordau. In the second and more important line he is even stronger. The beginnings of mind and language, families and social ideals, religious education, the cultivation of the imagination, the organisation of the higher education, thought in the modern state—these are dealt with in brilliant and suggestive chapters on which we have scarcely any criticism to pass. Mr. Wells turns a deaf ear to much present-day quacking and hissing: science teaching, he says frankly, is often 'a very undesirable encumbrance of the 'curriculum' because it does not open up 'the tremendous vistas and implications of modern science,' but has for its object the service of a hasty commercialism, and for its method 'an arid misuse of memory.' Thought, criticism, literature—'an abundant and almost universally influential 'contemporary literature'—these he takes for the true means of overcoming the isolation of men and classes and nations;

of securing that 'widening of the range of intercourse' which is education as he defines it. He underestimates the value of the classical languages for this purpose—they are something more than keys to a storehouse which has long been ransacked—but he is sound and eloquent on the one cardinal point. The thought of any community is its life; as its thought is weak or strong, collected or fragmentary, so must its life be. 'Though that community have cities, such as the world has never seen before, fleets and hosts and glories, though it count its soldiers by the army corps and its children by the million, yet if it hold not to the reality of thought and formulated will beneath these outward things, it will pass, and all its glories will pass, like smoke before the wind, like mist beneath the sun; it will become at last only one more vague and fading dream upon the scroll of time, a heap of mounds and pointless history, even as are Babylon and Nineveh.' A legislator with this belief will hardly be for long the victim of mechanical theories.

But now it is time to leave these forecasts of the world of to-morrow and set out on the long trail, the final voyage to Utopia. How will Mr. Wells convey his fellow-travellers there? By ship or submarine, automobile or aeroplane? We could not tell this secret if we would; no more subtle spiriting was ever done; you will look in vain through the tales of Mr. Wells's predecessors, and, indeed, through his own scientific romances, for anything like the ease and ingenuity with which you are transported to the planet 'out beyond Sirius, far in the deeps of space, beyond the flight of a cannon-ball flying for a billion years. . . . It is a planet like our planet, the same continents, the same islands, the same oceans and seas . . . even to the meanest pond weed or the remotest Alpine blossom.' The resemblance does not end there, but every man, woman, and child alive in our world has in the other a Utopian parallel: a brilliant postulate this, that seems to soar upwards with a swift, startling rush and scatter a train of glittering points above us. 'For example, we must assume that there is a man such as I might have been, better informed, better disciplined, better employed ["O wittie "head!" cries the ghost of More], thinner, and more active—and I wonder what he is doing!—and you, sir or madam, are in duplicate also, and all the men and women that you know and I.' There are few among those who think at all to whom the book of 'Might-have been; or 'How they met themselves,' would not be one of terrible

fascination. It is under this haunting spell that we pass down into Utopia by the Lake of Lucendro.

We go revolving many memories. Of our older friends, Bensalemites, Icarians, Altrurians, and the rest, we used to ask three questions; and not one of them ever answered all three to any purpose. What is the ideal State? All of them have spent their best endeavours on that; but, unless these visions are to be frankly mere cloud-commonwealths, too unsubstantial for the Western mind, too fanciful for men in earnest, there is no less urgent a necessity to answer the other two; how may your ideal be reached, and how maintained? Such inquiries are not curious or unreasonable; they try the city to its foundations; if these are not laid upon a rock theory of human life, and the walls bonded with a cement of tried coherence, the stability of the whole will be a dangerous illusion. Plato laughed, and demanded for his starting-point a miracle: somewhere philosophers must acquire the kingly power, or those who are now called kings and potentates must become imbued with a sufficient measure of genuine philosophy. Only so could The Republic be founded: the hope still seems, as it seemed to Glaucon, absurd enough to invite immediate attack from large numbers of assailants, throwing off their upper garments. Sir Thomas More, in his turn, after telling us that 'scholē 'philosophye in the consultations of Princes hath no place' and that 'you must not labour to dryve into their heades 'newe and strange informations whyche you knowe wel shal- 'be nothing regarded wyth them,' nevertheless goes on to relate gravely the coming of King Utopus, who by conquest 'broughte the rude and wild people to that excellent 'perfection wherein they nowe goe beyond all the people of 'the world.' New Atlantis, too, received its laws from Solamona, a king who 'had a large heart inscrutable for 'good, and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and 'people happy;' and its religion from a bible and a manuscript epistle, miraculously sent in an ark by the Apostle Bartholomew. Oceana was founded by a replica of Oliver Cromwell; Icaria by a *chef des revoltés* named Icar, who, after refusing the titles of Dictator and President, proposed and carried in a unanimous Constituent Assembly the institution of a communal society. The vote taken on this occasion was more critical than Cabet realised; for the world by then was leaving behind dictators and kings, and since his time all ideal republics, whether in Altruria, Boston, or Nowhere, have been finally established, after

violent struggles, by the simple process of wisdom going to the poll in overwhelming force. This sounds more plausible than Plato's combination of royalty and philosophy, only because we have not yet learned to distinguish between the great sedative power of the suffrage and its small initiative force. Mr. Wells is wiser: he realises the passivity of the many as clearly as the impotence of the old Parliamentary hand or the raging propagandist, and works his great regenerative movement by means of a new class of educated and determined men such as he has already foreshadowed. They rose, he says, under more favourable conditions than any known to us; for in the Utopian planet the seeds sown by the prophets and founders of great religions had fallen upon more fertile soil; wars had swept aside obstructions and centres of decay; prejudices had been tempered to an ordered criticism, and hatreds merged in tolerant reactions. They rose 'in the course of social and political troubles and complications analogous to those of our own time on earth,' but they had none of our 'hasty despair of specialisation for government,' or of 'that curious disregard of the fund of enthusiasm and self-sacrifice in men which is the fundamental weakness of worldly economics.' They knew that man's desire is to serve as well as to eat, and instead of wasting this fund of 'impersonal energy' upon religious and political misunderstandings and conflicts, and, we may add, upon chaotic charitable enterprises, they deliberately organised a society which organised the World State of Utopia. This society was, of course, a revolutionary one: it began, perhaps, with research and discussion of a Fabian character, but as it gathered strength 'it must have assumed a more militant organisation. . . . Traces of that militancy would therefore pervade it still, and a campaigning quality . . . still remain as its essential quality.' For such a body of men there was only one possible name: Mr. Wells has called them 'the Order of the "Samurai."'

When we have said that this outline of a process of world-reform is not completely incredible, we have said all that Mr. Wells can ask, and more than we could say of any other Utopian history. He comes even better out of a comparative inquiry into the permanent quality of different ideal States. Plato professed to believe that perfection once gained would be easily kept. 'If a State has once started well, it exhibits a kind of circular progress in its growth. Adherence to a good system of nurture and education creates good natures, and good natures, receiving the

‘assistance of a good education, grow still better than they were.’ Fortified by this amazing logic he demands from his Guardians, as their chief duty, a rigid conservatism, ‘the principle, I mean, which forbids any innovation, in either gymnastic or music, upon the established order, requiring it, on the contrary, to be most strictly maintained,’ for fear lest any novelty should creep in even in amusements or manners: the territorial growth of the State must also be restricted. Adeimantus might well protest that the enforcing of this *régime* would not make the Guardians ‘particularly happy:’ they could take no part in the ordinary pleasures or activities of men, but ‘appear to be posted in the city precisely like mercenary troops, wholly occupied in garrison duties.’ More’s Commonwealth, too, was gifted with a lightly assumed immortality; for, saying the chief causes of ambition and sedition, with other vices, be plucked up by the rootes and abandoned at home, there can be no jeopardie of domesticall dissention,’ and consequently no fear of foreign overthrow. Bacon’s King Solamona, in order ‘to give perpetuity to that which was in his own time so happily established,’ thought it only necessary to ordain ‘interdicts and prohibitions’ of the nature of a drastic Aliens Bill.

The remaining Utopists seem to have thought little of the question, with the single exception of Harrington, upon whom it naturally forced itself as one of the problems of that ‘balance’ which was for him the solution of all difficulties. Rejecting anything like Plato’s limitation of the size of his Republic, he says proudly of Oceana, ‘A Government of this make is a Commonwealth for Increase. Of those for Preservation, the Inconveniencies and Frailties have been shewn: their roots are narrow, such as do not run, have no Fibers, their Tops weak and dangerously exposed to the weather; except you chance to find one, as Venice, planted in a Flower-pot: and if she grows she grows top-heavy, and falls too. But you cannot plant an Oak in a Flower-pot: she must have Earth for her Root and Heaven for her Branches. “Imperium Oceano, famam quæ terminet astris.”’ He therefore provides for possible expansion, and puts into the mouth of his Archon this statement of the general principle on which he relies: ‘If there be a contradiction or inequality in your Commonwealth, it must fall: but if it has neither of them, it has no principle of mortality. Do not think me impudent: if this be truth I should commit a gross indiscretion in concealing it. Sure

‘I am that Machiavel is for the immortality of a Commonwealth upon far weaker principles. “If a Commonwealth,” says he, “were so happy as to be provided often with men, “that when she is swerving from her Principles, should “reduce her to her Institution, she would be immortal.”’ The chief ‘contradictions or inequalities’ feared by Harrington were political ones, and such as might arise from an inexpedient distribution of landed property: Mr. Wells’s survey is not only wider but deeper. He sees the life-history of states as an alternation of unstable liberalism with efficient conservatism; an antagonism, more or less unintentional, between the poietic or creative type of man and the kinetic, vigorous, and expansive. The first builds, the second develops: the statesman is followed by the politician, the original genius by the scholar: as its organisation becomes settled and efficient the State loses its poietic activity, its power of adaptation lessens, until through revolution or defeat there comes a fresh release of poietic force. The problem is to avoid these alternate collapses, to carry on poietic activity without a break, as the most important element in human society; but since it is insusceptible of organisation, to carry it on in the form of free, individual developement. This is to be achieved partly by leaving to every citizen, over and above the time spent by him in direct education or in earning the minimum wage, ‘a marginal free leisure with opportunities for developing ‘idiosyncracies:’ and partly by supplying incentives—honours and privileges for poietic men and women who distinguish themselves in science, invention, literature or other pursuits. Progress will always be going on; but it will neither be a barren ‘circular progress’ nor a progress along a number of unrelated lines; under the imperceptible outside pressure of the governing class it will rather resemble a spiral in its persistent and yet rhythmical onward movement.

Mr. Wells has expended a great deal of scientific analysis upon this theory; so much that he sees not only the possibilities but the difficulties of his own scheme. It contains what Harrington would call ‘a contradiction.’ The governing classes, in whom is vested all political power, who are the only administrators, lawyers, doctors and public officials, who furnish from one-half to nine-tenths of the legislative assembly and the whole of the electoral body, are practically all ‘efficients,’ men of the kinetic type, employed in kinetic activities. If their perpetual function of directing,

stimulating, and possibly restraining the activities of their more poetical fellows is to be discharged without too much friction and with the good result which is to save the State from decay, they must have at their command an insight and an intelligent sympathy of which we have on earth little experience. They may be as practical, as scientific, and as efficient as an English House of Commons, but they must measure the arts by some other standard than that which only places the painter above the poet because he does, after all, produce something real. This is no small difficulty, for it arises precisely out of the fundamental nature of the types into which Mr. Wells has so acutely divided his citizens: his kinetic men will in this matter of the arts have, for all their good intentions, more affinity with those other terrible classes of his, the Base and the Dull. They will themselves be never base, and seldom, perhaps, dull; but will they not be a little concrete in their view of progress, a little moral in their view of plastic art, apt to value literature for its content rather than its form, and to find in music nothing that is not mechanical? Does not Mr. Wells betray an uneasy consciousness of this difficulty when he assures us that though 'typically the "Samurai" are engaged in administrative work,' his own double, who is of course one of them, selects work which 'is in its nature poetical'? Mr. Wells of Utopia is employed in analysing the psychology of prison officials and criminals, in the interest of the latter, most of whom, it is to be feared, were born artists rather than legislators. He is, in fact, trying to run with the hare while professionally hunting with the hounds; and his remedy for the trouble we have suggested is that a hare who does not like being hunted can always become a hound. 'Any intelligent and efficient adult may become one of the "Samurai" and take a hand in the universal control.' We fear that there are but few among the really poetical who possess the completely ambidexterous nature exemplified by Mr. Wells of Utopia.

Let us consider for a moment what it is to become one of the 'Samurai.' We know all about them, for their creator, realising that they 'form the real body of the State,' that by them his world was built, and with them must stand or fall, has spent much care upon the statutes of the Order. 'The Rule consists of three parts: there is the list of things that qualify, the list of things that must not be done, and the list of things that must be done.' The candidate for the 'Samurai' must have passed a satisfactory examination at the end of his college course, to show not only his intelli-

gence but his self-control and steadiness of purpose. He must nominally possess a 'Technique'—the qualification for some profession; and he must have a satisfactory knowledge of the two 'Canons' which form the 'Book of the "Samurai." He must be at least twenty-five years old and in sound health and good training. His past is not inquired into; but for any breach of the Rule after once joining it the penalty is irrevocable expulsion. He may not lend money at interest, keep a hotel, sell drugs, act, sing, or recite (though he may 'lecture authoritatively'), he may not be a servant or keep one; he must shave, dress, and tend himself and no one else; he may not bet, gamble, play games in public or watch them being played; he must abjure wine and tobacco, and be chaste, though not celibate. 'A man under the Rule who 'loves a woman who does not follow it must either leave the "Samurai" to marry her, or induce her to accept what is called the Woman's Rule, which, while it excepts her from the severer qualifications and disciplines, brings her regimen of life into a working harmony with his.' (The Rule is 'never fussy,' but it insists on sumptuary laws for dress.) On the other hand, a woman 'Samurai' may marry outside the Rule, and a wife may join it without the husband doing so. This concession is valued, as we should expect, by 'men of great poetical distinction.' The children of these marriages tend to become 'Samurai' themselves, and so to form something of a hereditary class; but it is not a caste, for it is not exclusive, and constantly increases relatively to the total population. It may some day be co-extensive with mankind.

Lastly, the religion of the 'Samurai' is explained: 'the will and motives at the centre that made men and women ready to undergo . . . to renounce . . . to keep in the key of effort.' They start, somewhat unnecessarily, by repudiating the doctrine of Original Sin. They go on, reasonably enough, to assert that 'man, on the whole, is good.' He has pride and conscience, remorse and sorrow; he is inevitably religious. But the 'Samurai' allow no 'slovenly indulgence in religious inclinations'—a phrase which is fortunately explained as condemning 'failure to think hard and discriminate as fairly as possible in religious matters,' but unfortunately followed by a comparison of organ music and incense to 'the love of painted women or the consolations of brandy,' and of all creeds and formulæ to 'the early gratifications of young men, experiences to establish renunciation.' A little personal feeling has crept in here which has nothing to do with the 'Samurai.' They are essentially tolerant,

allowing every man his own religion, 'saturated with the 'philosophy of uniqueness;' they 'hold God to be complex 'and of an endless variety of aspects, to be expressed by no 'universal formula nor approved in any uniform manner;' 'a transcendental and mystical God' 'different in the 'measure of every man's individuality.' In private a 'Samurai' may feed his 'secret religious life' with music and books of devotion, in public he is said to worship only by joint work and effort. Here we are reminded of More's union of 'the life contemplative' and 'the life active,' but the older Utopia retained the use of churches and public worship: it had priests, (though 'of exceeding holiness and 'therefore very few'), and services where men might in dim and doubtful light gather together their cogitations, and where, though their creeds were sundry and manifold, they might 'agree together in the honour of the divine nature, as 'going divers ways to one end.' Instead of the dim church the 'Samurai' have a new and finely imagined provision for meditation: once in every year for seven days at a time each of them must go alone to 'the high and lonely places of the 'world;' quiet resolute exiles, they climb or sail or march in the wilderness, and commune with the emptiness and the elemental forces. So there remains always 'in the bearing 'and the faces of this Utopian chivalry, a faint persistent 'tinge of detachment from the immediate heats and hurries, 'the little graces and delights, the tensions and stimulations 'of the daily world.' 'It pleased me strangely,' says Mr. Wells, and it pleases us too, 'to think of this steadfast 'yearly pilgrimage of solitude, and how near men might 'come then to the high distances of God.'

When we have reached a full understanding of the 'Samurai' we have in reality come to an end of the modern Utopia: we have without a formal answer solved our remaining question, as to the constitution, machinery and customs of the ideal State. These will be just what the 'Samurai' choose to make them, and Mr. Wells has no more power than we have to dictate to his own mightier and wiser offspring. He may foretell, if he can, and we may believe, if we choose; but any attempt to dogmatise would only lead to abstract argument, and for that we have Plato already. Mr. Wells is quite aware of this; he knows that where the old Utopists built like children with a box of wooden bricks, he has been experimenting like an electrician, with eternal and immeasurable forces. The chapters, therefore, in which the Utopian life and institutions are touched upon are tentative,

suggestive and hypothetical rather than historical in form. Still they are well worth reading, and comparing with the older ideals, of which they supersede part, and part they repeat or recreate. Mr. Wells's World State owns all the land, the great local governments holding under it. It also owns all the sources of energy, develops and distributes water power, wind power, coal and electric power: maintains health, order, roads, cheap and rapid locomotion; conveys and distributes goods and labour; pays for and secures healthy births, subsidises literature and research. But where almost all Utopian States have led the way it will not follow: it stops short of absolute Communism. The individual has his freedoms and properties; he is not to be the slave of a bureaucracy, for it is for him that the State itself exists. But neither may he enslave his fellow-man: all servile and degrading labour is abolished; machinery and mechanical ingenuities make life equally easy for every one. The minimum wage is sufficient for a livelihood; education is free from beginning to end. Marriage regulations are lax as between the partners themselves, strict in so far as they affect the children to be born. But they are not based upon a superstitious terror of heredity, and where there is no disability they introduce the sound principle of rewarding maternity as a profession and a public service. It is strange that no one has worked out this idea since Bacon hinted at it in 'New Atlantis,' where 'they say the King is debtor 'to no man, but for the propagation of his subjects.' The Unfit are dealt with sternly by Mr. Wells's Utopians; and drunkards, thieves, cheats, violent criminals, and persons with transmissible diseases are cut off by 'a kind of social 'surgery' and segregated in islands of their own. We pause here for a moment and recall the milder folk of Nowhere. 'How could they look happy if they knew that 'their neighbours were shut up in prison, while they bore 'such things quietly?' How, indeed, would any Anglo-Saxon community submit to the transportation of their relatives, say for a seventh offence against sobriety? The question widens as we think of it: how far would they bow in general to the rule of these all-knowing, all-ordering, ever-present, hard, keen, remote, ascetic 'Samurai;' these Platonic Guardians in the white robe of the Knights Templars and the steel-and-leather caps of Cromwell's Ironsides? Would they not hate them as ill-conditioned lower boys hate the sixth-form monitors of an English Public School? 'Oderint dum metuant,' says Mr. Wells;

the Base and Dull may hate them as they hate their own conscience, but the heterogeneous inefficient cannot rise against the efficient class. They can, however, rise into it; there is no gulf between rulers and ruled; Utopia is, in fact, what England is in theory, a democracy governing itself through an open aristocracy.

The 'Samurai,' then, are Mr. Wells's contribution to our Utopian knowledge, our Inductive Future. Like his spiritual ancestors, Englishmen and Utopists before him, he has dreamed the dream of his generation. But he has done something more: he has preached a new crusade to a new chivalry. His book is not so much a traveller's tale as a call to action and a plan for the march; it can hardly be laid aside without an answer, yes or no. Shall we stand arguing irrelevant matters; debating the source of an undoubted impulse, questioning the power of legislation to make men virtuous, or of environment to change their inherited nature? On these points Mr. Wells may have overshot the mark; but the vital part of his proposal is that we should band ourselves deliberately to make the majority of men what only the small minority can be now. Then the right and reasonable thoughts which now fall dead among the stones will find fertile ground in almost every direction: so by changing not the quality but the quantity of the best opinion we shall obtain a real advance in the practice of life, as the wisest have long understood and desired it. A world-wide standard of efficiency, an army of the trained and disciplined, a brotherhood of devotion to the service of man, conceived as the offspring of an eternal purpose—is not our civilisation near a final decadence, if it is not to advance along some such line as this? And has not Mr. Wells made clearer the line of this advance, given its pioneers a memorable name, and summoned all men, without distinction, to join the new Order? Is it not time that 'we who are of the "Samurai" should know ourselves 'and each other'?

ART. IV.—MADAME DE STAËL AND NAPOLEON.

1. *Dix Années d'Exil*. Par Madame DE STAËL. Avec une introduction, des notes et un appendice par PAUL GAUTIER. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1904.
2. *Madame de Staël et Napoléon*. Par PAUL GAUTIER. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1903.
3. *Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany*. By HERBERT A. L. FISHER, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.
4. *Napoleonic Studies*. By J. H. ROSE. London: George Bell & Sons, 1904.
5. *Napoléon et l'Angleterre*. Par P. COQUELLE. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1904.
6. *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*. Par ALBERT SOREL. Vol. VIII. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1904.
7. *Paris sous Napoléon*. (*Consulat provisoire et Consulat à temps*.) Par L. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1905.

HOWEVER well acquainted men may be with the facts of history, they are not often intimate with its emotions. The interest in occurrences is not paralleled in strength or popularity by a corresponding interest in enthusiasms, and though some try in dealing with history to feel, as well as to think and see, that sympathy is always rare which can be fired by ideals long discarded and by faiths long dead. The French Revolution is for many minds but a catalogue of unsuccessful experiments in reform, and in the present day of disillusion it is difficult to realise with any adequate intensity the grandeur and sanctity of the ideals that lay behind that strange series of events. Now that hearts no longer beat with enthusiastic hope in the future of democracy; now that minds no longer expect the millennium in the enfranchisement of man, it is hard even to imagine the attitude of those revolutionary leaders who thought by their doctrines to bring about the kingdom of heaven upon earth. In France in the year 1789 men seemed as it were intoxicated with the thought of their own perfectibility, and blinded by the vision of their own apotheosis. It was as though an ecstasy had come upon the soul of the French nation, as though a voice had spoken from the clouds, bidding men to rise and make the great ascent towards perfection.

The Revolution began in no selfish scramble for possessions,

for its pioneers had their gaze riveted on nobler and less corruptible gains. The movement was in its inception spiritual; men were at first desirous, not of material rights, but of ideal rights; and it must be remembered that the axe was not, at the beginning, laid to the root of the ancient tree of Feudalism, under whose dim shadows the people had existed for so long. The nation that had sat in darkness had seen a great light, and though centuries of despotic years had made men unfit for democracy, yet they were eager with the eagerness of inspiration to rise and live according to the words that rang so grandly in the air, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity. The later rage for destruction and blood was born of disappointment, and the accounts left to us of the singular feasts of federation bear witness to the spirit in which the great resurrection was attempted. The first revolutionaries acted on the hypothesis that man was born good, and that it was only necessary to break down the conventional social barriers to let that goodness everywhere prevail. The pathetic love-feasts and dances of the 'fédérés,' in which Wordsworth took part as he journeyed down the Rhône, seemed almost to justify such an assumption. But when the moment of ecstasy was past, and the idealists found that their principles were not accepted by everyone, and that their hopes were by many considered vain, like the Inquisitors of Spain, they did not lose faith in their own tenets, but thought those who did not agree with them in mortal sin and worthy of death. Their hearts hardened, and they began to violate the liberty they preached. The oppression and cruelty of the second Revolution, which destroyed the Monarchy, but did not establish the Republic, remains a dire and discouraging monument to the betrayal of ideals in precipitate action.

After ten years a sudden end was put to all the theories and visions in which the Revolution had had its origin, no less than to the inefficient administration of the Directorate, by the man of marble—Bonaparte. Already, while commanding in Italy, the Corsican general had shown the home government that he was possessed of an independent and arbitrary temper; he pursued his own policy, and would submit to no dictation from his official superiors. During the first Italian campaign he became acutely conscious of his great personality; and he said of himself that every day he seemed to see before him new possibilities and new horizons. His imperious character made itself even more apparent in Egypt. There, in his contact with

the East, he lost all remnants of his earlier beliefs in the goodness of men. 'Savage man is but a dog' was his grim comment on experience. On his return to France from the Nile, he procured from the Ancients the promise of the military command in Paris, and to all outward appearance held himself aloof from political affairs. Indeed, up till the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, he kept silence in such matters, and seemed more interested in the mystery and worship of the Egyptian temples he had so lately left than in the anarchy in which his country was engulfed.

The state of France was at the time appalling to contemplate: the nearly impassable roads were infested with robbers, and the crumbling walls of the prisons offered no security against crime; the hospitals were hotbeds of disease, and, owing to lack of funds, many sick of various contagious diseases were turned loose on to the streets; agriculture was disorganised; elementary education hardly existed; the national credit was low. The condition of the capital itself has been summed up in a word by M. de Laborie: 'le délabrement.' Not a house was in repair, many in fact were in ruins; leaden roofs as well as panels and doors of wood had been removed and sold by the new acquirers of national property; the streets were dirty—not a few of them were no better than open sewers; it was not uncommon in the dawn to find dead bodies in the roadway; crimes of violence were made easy, for street-lighting was as much neglected as every other detail of municipal administration. The people passionately pursued amusement, and took but faint interest in political life. Insanity, owing to the unstable condition of affairs, had greatly increased, while the population of Paris had, in ten years, dwindled by about one hundred thousand souls.

Bonaparte was confronted by an intricate tangle of unadministered affairs. He realised that the orderly warp and woof of old French life was gone, and it is to his immense and lasting credit that he was able to discern in all the confusion of bankruptcy, agiotage, paganism and crime, strands of vigorous and sound quality, capable of being woven into a state that should have no equal in the world. The price to be paid for that consummation was liberty; the method by which it could be accomplished was absolutism. The new-found destiny of Bonaparte enshrined the disappointment in Europe of countless hopes and aspirations.

The difference between the Faith of 1789, in which the Revolution had its origin, and the Common Sense of 1800,

in which the Revolution had its end, is as wide as the space between stars and earth. The measure of that difference may be expressed in two terms, Madame de Staël and the First Consul. The war of words and deeds carried on by these opposed types from the Consulate to the capitulation of Paris is a study of captivating interest. It was far more than an enmity between two individuals: it was the conflict of two epochs of the Revolution: 1789 and 1800. Each protagonist was informed by a converse ambition and philosophy of life. Madame de Staël stood for Rousseauism, for faith in the innate goodness and perfectibility of man, for belief in liberty as the first condition of progress for humanity. Bonaparte contemptuously nicknamed her and those who agreed with her 'idéologues,' but with ready wit she called him 'idéophobe' and so had the best of the encounter. The First Consul, though he exploited the doctrine of individual rights to the last degree, was in himself the reaction against Rousseau's idealism, for he looked upon 'the human race as a *corpus vile* for the 'experiments of genius—a thing to be dazzled by glory, 'duped by statecraft, and kept tethered at its crib.'*

Madame de Staël kept a record of her struggle with Bonaparte; and for the first time after the lapse of nearly a hundred years the authentic text of her manuscript 'Dix 'Années d'Exil' has been given to the world. Reprints of the expurgated edition published in July 1821 appeared at intervals during the nineteenth century. In this old edition many indiscreet criticisms of Bonaparte and other public persons were suppressed by Baron de Staël, son of the authoress; but, even with these diplomatic deletions, it was not considered wise to publish the book until two months after Napoleon's death. Three copies of the manuscript exist at Château Coppet: one in Madame de Staël's handwriting (on which the new edition is founded); another in the handwriting of Miss Randall, English governess to Albertine de Staël; and a third, which, for fear the police should seize the other two, was entitled 'Extrait de 'Mémoires inédits du temps de la Reine Elisabeth en 'Angleterre. Tiré d'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque 'd'Édimbourg.' In this last copy, Napoleon sometimes figures as Charles II. and sometimes as Elizabeth; the Duc d'Enghien is Mary Stuart; Savary is Lord Kent; Schlegel is M. William; Necker is 'my wife.' The book was begun

* J. H. Rose, 'Napoleonic Studies,' p. 15.

in 1800, and broken off at M. Necker's death in 1804. It was resumed in 1810 under great provocation (the destruction of 'De l'Allemagne'), and stopped altogether on the writer's arrival in Sweden in 1812. No one knew when the book would see the light; it was merely written 'to remind 'the men of a future age how it was possible to suffer under 'the yoke of oppression.' M. Paul Gautier, who contributes an introduction to the authentic text now published, makes allowance for its bias by saying 'that the apologists for the 'Consulate and Empire have been so numerous that it is well 'for us to realise how, under much that was externally 'glorious, lay a moral poverty and debasement of character, 'which were the direct results of despotism.' The book represents a lively experience, and is not altogether, as some critics have suggested, the product of imaginative hate. Rather does it appear to be the eloquent cry of a suppressed party, great in the nobility of its ideas and sincere in its love for liberty. The broken record of exile has been supplemented by M. Gautier with a work containing a full, consecutive account of the relations between Madame de Staël and Napoleon. Without undue partisanship, and with unusual charm of style, the incomplete annals of the great authoress are in this volume made complete.

It has been the fashion to impute mean motives to Madame de Staël in her feud against Napoleon. Such an imputation seems barely justifiable. No doubt, as a woman, she was piqued by Napoleon's rudeness, but that was far from being the cause of her opposition. She was ever ready to sink personal considerations in her enthusiasm for morality and justice, and it is not easy to prove that she was an unworthy champion of the causes she espoused. Bitterly as she opposed the Napoleonic system of administration under the Consulate and Empire, she never seems to have hated Napoleon as a man. Indeed it is doubtful whether the early admiration which his colossal vitality and ability compelled in her was ever completely extinguished.

The opening words of 'Dix Années d'Exil' are not without nobility, and serve to explain her attitude of mind.

'Ce n'est point pour occuper le public de moi que j'ai résolu de raconter les circonstances de dix années d'exil; les malheurs que j'ai éprouvés, avec quelque amertume que je les aie sentis, sont si peu de chose au milieu des désastres publics dont nous sommes témoins, qu'on aurait honte de parler de soi, si les événements qui nous concernent n'étaient pas liés à la grande cause de l'humanité menacée. L'Empereur Napoléon, dont le caractère se montre tout entier dans chaque trait de

sa vie, m'a persécutée avec un soin minutieux, avec une activité toujours croissante, avec une rudesse inflexible ; et mes rapports avec lui ont servi à me le faire connaître, longtemps avant que l'Europe eût appris le mot de cette énigme, et lorsqu'elle se laissait dévorer par le sphinx, faute d'avoir su le deviner.'

Divergent as were the mature views of Madame de Staël and Napoleon, in early life their enthusiasms had been the same. Both had come under the influence, it might be almost called the domination, of Rousseau's ideas, which ideas towards the end of the eighteenth century laid hold, like some dæmonic force, of old and young, peasant and aristocrat alike. Young Bonaparte, like many of his contemporaries in Italy, Germany, and France, began life as a dreamer and sentimentalist who thought much of the sufferings of men and dwelt deeply on the problem of how to make happiness, which followers of Rousseau thought the goal of life, attainable for all. Like Werther, he admired the nebulous Ossian, and by the banks of the Nile read Madame de Staël's treatise '*De l'Influence des Passions*'* with interest. Garat called him 'a philosopher leading armies.' No one guessed how soon the philosophic mantle was to be exchanged for the mail of tyranny.

Both Bonaparte and Madame de Staël at different times visited the grave of that unworthy sage who had proved the inspirer of thousands, and on whose doctrines had been founded the new code of human liberty. The accounts of the two pilgrimages deserve consideration, if only as an illustration of two outlooks upon life. Stanislas de Girardin relates that Bonaparte, on his visit to the tomb of Rousseau, said, 'It would have been better for the repose of France that this man had never been born.' "Why, First Consul?" said I. "He prepared the French Revolution. I thought it was not for you to complain of the Revolution." "Well," he replied, "the future will show whether it would not have been better for the repose of the world that neither I nor Rousseau had existed."† In a conversation with Roederer, he once said: 'The more I read Voltaire, the more I like him; he is always reasonable, never a charlatan, never a fanatic: he is made for mature minds. . . . I have been especially disgusted with Rousseau since I have seen the East.'‡

* *De l'Influence des Passions sur le Bonheur des Individus et des Nations.*

† Quoted by J. H. Rose, in '*Life of Napoleon*,' p. 21.

‡ Conversation, January 11, 1803. *Œuvres de Roederer*, vol. iii. p. 461.

Madame de Staël's early enthusiasm suffered no similar change. To her Rousseau remained an inspiration. She describes a visit made in girlhood to the shrine at Ermenonville :

'His funeral urn is placed in an island; it is not unintentionally approached, and the religious sentiment which induces the traveller to cross the lake by which it is surrounded proves him to be worthy of carrying thither his offering. I strewed no flowers upon his melancholy tomb, but I contemplated it for a long time, my eyes suffused with tears: I quitted it in silence, and remained in the most profound meditation.' *

To show how entirely the Revolutionaries of the National Convention regarded Rousseau as their saviour, we have only to remember an oration made by Lakanal in that assembly begging the citizens to take the ashes of the great liberator out of their lonely grave, and inter them in the Panthéon. 'Honour in him the beneficent genius of 'humanity; honour the friend, the defender, the apostle of 'liberty; the promoter of the rights of man, the eloquent 'forerunner of this Revolution which you are asked to con- 'summate for the happiness of the nations.' † In response to this appeal, the reformer's remains were carried amid circumstance and veneration to the Panthéon, and his miserable Thérèse was granted an annuity out of the public funds. Not only was Rousseau their present saviour, he was also to be their future religion. It was not proposed that the Panthéon should for long contain the sacred relics. For some while it had been intended that a vast plantation of trees should be made round the Temple of Great Men, 'whose silent shade would enhance the religious sentiment 'of the place.' In this august wood a grove of poplars was to surround the monument to the author of 'Émile,' in remembrance of the earlier burial-place in the lake of Ermenonville, 'for that melancholy tree,' since it had stood sentinel at his dissolution, 'had become inseparable 'from the idea of his tomb.'

In 1799 Madame de Staël was but one out of the many lovers of progress who believed in Bonaparte as the hope of down-trodden humanity. Little did she guess that the campaign in Egypt, which had so fired her imagination, had cured him of any lingering belief in Rousseau's theories.

* Letters on Rousseau (English edition), p. 131.

† Rapport sur J. J. Rousseau, Lakanal à la Convention Nationale, 29 Fructidor, An II.

In Bonaparte she saw the man who was to put the seal to the magnificent promise of the early Revolution. Like the majority of people in Paris, she was ignorant of the opinions Bonaparte at the time held on men and politics. He was known only as a military genius, and not as a civil administrator. It was vaguely and popularly supposed that he, the child of the Revolution, would take his stand on its three great principles. All the hopes of all the friends of progress were, on this hypothesis, concentrated on him. He was to the Liberals of Europe at that moment as the day-star of hope. Against the horizon of the dawning nineteenth century, he stood illumined as a herald of better days and diviner deeds. At his feet, the patriot, the lover of progress, the searcher after truth, the poet, the philosopher, were ready to kneel, as they would never have knelt to any saint. His was the figure to whom the prayers of thousands went up as to a great deliverer: from Prussia, still iron-bound by the legacy of the Great Frederick; from the principalities of the Holy Roman Empire; from Italy, toiling under the Austrian yoke; from Greece, the fief of Turkey; from all who groaned under the old evils of military or feudal or ecclesiastical despotism. He was the genius who was to fulfil the heroic ideals of the Revolution, who was to become the missionary of the new freedom. This was the rôle for which many had cast him; this was the rôle he never accepted.

Perhaps none of those who assisted in the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire knew that they were founding an Empire. Bonaparte's speech before the Council of the Ancients on the day of his election to the Consulate was disarming. 'Citizens, the Republic was on the point of perishing: your decree has saved it. We will have the Republic. We will have it founded on genuine liberty, on the representative system.' And later he said once more to the Ancients: 'People talk of a new Cromwell, of a new Cæsar. Citizens, had I aimed at such a part it would have been easy for me to assume it on my return from Italy, in the moment of my most glorious triumph, when the army and the parties invited me to seize it. I aspired not to it then. I aspire not to it now.' With mild words he began his campaign against liberty. He himself proclaimed that his desire was 'to close the wounds of France.' There were to be no more scaffolds, and no more exiles; the churches were to be re-opened, and peace was to reign in the land. Dominical observance once more became

the recognised national practice, and the dull decadian festivals were forgotten in an access of new piety. Everyone was sick of theories and principles, and philosophers were blamed for all that had happened. Disillusion was the malady of the moment. Ideas were at a discount, and their domination considered hardly less galling than that of the old feudality. People were tired of a liberty which in practice meant anarchy, and of a brotherhood which had become the symbol of bankruptcy.

In crises, men are apt to choose the one rather than the multitude of councillors. Calvin was called upon to save Geneva: Cromwell to emancipate England. In 1799 Bonaparte was the necessary man for France. He alone could reconstruct the country from the ruins of her past. His polity approximated to that of the Catholic Church in so far as it endeavoured to introduce the outward husk and semblance of democracy and the reality of autocracy to his constitution. In proportion as his administration became more despotic, the hearts of the Liberals grew sick with hope deferred; their aspirations were choked; their dreams were dissipated. 'This very world which is the world of all of 'us' no longer held the revelation; the stars no longer visited the earth.

The First Consul brought men back to facts. For him the right of man meant the might of man, and in practice the might of one man. Ordinary people he believed to be in no way fit to govern themselves; the anarchic condition of France too abundantly demonstrated the futility of such a notion. He merely emphasised the unconscious opinion of many to whom it had long become evident that democracy was not the result of a divine afflatus, as some had preached; but that its realisation involved a laborious educational course, for which men were hardly at the time prepared to enter. Let the Liberals cherish what faith in humanity they pleased, Bonaparte himself was not under the pleasing delusion that man was ready for self-government. He believed that Rousseauism and romanticism made for bad government, and that absolutism was the ideal constitution. The administrative system of the Consulate is too familiar to be dwelt upon; the sum of it is that Bonaparte became the State. The liberty of the nation was in theory guaranteed by representation based on manhood suffrage. In practice the First Consul became a dictator. He was supported by a Council of State which formed the laws, which laws were accepted or

rejected by the Legislative Assembly, and amended and discussed by the Tribune. Both the Council and the Tribune sent three members to represent their views to the Legislative Assembly. Besides these three bodies, there was a Senate whose business was to 'maintain or annul all acts which are reported to it as unconstitutional by the Tribune or the Government.' The Senate, in the first instance selected by the Consuls (though later co-opting fresh members according to its own discretion), selected in its turn from lists presented by the electors, the members of the Tribune and of the Legislative Assembly. The presidents of the Cantonal Assemblies, who really controlled the electorate, were chosen by the First Consul from amongst candidates submitted from the cantons. This centralised method of administration made it comparatively easy for Bonaparte to impress his whole will upon the nation, and sternly to subordinate the welfare of the individual to the perfecting of the State-machine.

Soon after the beginning of the Consulate, Madame de Staël began to be agitated by doubts as to Bonaparte's love of liberty. Without waiting for decided acts of tyranny, she set herself in opposition to what she believed to be his tendency. He asked why she could not attach herself to his government, and wondered whether she wanted anything from him; possibly the money her father, M. Necker, had lent to the State, or perhaps a residence in Paris. He told her that she might have anything she wished, and was surprised to find that a woman could fight for an ideal. 'It does not matter what I "wish," but what I think,' she said, thus throwing down the challenge to the greatest of men. Her political mouthpiece, Benjamin Constant, made what stand he could against the introduction of absolutism, and in a great speech to the Tribunes reclaimed for their body the independence necessary for its usefulness, without which 'there would be nothing but slavery and silence, silence which the whole of Europe would hear.'* He appeared to hurl defiance at the First Consul, who was greatly incensed. As a consequence, the press attacked both Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant with violence. She was represented as the agent of an Orleanist and clerical conspiracy, and an article in the 'Peuple' ended in this conciliatory fashion: 'Ce n'est pas votre faute si vous êtes laide; mais c'est votre faute si vous êtes intrigante.'

* P. Gautier, 'Madame de Staël et Napoléon,' p. 28.

Not only the Jacobin, but also the Royalist press was ranged against her. They called her Curchodine (her mother's maiden name had been Curchod), and twitted her with running after glory and people in high positions; with writing on metaphysics, which she did not understand; on morality, which she did not practise; and on the virtues of her sex, which she did not possess. Undaunted by this attack and by the cold behaviour of those in society, who desired the favour of Bonaparte, she took up her pen and wrote a defence of theorists and philosophers, for though the First Consul was inclined to make liberty answerable for all the crimes committed in its name, she was able to distinguish the beauty of the pure ideal from its caricature in practical life. In '*De la Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les Institutions sociales*,' she made an act of faith, of inextinguishable faith, in the law of progress, in the Rousseau view of life, in the perfectibility of man. It was a magnificent effort, in which she traced the progress of the spirit of man from the days of Homer down to the year 1789. She confessed how in her pride she had regarded that momentous year 1789 as a new epoch for man, whereas she now feared that in sober reality it may have been nothing more than a 'terrible event.' Though ideals had disappeared in that red harvest of men, characters, sentiments, and ideas, she declared she could never believe that philosophy to be false which declares for the progress of the race. Life without such hope of future ennoblement would be but a vain and arid waste. Fontanes said that this book presented '*la chimère d'une perfection qu'on cherche maintenant à opposer à ce qui est.*'

Factions, jealousies, and class hatreds have often merged themselves in enthusiasm for a common national cause. A national enemy unites the conflicting interests of a country more securely than any constitution, however just. Bonaparte welcomed the idea of the Italian campaign in 1800, for it would, if successful, contribute to his firmer establishment, and glorify him in the eyes of the French people. On his way to Italy, he called at Coppet on M. Necker. Madame de Staël was greatly impressed on this occasion by his conversation and his personality, and could not understand her father's indifference to the great man. She watched with regret, during the lengthening spring evenings by the Lake of Geneva, the spectacle of the French troops advancing across the peaceful country towards the great St. Bernard Pass, and half wished that Napoleon might be

defeated, so that his growing tyranny should receive a check. However, after Marengo the victorious general, 'bruni par la gloire,' returned to Paris to receive the plaudits of the people, and Madame de Staël showed herself as anxious to see the popular hero as all the rest of the world.

The progress of absolutism became more rapid after this successful Italian campaign, for the process known as the 'sénatus-consulte' was grafted on to the existing constitution, and by this means the consular will immediately became the nation's law. The 'sénatus-consulte' was ostensibly adopted for the purpose of punishing and terrorising those who schemed against Bonaparte's administration, and the first use to which the new measure was put was to deport a number of Jacobins (said to be concerned in an attempt to assassinate the First Consul) to the Seychelles, Cayenne, and other places. The list of a hundred and thirty names was drawn up in a hasty and careless fashion, and it was never proved that any of the men banished were in any way concerned with the plot. Madame de Staël was very indignant, and rightly surmised that after such a precedent any act of tyranny might be justified. In January 1802 another unconstitutional act was executed. Benjamin Constant and nineteen others were turned out of the Tribunate, and twenty men devoted to Bonaparte were put in their place. Effective criticism was impossible, for public expression of opinion had been stifled by the suppression of all journals with the exception of thirteen (five of which soon disappeared) as being inimical to the Republic. Had the Tribunate continued to exist as originally constituted, it might have proved a barrier to the assumption by the First Consul of absolute power.

The Peace of Amiens was a disturbing surprise to Madame de Staël. Andréossy the French Envoy, who went to London to ratify the preliminaries of the peace, reported that the English people were delighted at the compact, and that the mob unharnessed his horses and dragged his carriage to St. James's Palace. Madame de Staël reflected sadly that, if England, the country of the free, recognised the usurper, no country in Europe could protest against his despotism.

Almost more disconcerting both to her and to the Liberals was the formal treaty made three weeks after the Peace of Amiens between State and Church. In order to celebrate the accomplishment of two such important treaties, Bonaparte arranged that a festival should be held in Notre-Dame. On

Easter Sunday 1802 the big bell of the cathedral broke its ten years' silence. Amid salvoes of artillery and blare of trumpets the Consuls and the rest of the officers of State went in pomp to the festival. It was observed by the curious that the consular lackeys for the first time wore livery, and that the consular coach was drawn by eight horses. Within the sacred walls so recently profaned by revolutionary usage a Mass was celebrated, and at the Elevation the soldiers presented arms and the drums rolled. Two orchestras, conducted by Cherubini and Méhul, discoursed sacred music, and thus the terms of peace between State and Church were ratified. Madame de Staël remained shut up in her house 'pour ne pas voir l'odieux spectacle,' which for her was filled with remembrance of the old monarchic days, and the old insolence of royal luxury and oppression. She and all the friends of liberty in France were anxious that the Catholic religion should not be restored in their country. Individually she was, like Rousseau, anxious for a State religion, but it was 'en bonne Calviniste,' and though nominally the three Christian confessions and Judaism were put on the same footing by the Concordat, the only significant factor in the arrangement was Catholicism. Napoleon described religion as order, and there is no doubt that in the Catholic priests he saw serviceable professors of passive obedience, a sort of 'gendarmerie sacrée,' that might be with diplomacy converted into one of the firmest pillars of his throne. It seems as if there must have been to his mind an essentially English savour in Protestantism; for when negotiating for the pacification of La Vendée he asked that twelve inhabitants of the district should be sent, 'prêtres par préférence,' with whom to treat. 'Car j'aime et estime les prêtres, qui sont tous Français, et qui savent défendre la patrie contre les éternels ennemis du nom français, ces méchants hérétiques d'Anglais.' Bonaparte always said it would have been easier for him to establish Protestantism, and that he had to overcome much resistance in restoring Catholicism as the State religion. The Council of State received the news of the compact in silence, and neither the Legislative Assembly nor the Tribune would sanction the measure until the numbers had been reduced by expulsion. Men felt that in the Concordat 'the most beneficial achievements of the Revolution were undone.'

Madame de Staël began to desire some other weapon than her pen to fight the restoration of Catholicism, and she

thought that in the person of Bernadotte, who was insanely jealous of his master, she had found one. This General-in-Chief of the Army of the West affected liberal ideas and intrigued against Bonaparte. Not content with being in the thick of the conspiracy, Madame de Staël urged her colleagues to immediate action, as there was no time to be lost, since '40,000 priests would be at the service of the 'tyrant on the morrow.' The plot failed and Bernadotte escaped; but Bonaparte did not forget or forgive the conspirators.

In the late spring of 1802, Madame de Staël was delayed in her journey to Coppet by the death of her spendthrift husband at a wayside inn. His death was in many ways a relief to her, and with unchecked courage she continued her campaign against tyranny. Her enemy was about to become life Consul, which caused her a good deal of anxious thought, and when a pamphlet named 'Vrai Sens du Vote national sur 'le Consulat à vie' was printed by her friend Camille Jordan, giving expression to views of Bonaparte that coincided with her own, her pleasure on reading it was so extreme that she thought of rewarding the author by sending him a ring made of her own hair, which had belonged to 'pauvre M. de Staël.' But luckily she remembered before it was too late that 'Camille' was much taken by the fair curls of Madame de Krüdener, and her pride made her refrain from sending the black ring.

A month later another pamphlet appeared, again expressing her views. Its name was 'Les dernières Vues 'de Politique et de Finances,' and its author, M. Necker, allowed that Bonaparte was 'l'homme nécessaire,' and that the timely choice of a dictator had saved France from serious dangers. He criticised the constitution of the year VIII., traced in it the whole scaffolding of the future imperial monarchy, and declared the present state of government to be but 'the stepping-stone to tyranny.' He complained that the Legislative Assembly, despoiled of its prerogatives, was unworthy of a free republic; and predicted, as his daughter had done in 'De la Littérature,' that the progress of military authority must lead to despotism, and that 'good faith should prevent the keeping of the name 'Republic for a form of government in which the people 'would not count.'

Everyone knew that Madame de Staël was the power behind the book. She protested vainly that it was the work of M. Necker, and of M. Necker alone; but no one believed

her. The question, however, soon ceased to attract notice, for the election of Bonaparte to the Consulate for life dulled all interest in other concerns, and the poor hermit of Coppet was lost sight of in the joy with which the election was greeted. The Empire was accomplished in all but name.

By Lake Lemman the temporarily forgotten woman lived lamenting the eclipse of her party. She tried to console herself with reading Kant. It rejoiced her to discover that in his works she could find new and noble arguments against despotism and degradation of character. Unlike her friend Chateaubriand, for whom Nature was the melodious harp on which the unfathomable misery of man was expressed, she had no joy in scenery or changing lights, and could only think and write. Her novel, 'Delphine,' appeared in December 1802, in Paris, and she waited impatiently under the elms at Coppet for the echo of her success in the capital. Its vogue was prodigious, for most of the characters were drawn from life. Delphine was Madame de Staël; Madame de Vernon was Talleyrand; M. de Lebensei was Benjamin Constant; Thérèse d'Erviers was Madame Récamier; the Duc de Mendocce was M. Lucchesini, the Prussian ambassador to Paris. The book itself was dedicated to 'La France Silencieuse.' Talleyrand said, 'On dit que Madame de Staël nous a représentés tous deux dans son roman, elle et moi, déguisés en femmes!' Even from the distant Lake of Geneva, arrows found their mark, and wounded their destined quarry. Bonaparte declared the book immoral, 'vagabond in imagination,' and a mere 'mass of meta-physics and sentiment.'* 'Delphine' championed Protestantism, and declared against the 'bizarre beliefs of Catholicism.' It praised the English, it exalted liberty; in short, it committed every possible offence against Napoleonic opinion. Madame de Genlis, whom André Chénier called 'la mère de l'Église,' was particularly angered by its heterodoxy. She also hated its authoress, and took the opportunity of its publication to persuade and excite the First Consul to exile her. When Madame de Staël arrived in Paris, the decree went forth against her, in spite of the pleading of her champion and friend, Joseph Bonaparte. After a while, she took herself off to Germany, to study its people and its literature. She had been much attracted to that country by her correspondence with

* Madame de Staël et Napoléon, p. 108.

Charles de Villers, and by her perusal of his translation of Kant. During this new and absorbing occupation, the diary of the exile was suspended for six years. Shortly before her departure for Germany, she heard that the truce between France and England was broken, and she remarked that Bonaparte had only signed the Peace of Amiens the better to prepare himself for war. That this was the general impression amongst statesmen cannot be doubted. Lord Whitworth regarded it as a truce, Pitt as a suspension of hostilities. In spite of the joy with which its ratification had been received in England, no one was under any illusion as to its durability.

The blame of the rupture of the Peace of Amiens has usually been laid on England by French historians. Thiers, Lefebvre, Bignon, and most recently of all M. Albert Sorel* have taken this line. M. Coquelle, in a recently published book, '*Napoléon et l'Angleterre*,' exonerates England from blame. His researches amongst the national archives and the archives for foreign affairs have led him to the conclusion that Holland was the true cause of the breach, and that

'by continuing to occupy Flushing and Utrecht, in spite of the formal engagements into which he had entered by the treaties of Lunéville and of the Convention of the Hague, Bonaparte gave the English the right of keeping Malta as equivalent. Arrangements were proposed to him in vain; he would never consent to evacuate Holland, in spite of the just claims of the British Cabinet, and thus forced it to recall Lord Whitworth.'†

As a matter of fact, no mention of Holland proper was made in the Peace of Amiens. Though it was stipulated that Ceylon should be ceded to England, and the Cape restored to the Dutch, Addington did not insist that the independence of Holland should be recognised in this treaty. He thought that it was the logical conclusion of the general peace, and the mere execution of the Treaty of Lunéville, which expressly guaranteed the independence of the Batavian Republic. Bonaparte, who had not concluded the Treaty of Lunéville with England, thought he would only fulfil the agreement specified in the Peace of Amiens, and that he had no other obligations towards England. He evacuated Tarento, and therefore expected the English to do their share, and evacuate Malta. Whenever allusion was made by the English diplomatists to Holland, the

* *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, vol. vi.

† Coquelle, '*Napoléon et l'Angleterre*,' p. ii.

French replied by talking of Malta. The English were civil and conciliatory: they did not want war. It was feared that the French did, and early in March 1803 it was announced to the faithful Commons that great preparations for war were being made in France and Holland. Alarm was excited by the discovery of letters dealing with Napoleon's scheme for planting French commercial agents in the great commercial towns of England, although France at that time had no commercial treaty with England. A letter was intercepted, sent by order of the First Consul to the French commercial agent at Hull, asking for a detailed plan of that port and its approaches. Suspicions were aroused that these and other isolated discoveries were but threads in a great system of espionage, in which Bonaparte was endeavouring to involve England.

Soon after these alarming incidents, the celebrated scene between Lord Whitworth and the First Consul took place at the Tuileries. It was not imitated in England, for Andréossy was still received courteously by the Queen and Court. As the English Minister for Foreign Affairs stood by the spirit of the Treaty of Lunéville, and Bonaparte by the letter of the Peace of Amiens, war was inevitable. It began in May with the capture of two French merchant vessels, whereupon all English people in France (and there were over a thousand) were thrown into prison by the First Consul. Lord Elgin was amongst those arrested, as well as Sir James Crawford and Lord Whitworth's secretary, Mandeville. Such arbitrary acts were said to be without precedent in modern history.

From this time forward, Napoleon's tendency to tyrannous abuse of power became more pronounced. The worst fears of Madame de Staël were realised. The sudden death of Pichegru, the banishment of Moreau, and the d'Enghien murder showed how unchecked was the course of his action either by his executive or by public opinion. The comedy of the Empire began to be played in 1804, and the pusillanimous attendance of the Pope at the ceremony of the coronation made it at least appear as though the murder of the Duke had been condoned by the Church. Order had been secured in France at the price of freedom; the administrative system was working smoothly, the taxation of the country had been thoroughly reorganised, the civil code composed, the press muzzled, the religions of the country restored. Napoleon had leisure at last to turn his most serious attention to other countries.

In April 1804 Madame de Staël had been recalled from her study of the German nation by the news of her father's illness. He had been dead a week when she left Berlin; but this news was kept from her till she reached Weimar. His last days were troubled by the reflection that it was on account of the pamphlet '*Les dernières Vues de 'Politique et de Finances'*' that his daughter was in exile. With dying hands he wrote to assure the First Consul that she had had nothing to do with the publication of the book; in fact, that she had urged him to refrain from giving it to the world. Madame de Staël felt certain that he would attend to a voice which came as it were from the grave; but Napoleon had long renounced sentiment, and merely said: '*Elle a bien dû regretter son père. Pauvre divinité! Il n'y a jamais eu d'homme plus médiocre, avec son flon-flon, son importance et sa queue de chiffres.*'* A rumour went about that all the exiled were to be recalled at the coronation. Madame de Staël waited at Coppet for the news of her pardon, which never came. It maddened her to find that nobles, like the Rohans, Montmorencys, and La Rochefoucaulds, were willing to take places at the Court of the '*bourgeois of Ajaccio.*' She wrote to her old friend M. de Narbonne, in whose society her days at Juniper Hall, near Dorking, had been spent, reproaching him with his attitude towards Napoleon, and urging him to show more dignity towards himself and more loyalty to his old masters. The letter fell into the hands of Fouché, chief of police, and Napoleon discovered that his assiduous enemy was actively trying a new method of undermining his throne. She fell into further disgrace, and after a tedious autumn spent at Coppet, went to Italy. Italy disappointed her; she would have exchanged St. Peter's and the Colosseum, the frescoes of Michael Angelo and the statues of Greece, for a good constitution; she found no real life there, only the dream of a past beauty, existing under a blue sky. Dissatisfied with her impression, she returned, at the end of June, to Coppet, to write '*Corinne.*' Napoleon still kept himself informed of all she did and all she said, and while dictating the plan of the 1805 campaign to Daru, wrote to his untiring policeman, Fouché, that he is informed that Madame de Staël pretends she has his permit to re-enter Paris, but that he is not quite such an imbecile as to allow her to be within forty miles of Paris, when he himself will be at the other end of Europe.

* P. Gautier, '*Madame de Staël et Napoléon,*' p. 162.

From Coppet, Madame de Staël watched with intense interest the advance made by Napoleon's armies across the Continent. The liberty of many nations was threatened, but she remained silent, content, maybe, with the work she had already done, in sowing the seeds of Napoleonic hate and distrust in many territories and many hearts. It distressed her to hear that some of the smaller German rulers held other and more ignorant views of his dominion than her own. Some of them thought, as she had done before the Consulate, that he stood for liberty and progress. On the whole, the buffer States along the Rhine were inclined to welcome the advent of a strong liberal government, such as they conceived would be introduced by the French Emperor, and many of their inhabitants heard of the victory of Austerlitz and the Pressburg peace without dismay. The representative of one of the most noble and ancient families in the Holy Roman Empire, Karl von Dalberg, expressed his view of the situation in the following language to Napoleon :

‘Sire, the genius of Napoleon should not confine itself to the happiness of France. Providence wills that superior men should be born for the whole world. The noble German nation groans under the evils of political and religious anarchy. Sire ! be the regenerator of its constitution.’

Ever since the year of Lunéville, Napoleon had drawn up endless plans for the reconstruction of Germany, and at this time he produced the Confederation of the Rhine, a document whereby fifteen princes of the Empire declared themselves ‘separated in perpetuity from the territories of the German Empire, and united among themselves in a particular confederation, called the Confederated States of the Rhine (art. I).’ This Rheinbund, having declared its independence of Imperial German control, called upon the Emperor of Germany to renounce his title, and assume that of Emperor of Austria.

In August the German Empire was declared by France to exist no longer. Mr. Herbert Fisher, in his admirable and very interesting book ‘Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany,’ thus comments on the Rheinbund :

‘It was a great occasion for Napoleon. He was an artist in affairs, and revelled in the excitement of political composition. Many years before, he had said that if the German Empire had not existed it would be necessary to create it. Yet now he was destroying all that was confused, all that was obsolete, all that was obscure and inimical

to progress in that "vast and mysterious Germany," which had so long lain helplessly swathed in her mediæval bandages.' *

Napoleon went so far with his plans of reconstruction as to urge Frederick William III. to form a North German Confederacy as a sort of set-off to the newly confederated Rhine Provinces. This advice exasperated the King, and Prussia at last arose from eleven years of inglorious neutrality, and went to war.

The French Emperor was so fully informed as to the state of Prussian civil and military administration that he wrote to Talleyrand: 'The idea that Prussia will attack us single-handed is so ridiculous that it deserves no further notice.' The direct result of the revolt of Prussia was the defeat of Jena, and the occupation of Berlin. The secondary result was that the conquest revealed Prussia to herself, and discovered to her that it lay within her power to become the dominant factor in the eventual confederation of the German-speaking peoples.

'Whether it was to the advantage of France to clear the floor of Germany of its mediæval rubble is another question. Napoleon thought one thing in 1797, and in 1803 and 1806 he did another.' . . . 'The authority of Napoleon in Germany depended not upon the interested support of the populace, but upon the personal prestige, the force of arms, and the alliance of the ruling dynasties. . . . But the alliance of Napoleon with the Princes, though admirably adapted for its immediate purpose, the control of the military forces of Germany, was directly opposed to the cause of liberty, and all the feelings and tendencies which the French Revolution had encouraged in the ruling class.' †

People of thought in Germany had, in the eighteenth century, been constrained to seek for progress outside their own country. Madame de Staël, in her journey through Germany, was surprised at the knowledge of French liberalism to be found amongst all classes. Many thinkers considered that France might be the regenerator of Germany, though they were not blind to the fact that in France itself the outcome of the Great Revolution might be the gravest form of reactionary despotism. There was no patriotism in Germany at this time; but when it was discovered that the dominion of Napoleon meant, not liberty, but tyranny, the

* H. A. L. Fisher, 'Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany,' p. 120.

† Ibid. pp. 382-3.

seeds of national sentiment, so long dormant, began to sprout.

Is it too much to think that Madame de Staël, when she threatened to parade through all countries the misery of an exile, and to preach a crusade against tyranny, was partly responsible for the change in German opinion? Is it too much to think that in her many interviews with men of letters, such as Goethe, Schiller, and Schlegel; in her talks with politicians, like Gentz and Stein; her conversations with royalties, like the Queen of Prussia, the Duchess of Saxe-Weimar, the Russian Czar, she should have influenced foreign views of Napoleon? She knew everyone; she had suffered greatly; she was an effective enemy. It is hardly assuming too much to suppose that, in her really triumphal procession through Germany, she helped the men of thought and the lovers of liberty and progress to realise what the conquest of that country by Napoleon would mean. Queen Louise imbibed hatred of the French Emperor from her; Schlegel preached at her instigation against France; Madame de Staël herself announced in Berlin that Napoleon was a man devoid of virtue and faith—a tyrant.

Affairs soon showed the correctness of her denunciation. The extortions made for the war-chest, the heavy levies of men, the paralysis of agriculture owing to the withdrawal of carts and horses for military use, the forced loans from the richer citizens, soon caused grave discontent in many parts of Germany, and in the summer of 1806 the steps taken by Napoleon to suppress the publication of hostile criticism on his authority and his army did more to arouse enthusiasm for liberty than either the defeat of Jena or the occupation of Berlin. The Emperor wrote instructions to Berthier (August 5, 1806) as to the chastisement to be meted out to the six librarians, whom he meant to treat as scapegoats for all the political pamphlets and poetic protests that were appearing at the time. 'They shall be brought before a military commander and shot within twenty-four hours,' ran the order. 'It is no ordinary crime to spread libels in places where the French army is, in order to excite the inhabitants against it.' Five of the men selected had their sentences commuted; the sixth, Palm, was shot three hours after his sentence had been passed. Such an event was indeed calculated to excite revenge in the hearts of the writers and philosophers of a country whose single outlet was at that time literature, for it struck a deathly blow at

the only freedom left in Germany. The universities swore to avenge Palm of Nuremberg, and three years later his bleeding image was born on the standard of the Hussars of Death, raised by the Duke of Brunswick d'Oels. It may be said without exaggeration that the death of Palm marked the turning of the tide of German feeling against Napoleon. Gentz, Madame de Staël's friend, wrote of the martyr in a pamphlet, 'Germany in her profound abasement.' Meanwhile in Spain the standard of liberty was being bravely upheld, and the defence of Saragossa acted as a match to the train of feeling in Germany. Palafox became, like Palm, a name of inspiration. Yet though Napoleon was deeply engaged in combating liberalism abroad, he did not forget his enemy at home, and when busy revictualling his troops after Eylau, we find by his letters that he was still concerned with Madame de Staël and her machinations. In five months, ten letters were written to Fouché, urging him to be more thorough in his persecution of the lady. Every time the Emperor left Paris, there was a recrudescence of liberal thought, in causing which Madame had a considerable share. Various small annoyances reminiscent of Madame de Staël's power seemed to haunt Napoleon. At Tilsit 'Corinne,' the new novel, was read and very much admired by the Prince de Neuchâtel (Berthier) and his family. It was a simple novel, as its authoress said, and had no political taint. 'Bah!' said Napoleon; 'de la politique! N'en fait-on pas de morale, de littérature?'

On the barge moored in the middle of Memel river further blows were dealt to the liberty of Europe, for there the Treaty of Tilsit was signed.

'Napoleon's control of Germany was complete: Austerlitz had confirmed his supremacy in the south, Jena had given him command of the north, Tilsit secured him from danger in the east. Prussia lay crushed and mutilated, deprived of her fairest provinces, occupied by a foreign army, condemned to pay a huge contribution and to witness the downfall of her three client dynasties, Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, and Orange-Nassau.' *

Besides the treaty openly signed upon the barge, there were other private agreements made between Napoleon and the Czar with reference to England. It was the secret clauses in the Treaty of Tilsit that occasioned the bombardment of Copenhagen, which Byron and others who had no

* 'Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany,' by H. A. L. Fisher, p. 161.

knowledge of these clauses thought a crime. One of the covert agreements was that if England did not

‘before November 1, 1807, mitigate the severity of her first Orders in Council, and agree to restore to France her maritime conquests effected since the year 1805, . . . the two emperors agreed to “summon the three Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to close their ports to the English, and declare war against England. That one of the three Courts which refuses shall be treated as an enemy; and in the case of Sweden refusing, Denmark shall be compelled to declare war against her.”’*

How Canning got the information about the secret treaty is unknown. Mr. Rose disposes of the idea that a British spy was concealed on the raft, and of the suggestion that Talleyrand gave away his master. As there is no mention of Napoleon’s threats to Portugal in our Foreign Office archives, no news could have filtered through Lisbon. Mr. A. Mackenzie, a British agent, a guest at the table of the Russian commander-in-chief, Bennigsen, at Tilsit, may have gleaned information. Mr. Garlike, British ambassador at Copenhagen, is known to have given hints and accounts of Danish fears in a ‘most secret’ despatch.

‘Canning was most careful to conceal the source of his information, and to invest it with a greater importance than it really possessed. Some of his ardent supporters claimed that he knew the tenor of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit before he gave orders for the taking possession of the Danish fleet. This can be refuted from our archives. As late as August 4, 1807—that is, one month after the signature of the treaty—he charged Leveson-Gower to seek to discover the terms of the treaty, and whether there were any secret articles. Now it was in the secret articles, or rather in the secret Franco-Russian treaty of alliance of the same date, that the two Emperors finally agreed to summon Denmark and Portugal to declare against England. Thus, at the time when Cathcart and Wellesley were off Elsinore, Canning did not know of the existence of the article which is now seen to be the final justification of his conduct. But if his knowledge was incomplete, it was sufficient to prompt him to vigorous action. He knew through Mackenzie the general purport of the Emperor’s plans at Tilsit; and it is clear that our agent drew his information from the quarter whence it was likely to leak out soonest—namely, from the malcontent Russian commander, Bennigsen, and his “entourage.”’†

M. Coquelle seems unaware of the information that prompted

* ‘Napoleonic Studies,’ by J. H. Rose, p. 134.

† Ibid. p. 164.

Canning to action,* and makes the bombardment of Copenhagen to be the result of the Russian Czar's offer to negotiate (article 13 of treaty) and pique at the defeat of a squadron off Constantinople. He calls it an 'odious expedition,' and seems almost surprised that the Russian offer of intervention did not delay the expedition of the English fleet to Copenhagen. D'Alopéus, Russian Minister in London, on August 1 announced the conclusion of the Treaty of Tilsit to Canning, and offered the mediation of the Czar. Canning's reply on the 5th was to ask for the details of the secret articles of the treaty, which M. Coquelle thinks a 'refusal disguised in 'a captious way.' It was not the offer of mediation by Russia that caused England to maintain her hostile attitude to France, but the existence of the secret articles planning her future destruction.

During the vintage days of 1807, Madame de Staël entertained Prince Augustus of Prussia at Coppet. She found him distinguished in manner and charming in conversation; he was, moreover, patriotic and readily sympathetic with her views about Napoleon. Admiration for Madame de Staël and love for beautiful Madame Récamier, her guest, caused the prince to keep up an active correspondence with both ladies after he had left their neighbourhood. The French Emperor, owing to his splendid system of espionage, read the letters that passed between them, and thereby discovered that Madame de Staël's influence was being exercised to convert the charming prince into a plotter against the existing *régime* in Prussia. He caused the suspect to be carefully observed, and in the winter received a report from the Governor of Berlin to the effect that Prince Augustus entertained seditious ideas, and was endeavouring to spread them amongst his compatriots. The 'Journal de l'Empire' (December 1807), commenting on the affair and on the source of the prince's disloyal notions, said he had been at Coppet where 'il faisait de la cour à Madame de Staël, et paraît avoir puisé dans cette dernière résidence de 'forts mauvais principes.' † The Emperor's vigilance was as untiring as the enmity of Madame de Staël, and it began to appear as though the one unconquerable thing in Europe was a woman.

The rest of Europe appeared supine, and the princes and rulers of its conquered provinces were to all seeming

* Coquelle, 'Napoléon et l'Angleterre,' pp. 166-7.

† Madame de Staël et Napoléon, p. 212.

demoralised; the Congress of Erfurt which followed the Peace of Tilsit was a mournful revelation of their attitude. They bowed their necks to the yoke and suffered themselves to be treated without honour. To us who come after, this congress but proves the unimportance of the things that are seen, and the importance of the things that are not seen. The efforts of the liberators in Europe were having invisible but certain effects, and in 1809 the Archduke Charles gave vent to the suppressed sentiments of the nations, as he addressed the troops he was about to lead into battle against Napoleon, with these words: 'The liberty of Europe has taken refuge beneath your standards; your victories will break the chains of your German brethren, who, though in the ranks of the alien, still await their deliverance.'

With joy and expectation Madame de Staël and many other enthusiasts, like Stein, Fichte, Jahn, and Benjamin Constant, listened to the ominous rattling of the Napoleonic fetters in Europe. The prisoners seemed at last to have realised their desperate case; the silence at last was broken. Madame de Staël's rôle became increasingly important, for the eyes of many a liberator turned to the shores of Lake Lemman for encouragement and inspiration. Napoleon was acutely annoyed by her correspondence with Gentz, and by the knowledge of all the influential friends she had made and kept in Germany. By his orders, she was watched even more closely at Coppet; her friends were considered as seditious persons, her very acquaintances became suspects. She said that it seemed as if Napoleon wished to imprison her in her own soul. To superintend the publication of her book on Germany, she moved to Chaumont-sur-Loire. Though the censors had passed the corrected proofs, Napoleon, on reading the book before publication, ordered its instant suppression and her instant exile. Savary told her that it was destroyed 'because it was not French;' and Goethe* thought its destruction a prudent measure, from a French point of view, because it would have increased the confidence of Germans in themselves. The last three chapters in the book were those in which, in the name of enthusiasm, she eloquently protested against the spirit of the Empire. The book appealed too strongly to the passionate though sleeping love of liberty in Europe to make it anything but a firebrand. It was destroyed for its political tendency, but its merit lies in its being an impression of the world of thought in Germany in 1804.

* Letters of Goethe to Madame de Grotthus, Feb. 17, 1814.

'The "Germany" of Madame de Staël is an ideal picture, and the authoress has been taken to task for the clouds of sentiment and sympathy with which she had enveloped her theme. But it is not thus that we should approach these eloquent discourses. Rather we should see in them the fine protest of a generous French heart against the subjection of a simple and laborious people; an appeal from force to conscience, from the veiled tyranny of the later Empire to the ideals of human brotherhood, which France had once preached, and which a cruel destiny had caused her to forget.' *

Back again at Coppet 'in the prison of the soul,' she was visited by the devout and fascinating Madame de Krüdener and her fellow missionary Zacharias Werner, the Rosicrucian. Under their influence, she became extremely religious. Werner read 'The History of Religion' by Stolberg with her and when he left Coppet not only had Benjamin Constant come under his influence, but so also had William Schlegel: both contemplated writing religious works. Schlegel read Saint-Martin with deep attention. Madame de Staël plunged into the 'Imitation of Jesus Christ.' At the end of 1810, Coppet might have been the haven of a society of religious.

'On eût dit un congrès des religions: un catholicisme qui était représenté par M. de Montmorency, le quiétisme par M. de Langallerie, l'illuminisme par M. de Divone, le rationalisme par le baron de Vogt, l'orthodoxie calviniste par le pasteur Moulinie. Benjamin Constant faisait la synthèse.' †

As her faith grew, she became calmer and almost thought that God, in sending her so many troubles, intended her to be a noble example to her age. After marrying M. de Rocca, a Spanish officer, she escaped from the Lake of Geneva across Europe. Her adventures were numerous, and in Austria she just missed being arrested by French spies. Then she went on to Moscow and St. Petersburg. Owing to the subjection of Europe, nearly all those persons who were the enemies of Napoleon, French émigrés, Spaniards, Swiss, and Germans like Arndt, Stein, and Dornberg, had gradually been drawn to Russia, in spite of the fact that the Czar was the nominal friend of France. Stein was delighted to hear fragments of 'De l'Allemagne' read aloud by its authoress. 'She has saved a copy from the claws of Savary, and is going to have it printed in England,' he wrote in a letter to his wife.

* H. A. L. Fisher, 'Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany,' p. 384.

† P. Gautier, 'Madame de Staël et Napoléon,' p. 283.

An eager audience leaned forward in order to lose no word of the last chapter on 'enthusiasm.' They found it intoxicating. She spoke as 'the conscience of Europe,' as 'the representative of humanity.' The Czar flattered her and treated her as 'an English statesman,' and made himself out to be the dupe of Napoleon. He deplored the immorality of the tyrant, and shared the view of Rouniantsof, his Chancellor, that it was Russia's celestial mission to deliver Europe. He had made up his mind that Bernadotte of Sweden was to be the *boutefeu* of the defection of the German princes from French allegiance. That prince was deeply interested in his adopted country, and hated the notion that it should enter the Napoleonic confederacy. He made at Abo a secret offensive and defensive alliance with Russia, though without pledging himself to action. Since Madame de Staël had so much influence on Bernadotte, Alexander hoped that her approaching visit to Sweden would persuade him to seal his words by deeds. Madame de Staël urged her friends to recall the exiled General Moreau from America to take command of the allied troops against Napoleon, and both the Czar and Bernadotte agreed with her that it would be well to secure him. Established in Sweden, she began to organise vast conspiracies. Her house became the home of all Napoleon's enemies, and the centre of an organised secret service with the European Courts. Bernadotte was rather frightened by her activity; he did not like being rushed into extremes, and he could get neither money from England nor men from Russia to carry out any scheme. His fears caused him in a little while to send to St. Petersburg to try to undo the newly made treaty. Meanwhile, no stone was left unturned by Madame de Staël that might prove of use to the allies, and in February 1813 a small book appeared at Hamburg '*Sur le Système continental, et sur ses rapports avec la Suède.*' It was a fierce pamphlet against Napoleon and his policy, and a direct invitation to Sweden to join Russia, and to England to deliver Europe from tyranny. 'England,' it said, 'alone remained afloat, like the ark in the midst of the deluge.' 'The fate of Denmark was pitiable—could Sweden submit herself to such indignity?' 'Happily, though, that was impossible, since Sweden had committed her destinies into the hands of the Prince Royal.' Who was the anonymous author? The work bore a strange likeness to Madame de Staël's '*Essay on Suicide,*' which appeared at Stockholm in 1812; some of

the phrases used were almost identical. People wondered whether it was by her. Madame de Staël protested that M. Schlegel wrote it, and it was quickly reprinted with Schlegel's name attached to it. But everyone felt convinced that she was the originator of the little book. Shortly afterwards she found another opportunity for pleading the cause of liberty by guiding the pen of Rocca in 'Memoirs of the War in Spain.' With indefatigable enthusiasm did she seize all opportunities for educating public opinion against tyranny. When Bernadotte had been finally pushed into action and had left for Stralsund to command the North German troops, taking both Schlegel and Albert de Staël in his suite, Madame de Staël went to London in order to be a transmitter of news from the centre of all fresh intelligence.

To scheme and plot in public affairs was at the moment the occupation of every important political person in Europe. The Czar was endeavouring to force Metternich's hand, and to secure the friendship of Prussia. The French Emperor was engaged in trying to bribe the allegiance of Austria and Russia. The Austrian Chancellor was watching for an advantage that might give his country a chance of becoming the arbiter of other nations' destinies. In short, the diplomatic inter-relations of the chancelleries of Europe in 1812-13 were immensely complicated. With admirable lucidity M. Albert Sorel, in the last volume of his great history, deals with the intrigues and treaties that led up to the capitulation of Paris before the allies. His skill in disentangling and laying before our eyes the threads of the diplomatic web in which Napoleon was eventually enmeshed is beyond all praise.

Napoleon realised the state of affairs and tried to prevent Prussia from concluding an alliance with Russia by offering to make Frederick William III. King of Poland, and by the tentative bribe of Illyria to hinder Austria from allying herself with either Power. In spite of his efforts, the nations negotiated among themselves and drew up and signed the proclamation of Kalisch, while expressing to Napoleon satisfaction at the existing state of affairs. In March (1813) war was declared with the avowed object of freeing Germany and breaking up the Rheinbund. Many treaties were drawn up proposing different terms to France; but eventually it was decided to march on Paris, and demand the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. The day of retribution had come.

When it was proved, by the proclamation of Louis XVIII.,

that a great tyranny was at last overthrown, a curious change came over Madame de Staël's spirit. She was at last free to return to Paris, but on landing at Calais she felt a pang of regret that her old enemy was beaten, her patriotic heart bled after ten years of exile to see Prussian uniforms on the landing pier, Cossacks at St. Denis, Austrians and English bivouacking about the Tuileries, and Russian Guards on the steps of the Opera House. She hardly recognised her beloved city, and was in despair at this her horrible return. It was the moment, however, of her greatest triumph: 'En Europe il faut compter trois puissances: l'Angleterre, la Russie, et Madame de Staël.'* She did the honours of Paris; all worlds met at her house. Throughout her life, faithful to the idea of liberty and only hating Napoleon in so far as he impersonated despotism, she commiserated him now that he was a prisoner. Knowing the weakness of the Restoration, the 'Hundred Days' afforded her no surprise. Napoleon on his return from Elba said he knew 'combien elle avait été généreuse pour lui pendant ses malheurs.' He tried to ingratiate himself with her: 'J'ai eu tort,' he said to his brother Lucien; 'Madame de Staël m'a fait plus d'ennemis dans son exil qu'elle ne m'en aurait fait en France.'† He no longer ignored her extraordinary influence throughout Europe, nor the power of the friendships she enjoyed with the great of all countries; he meant her to be his ally in the future, and through Joseph Bonaparte tried to secure her friendship, and even interested himself in Mademoiselle de Staël's marriage prospects, as a means to this end. Joseph wrote to Madame de Staël in April 1815:

'La France est aujourd'hui une avec l'Empereur; il veut donner plus de liberté que vous n'en voudrez . . . vos sentiments, vos opinions peuvent aujourd'hui se manifester librement, elles sont celles de toute la nation, et je me trompe fort si l'Empereur ne devient pas dans cette nouvelle phase de sa vie plus grand qu'il ne l'a été.'

He went so far as to tell her that he had overheard Napoleon saying that there was no word in 'De l'Allemagne' to which objection could be taken!

All the friends of liberty in France had imagined that Napoleon would return from Elba in the same mind as that in which he went away. His new proclamations astonished them. There was to be no vengeance of any kind. Benjamin

* Madame de Chastenay, 'Mémoires,' vol. ii. p. 445.

† P. Gautier, 'Madame de Staël et Napoléon,' p. 369.

Constant was summoned by the returned Emperor to discuss liberal ideas with him. It was possible to doubt sentiments, but not acts. The promise of public discussion, of responsible ministers, of the liberty of the press, and of free elections secured even Lafayette's allegiance. Waterloo followed too soon upon this profession for any man to tell what Napoleon would have accomplished with his new policy. The contest that had lasted for fifteen years was over. Napoleon went to his island grave, and Madame de Staël survived his disappearance but two years.

It must be confessed that Madame de Staël and the party to which she belonged judged the condition and situation of France in 1799 less well than Bonaparte. They believed in democracy as the panacea for all ills, and in the immediate possibilities of the people. If cynicism consists in seeing things as they actually are and not as they might be, Napoleon was a cynic who, to reduce a turbulent and uneducated *canaille* to order, allowed his policy to justify the worst fears of reasonable as well as sentimental liberalism. Mr. Fisher's words on his failure in dealing with peoples, though they are written in regard to his treatment of the German peasantry, apply equally well to his treatment of all people :

'With no patience, with no sense of human dignity, with no feeling for the pathos of the common lot, Napoleon lacked the sound and noble gifts which sweeten and inspire public life. The woman of genius whom he had exiled from France had a truer and more generous and therefore a more statesmanlike vision of the people, whose destiny had been so harshly deflected by the legions of the Empire.*'

Napoleon, as it were, summed up in himself the old inflexible ideals of military government. He might well be called the last of the Romans. His calm imperial brow bears the ever-green wreath of fame, but it is the fame of an older day, and though it is but a hundred years since he dominated Europe, he ranks with the classic conquerors of antiquity, and not among the passionate experimenters of the modern world. Madame de Staël belongs to another category and may be counted among the prophets. She believed in the future of the people ; she believed that acts might one day be co-extensive with ideals ; and in accord with these beliefs she spoke and lived. In the long duel she was the victor, for the principles she upheld triumphed. She clung to her

* H. A. L. Fisher, 'Napoleonic Statesmanship in Germany,' p. 384.

beliefs in liberty, and held that personal dignity springing out of individual freedom is necessary to man if he is to be neither a savage nor a slave, and that the independence of the soul founds the independence of States. These convictions she confessed for many dangerous years in all ardour and sincerity, and every day justifies her protest, for morality and humanity have become, so far as the public conscience is concerned, since then a more integral part of politics. Madame de Staël's lonely cry has been echoed by millions. Napoleon was dethroned by the revolt against the old conceptions of government which he embodied, no less than by the cannon of Leipzig and Waterloo.

ART. V.—THE WORK OF J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE.

1. *John Inglesant*: a Romance. By J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1881.
2. *The Little Schoolmaster Mark*. By J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1884.
3. *Sir Percival*. By J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.
4. *The Teacher of the Violin, and Other Tales*. By J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1888.
5. *The Countess Eve*. By J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1888.
6. *Blanche, Lady Falaise*. By J. HENRY SHORTHOUSE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1891.
7. *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of J. Henry Shorthouse*. Edited by his Wife. London: Macmillan & Co., 1905. 2 vols.

MICHELET maintains, what at first hearing and to most English ears will sound the greatest of paradoxes, that our national literature is profoundly irreligious, and more so (he says this by implication) than the literature of France. Michelet will not allow that Milton even is an exception, for the true hero of 'Paradise Lost' is, he says, not God but Satan. Here, no doubt, the answer is easy; the questions of *mythos* and *ethos* intervene. It is impossible to have a story woven round perfection, nor easy to give what we call character in such a case. But, putting Milton aside, putting aside our poets of reflection, and looking chiefly at our drama and our fiction, we find a good deal there to support Michelet's contention. Compared with the Greek tragedy, religion counts for very little with Shakespeare and with the whole army of Elizabethan dramatists. The good folk and the evil in Shakespeare's tragedies—Cordelia or Macbeth, Othello or Romeo—seem mostly to think that evil and good alike end on this side of the tomb—'upon this 'bank and shoal of time.' Were it not that when religion comes into Shakespeare it and its phrases are of a conveniently conventional type, the playwright would have been puzzled to know what framework to give them; for his personages are in fact neither Protestant nor Catholic, neither Christian nor Pagan. Whoever witnessed the performance

of Tolstoy's 'Powers of Darkness' as that was given by the Stage Society during their last season, will have an opportunity of gauging the difference between the presence and the absence of the religious sentiment in drama. In the 'Powers of Darkness' the religion comes in, not as a thing taken for granted or as a matter of convention, but as a substantive element in the drama, just as it does in Greek tragedy. When Nikíta mutters, 'It felt strange taking that oath before the ikon,' you anticipate that the heavenly powers will make their presence felt, even as Apollo punished the house of Laius for his slighted oracle. The ikon (in the Russian play) is always there in the corner of the room. And you feel that in the mind of the playwright the supernal powers are always present likewise watching over the scene. Your thoughts, as has been said, are carried backwards, past almost all modern drama, till they land you full upon the Greek stage. And that, in despite of all differences of time and creed, has so much in common with the 'Powers of Darkness' that, in a reflected wise, the modern drama sheds its light upon the ancient. The Chorus of Old Men in the 'Antigone,' for example, which to all schoolboys and to many scholars is but a collection of dotards, seems not so when placed beside old Akím in Tolstoy's play.

Now the essential importance of J. Henry Shorthouse's writings lies in this, that here again in another field—in fiction—religion enters as a substantive element in the thing created. It is a religion of a different kind from Tolstoy's, and more remote still from that of Greek drama; but as in these instances it appears (one may say) noumenally, as a part of the mental construction of the writer, not phenomenally, as a thing studied from without. Shorthouse in his preface to 'John Inglesant' styles that a 'philosophic romance.' He probably selected the phrase partly from prudence, knowing that all but readers of tracts would be scared away by the word 'religious.' But a religious romance 'John Inglesant' really is; 'philosophic,' the adjective which applies to 'Caleb Williams,' is not the right one for this book.

Their religious character then gives to 'John Inglesant,' and practically to all Shorthouse's stories, a place apart. But, of course, they could never have had any place, could never, in sporting phrase, have been 'placed' at all, if the writer, besides his separate outlook on life and on romance, had not had the gifts which make for permanence in his art. In these days of a journalism covering the world, at once

feverish and flippant, mocking at all things and attempting all things, it was no small matter that a man conscious, as Shorthouse must have been, of literary gifts above the common, should set himself to labour between business hours, *ohne Hast* and yet almost *ohne Rast*, at one novel, through a period of ten years; during which time he spoke of what he had in hand to hardly a soul outside his immediate circle. Possibly he recalled that saying of Goethe, that a man who has work of this kind on hand is like the treasure-seekers of old, whose discipline forbade them to speak to any man of their search till its end was accomplished. Shorthouse, working in this deliberate way, did not produce much. The volumes of his 'Life and Letters' and his 'Literary Remains,' lately published, give us down to the crumbs of his intellectual table. The 'Remains' include a certain number of essays and reviews (whereof his preface to the excerpts from Molinos' 'Spiritual Guide' is the best known and of chiefest literary merit), a few short stories, and a little—a very little—verse. Who has not written a little verse? Many an honest stockbroker has, while Plancus was still Consul, composed more poetry than this volume contains, and by this time forgot he ever touched a pen. The review of Maurice's life helps us in the not easy task of determining the writer's religious outlook; and there is at least one of the short stories—an impression rather—'A Sunday Afternoon,' which strikes exactly the right note, and shows the artist in J. Henry Shorthouse triumphing over the controversialist.

The letters are not of a kind to add to Shorthouse's literary reputation. Many excellent masters of English have been but poor letter-writers. But they give a very pleasant picture of his character, which, if that be possible, erred only by an excess of amiability. Occasionally the writer seems too much disposed to be all things to all men; but his admiration of some of his friends' work, which strikes the colder critic as excessive, was doubtless quite sincere. He was a humble-minded man, and his power of admiration went often beyond his warranty; but that is only the excess of a quality, and one which, by all appearance, Shorthouse shared with the greatest name in all our letters. With intervening passages of explanation written by Mrs. Shorthouse, and with one very interesting memoir from one of Henry Shorthouse's cousins (Mrs. W. H. Evans), these letters give an adequate account of a life simple and studious and free from adventure. To a man who lives much in his books

and in an ideal world, it is of secondary consequence on what particular ground of our planet his habitation is fixed. Though the state of our author's health obliged him, now and again, to take long holidays from business, he seems, after his youth, to have felt no inclination towards travel. Italy, with which, while writing the second volume of 'John Inglesant,' his imagination was so busy, he never saw in fact.

It was, indeed, a life by its birth, and even by inheritance, altogether devoted to quietism, both of body and spirit. Joseph Henry Shorthouse was born in Birmingham in 1834 of Quaker parents, and their eldest child. The father moved to a house in Edgbaston a year after Joseph Henry was born, so that, with the exception of a time passed in London as a boy (whose object was to cure him of his stammer, and was unavailing), and in his yearly holidays and so forth, the author of 'John Inglesant' spent the whole of his days in this suburb of Birmingham, and died there (at 'Lansdowne') on March 4, 1903. The position of the family was one of solid unpretentious comfort. The chemical works from which all their income was derived had been founded by the grandfather. The widow of this first Shorthouse of Birmingham lived to a great age in a country house with a beautiful garden at Moseley, a few miles from Birmingham. The memory of this country garden is reflected in many of Shorthouse's writings, and there Henry as a boy passed much of his time, very often in the company of four female cousins—the Southalls—one of whom writes the Memoir spoken of above.

'That which strikes me most [says Mrs. Evans] in recalling our intercourse with our cousin at this time is that our conversation did not consist of commonplaces. We talked for hours on literary subjects.' This would be when Henry Shorthouse was from sixteen to eighteen.

The dissenting bodies, who were in those days cut off from the public schools and universities, had to make their own means and centres of culture. The Society of Friends had its Essay Society, to which Henry Shorthouse was a diligent contributor, and thus early exercised himself in using his pen. Religious or quasi-metaphysic discussions—these too, it is evident, often took place between the cousins. In these days Henry Shorthouse—whose stammer and great nervousness prevented him from attending school—was thrown much more with the other sex than with his own; and so no doubt it continued to be throughout his life. He

fell in love, with Miss Scott of Edgbaston, before he was of age, and was married to this lady when not quite twenty-three: he had thus little time to frequent grown-up bachelor society. Naturally his novels were specially popular with women. 'No appreciation of his writings,' says Shorthouse's biographer, 'pleased Mr. Shorthouse 'more than that of good women.' Howbeit his published letters are divided about equally between the two sexes; and whether that fact be partly due to the greater method of the male one it is impossible to say. His correspondent in youth is Margaret Southall (Mrs. Evans); after his fame was made his chief woman correspondent is Lady Welby, and one of his chief male ones the latter's relative, Dr. Talbot, the Warden of Keble. Alexander Macmillan, the Bishop of Ripon, and Mr. Edmund Gosse are also among the number. The two distinct events of Shorthouse's life, next after his marriage (he had no children), were his leaving the Society of Friends and his baptism into the English Church; this took place in 1861: and the publication of '*John Inglesant*,' or perhaps we should say its first printing in 1880—it was begun in 1866 and finished in 1876. All the essentials of culture he had found in the circle to which he belonged. That Shorthouse had no great equipment in other languages but his own is evident. If as a young man he takes pleasure in finding that he can make out most of an Italian libretto, he confesses later in life that he has forgotten much of the Italian he ever knew; and he makes errors more considerable than the writing of '*San Giorgio*' with an 'e.' Here and there it must be confessed his mistakes are annoying, not because the ignorances themselves are heinous, but because they generally occur needlessly and in the midst of an assumption of knowledge. In one of his stories ('*Sir Percival*,' unless we forget) he has an imaginary French motto, '*Amour 'dure: dure Amour*,' where the second '*dure*' is—the context shows—an adjective. But as '*amour*' is masculine such an adjective is, of course, impossible. In '*The Little Schoolmaster Mark*' we have a certain '*Barotin*' introduced; and here again the context seems to show that '*Barotin*' is in Shorthouse's mind the German for Baroness: the '*Herr Rector*' in the same story is evidently in Shorthouse's view the parson of the parish.

'Last year, little one,' says the Court Chaplain in this story, 'when the Herr Rector took thee away from the 'Latin school and from thy father's tailoring, and confirmed

‘thee, and thou tookest thy first communion, and he made thee schoolmaster here, many wise people shook their heads. I do not think,’ he continued, with a smile, ‘that they have ceased shaking them when they have seen in how strange a manner thou keepest school.’

But he was right in so many more important matters that these slips are of no consequence. The evil of an education conducted in one language only lies chiefly in this—that it engenders too quick and therefore too shallow a fashion of absorbing knowledge. But this vice Shorthouse quite escaped. We know as a fact that he read immensely as a preparation to the writing of ‘John Inglesant;’ and the book shows conclusively that what he read he assimilated in marvellous fashion. Among his minor writings the various German stories (‘Mark,’ ‘The Teacher of the Violin,’ ‘Helena von Saarfeld’) show not an equal but a remarkable assimilation of German romance.

Perhaps the best way to express the type of mind and character (of mind, at least) which was formed or fostered by Shorthouse’s up-bringing, is to say that it was as near as may be the antithesis of Thackeray’s. There is, of course, no comparison in literary standing between the author of ‘John Inglesant’ and the greatest of English novelists; but for contrast of type they are excellently comparable. Thackeray’s was eminently the public-school and university type of mind and character. His Anglo-Indian birth, the re-marriage of his mother, perforce cut him off from home life. His domestic married life was short: when it ended, he preferred his club to his home. After he ceased to be a Parisian, he was a Londoner, a club-man, to the end of his days. Shorthouse, on the contrary, was only for a year or so of his life away from home influences: he was a provincial, with something of a provincial’s narrowness, with much more of his ignorance of men; but then without the Londoner’s conventionality. That from the edge of his smoky Midland town Shorthouse looked out into a world of hedgerows and fields, of parks and manor houses, and idealised that in a wonderful fashion, choosing to see only what was pleasant to look upon, this is obvious. What of this world he elected to look at most, and idealise the most, were the parks and manors and the inhabitants of them—the country aristocracy, in a word. This has been set down as a vulgarity in Shorthouse, but unjustly. There is, in truth, no vulgarity in admiration, even when that rests upon the ideal more than on the actual. There is no

vulgarity in Shakespeare's admiration of the Southampton or the Pembroke to whom his sonnets are addressed; though we may be sure that neither was worthy of that tribute—indeed, unless he had been a demigod how should he be? Vulgarity consists in the admiration of mean things. Bulwer-Lytton and Disraeli and the host of Book-of-Beauty romancers and poetasters, their contemporaries—these are vulgar. They admired the nobility because they drove four-in-hands and had vast wealth and a troop of 'retainers,' because they wore divers waistcoats and watch chains. Then descended Thackeray's iron hand and blotted out all that, let us hope, for ever. We to-day read Thackeray so much for his humour, his gaiety and wit, the urbanity of his perfect style; we are so conscious of the geniality of his later years, bordering at times upon sentimentality; and then time has made the world he pictures with purposed exaggeration still more fantastic in our eyes, that we are wont to overlook the bitter and immense power of his craftsmanship, especially in his earlier years. But where in the whole range of literature do you get a gallery of portraits more terrible than Thackeray has made out of the upper members of society, his creations?—Old Sir Pitt Crawley, young Sir Pitt, Bute Crawley, and Mrs. Bute; Lord Steyne, Lord Cingbars, Lord Bareacres, Lord Dorking, Lord Castlewood (of 'The Virginians'), and Will Esmond. There is hardly one of these who has a redeeming quality, who is not the embodiment of meanness, of selfishness, of cowardice—all but physical cowardice—and of that, too, in many instances. And these people are created, not borrowed from the conventionalities of melodrama, as Dickens' villains are—his Carker and his Heep, his Quilp or Bill Sikes. These lords and baronets of Thackeray have haunted the mind of two generations, and have begot the prejudice, deep-seated but unconscious, that no admiration of folks of this class can be other than mean—that, to put it shortly, to pay respect to a 'lord' is in itself a vulgar act. Shorthouse's up-bringing seems to have kept him quite outside this influence of Thackeray, so that he never even felt the necessity of justifying his ideal view. This had at least the advantage of giving a directness and simplicity to his theory of life and of society from which he never departed. In a letter on 'John Inglesant' its author boldly asserts 'the unpopular doctrine,' 'that the end of existence is not 'the good of one's neighbours but one's own culture.' The true nobleman shapes himself on no standard marked out

for him by the common voice: he obeys only the dictates of his own conscience. It is a kind of Christian Nietzscheism, and one more example of the truth that extremes meet. But of course its seeming harshness is modified when we take into account its 'religious sanctions.' We have no intention of discussing it on abstract grounds. But unless it be taken account of, Shorthouse's work cannot possibly be understood. This aristocratic ideal always runs side by side with the distinctly religious element in his stories.

Not of course that Shorthouse *as* a creator was also a preacher. No creator is that, in his creative moments. And Shorthouse consciously suffers because people will take his stories as allegories. Canon Ainger had done that with 'The Little Schoolmaster Mark' (Canon Ainger's fine critical insight having gone to sleep in the pulpit), and Shorthouse writes to tell him, in the politest possible way, that he has missed the point of the tale. For a religious novel is not necessarily a preaching novel: it may not be distinctly that, if religion is treated in the only way in which it can belong to art—as a part of life, not as a series of propositions.

It was partly because, once 'John Inglesant' had been published, readers would insist on doing what Canon Ainger did, making allegories or doctrines or purposes out of Shorthouse's books, that all the later among these have suffered much in reputation. They are very far inferior to his great romance: on that point no two opinions are possible. But most, almost all, are much above the average of contemporary fiction. 'The Little Schoolmaster Mark' would be enough to establish what one may call a minor fame.

'John Inglesant' was printed for private circulation (but sent also to some reviews) in 1880. In February 1881 it was regularly published by Macmillan & Co. Its success was almost immediate; and the most part of Shorthouse's letters for the next year are taken up with the book in one way or another, now telling a friend of a review or a report of how the romance had been received by a distinguished or an exalted personage, now in thanks for the same sort of information sent to himself. His satisfaction with his success is naïf and unaffected.

After 'John Inglesant' came 'The Little Schoolmaster Mark,' of which the present Part I. formed at first the whole story, and had best have so remained. The second part was printed at the end of 1884. 'Sir Percival' was published in 1886. Shorthouse, it seems, began 'Blanche, Lady Falaise'

in the autumn of 1887; it was first published in 1891. 'This was the last romance that Mr. Shorthouse was able to complete. He found that the labour of preparing for publication was too burdensome for continuance, as he only retired from business within a year of his death.' The stories in the 'Teacher of the Violin' volume had already appeared, mostly in 'Macmillan.' 'Countess Eve' and the volume of collected tales were published in 1888. From 1888 Shorthouse's letters say little about his own writings, much of those of his friends. The golden time of literary composition had gone by for him; since the coming of his fame it was but a few years. But no doubt the most golden years of all were those between 1866 and 1876 when he was at work on 'John Inglesant,' with no clear expectation how it was to see the day. 'For about ten years he worked at intervals at his self-chosen task, always reading to me each paragraph or page as it was written, but rarely mentioning the matter to any of his friends. . . . The book was finished at Llandudno in 1876.'

It would be like playing a tedious after-piece to speak of Shorthouse's minor works after discussing 'John Inglesant.' It is, therefore, best to deal with them now. As has been said above, our appreciation of them will be quite lost if we set out with the theory that the writer was before all else a man with a doctrine, and his book before all else an exposition of that doctrine. An artist and a work of art can never be of such kinds. We need not even pay overmuch attention to what he himself says on the subject, when his inspiration has gone from him; when his imagination exhausted is slumbering, and another faculty of his mind, the reasoning intellect, is awake. A much greater man than Shorthouse, Goethe himself, was given to expounding his work and very ingenious in finding therein intentions of which we may be sure, while he was at his labour, he knew nought. All we can say is that a man's doctrine springs of his personality, or it adapts itself to his personality, and his work springs of his personality likewise. The two are brothers if you please; but brothers of diverse characters, like the Walt and Vult of Richter's 'Flegeljahre.' Of Shorthouse's personality we have said that if it had to be expressed in shorthand one could hardly do it better than to say that he was the antithesis of Thackeray. He was neither humorous nor humoursome, neither gay, nor bitter, nor self-assertive, nor possessed of that keen and penetrating eye which Thackeray shared with only one other writer of his age, Carlyle. Short-

house had been brought up in the bosom of Dissent and accustomed to take his pleasures sadly—i.e. soberly, as such folk do. No wild oats had grown in the purlieus of his mind. On the other hand, his lines had fallen to him in pleasant places; he had been untroubled by the pangs of despised love, by law's delays, by the insolence of office; his patient merit had never smarted at the scorn of the unworthy. A radical, he might have fretted at the glimpses of life which he saw outside his smoky town, the manors and rich parks of Warwickshire and Worcestershire. In his mind they begot only admiration; he idealised them, and probably, too (though this is contentious ground), he idealised the English Church. Out of these two things he made his picture of the Christian gentleman; much as a century and a half earlier a man of very different outward circumstances and character, but humble-minded as was Shorthouse, had made his picture of the Christian hero. This idea or ideal runs through all Shorthouse's writing. Almost always we have a great nobleman or a prince, a château or a magnificent manor-house; and the dominant notion with all these people is after serving God to preserve the traditions of their order. The natural human emotions are of little importance set beside these two duties. It is almost a sin for a *roturier* to dream of marrying a lady of rank ('Come what may,' says the hero in 'Helena von Saarfeld,' 'I will not marry her. 'The world shall never say that this divine creature married 'Richter the player'); and it is quite a sin for a subject, such as Otto von Saale in 'The Teacher of the Violin,' to love a princess and dream that she may love him. Do not ask why, nor why again John Inglesant should have been so wedded to the name of obedience—for he obeys, not the constituted authority in any particular acts, rather the influence of the Jesuit as a determining factor of his life—that he must perforce resign all thoughts of Mary Collet. There is no profit in arguing about a temperament. It is of more profit to see with what art Shorthouse contrives to keep the atmosphere of this temperament about you, and how rarefied an atmosphere that is. In this regard Shorthouse most resembles Mr. George Meredith, whose work is, of course, wider, stronger, and fuller than that of Shorthouse. But with Meredith, as with Shorthouse, a good deal of what is natural, probable, and human has to be discarded or written upside down to suit the temperament of the romancer. Shorthouse is never really objective. But it would be an absurdity to suppose he is always serious. Most people

would, we believe, agree that 'Sir Percival' was his worst book. But in that there are admirable scenes, as the one of Virginia discoursing her Radicalism at the Duke's dinner table with a high sense of her courage and readiness for martyrdom when the explosion shall follow, the Duke's grave looks, his beckoning to the butler and the serious conference which ensues, ending in—a comparison of corks. The butler has brought up a wrong brand. It is excellent, and as the French say, it is *dans la note*. Who again but he would have carried the unruffled serenity of the *ancien régime* to such a climax as he does with his 'Marquis de St. Palaye,' whose last words to his rival and murderer are, 'Was that 'quite fair?'' Sir Percival himself, in a more marked degree, adds the Christian hero type on to that of the gentleman. He, of course, is meant to be the Parsifal, the perfectly pure spirit. Equally true is it, that from want of realisation he topples over from being sublime into the school-girl's hero. But Lord Falaise in 'Blanche, Lady 'Falaise' is better imagined; and some of his speeches are natural and boyish, as they are meant to be.

Though we have said there was nothing really vulgar in Shorthouse's outlook on life, it is yet true that now and again his presentation of it does fringe vulgarity, as his stories have a kinship to those which in penny numbers are the reading of shop-assistants and maid-servants, and as, now and then, his sublime touches the ridiculous. There must, without doubt, have been an element—we will not say of vulgarity, but of unculture—somewhere in the recesses of Shorthouse's character—a sort of atavism it may be—though in small quantity; for it appears here and there in his style, which, in most cases, expresses so much the reverse of unculture. Here and there we are shocked by an insincere and conventional epithet or phrase which might almost come out of a penny novelette, by piled-on superlatives or that repetition of the same word in a different connection which is a fault of style just because it shows a lack, for the time being, of sincerity.

On the other hand, so far as his plan, his conscious idealism allows, he has a good sense of character. All the personages in 'Blanche, Lady Falaise' are lifelike, except Paul Damerle the preacher. Dr. Boteraux, the well-born scholar parson, the ideal 'high and dry,' whose love for his daughter even must obey the law of caste and not express itself audibly in ordinary life, who does little 'church 'work,' as it is called, but preaches admirable sermons to a

village audience (as does the father of Otto von Saale); he is a perfectly possible character, while he once more enforces the Shorthousian doctrine. Blanche, the daughter, cannot understand this view of things, and longs for self-sacrifice. So her heart is shut to the charms of George Falaise, to her own infinite loss, as we are given to understand. The first meeting of the two is very good:—

‘Then, with the air of a Christian girl of the second century being led to martyrdom, she rose from her seat and said:—

“You would like to go round the garden.”

“I wonder,” he said, “why it is, when we look upon anything like this—woods, you know, and—what do you call it?—the distant plain, and the sky—you, you think it is so beautiful. Why do you?”

‘Now it may seem a curious thing, but this remark attracted the girl more than, a moment or two ago, she could have supposed that any word of her companion could have done. It seemed to her Socratic.

‘She had read, over and over again, translations of one or two of Plato’s dialogues, with a desperate determination to find out what it was that was so supremely great in them, and she had succeeded in grasping that peculiarity of Socrates which made him so great and so detested—the habit of asking questions which nobody could answer. She looked at her companion with a glance that so nearly approached to interest that it sent the blood dancing through every vein. . .

‘He felt bound to relieve what he fancied was her embarrassment, not knowing, ignorant boy as he was, that at certain moments the female mind delights in being embarrassed.

“I suppose,” he said, “I suppose that if I knew more about tints, and gradations of light and shadow, and foregrounds, and all that sort of thing, I should understand it better.”

‘The mystic light, the unknown Infinite, faded from before her at these commonplace words.’ (Pp. 52–54.)

With Paul Damerle on his side we get away from all reality into the atmosphere of the penny number, and the fall is precipitous.

‘He turned into this remote corner and knocked at the door of a dingy-looking red-brick house. It was opened immediately by three servants.

“Lady Elizabeth Poer?” he said.’

These two stories of modern life are accounted Shorthouse’s distinct failures. It is obvious that it is in such as these that his peculiar idealisations are brought to the rudest proof. ‘The Countess Eve’ is, again, a rather childish attempt to play a game which was hardly worth playing. Miss Thackeray (Mrs. Richmond Ritchie) had executed the

tour de force of turning some of the best-known nursery tales into stories of contemporary life 'with new furniture' and effects.' As *tours de force* they passed well enough; but once the thing had been done, all the charm of the experiment was gone; and why several other writers—and among them Miss Yonge and J. Henry Shorthouse—should have tried their hands at the same legerdemain is not now explicable. 'The Countess Eve' is the result, so far as Shorthouse is concerned; only it deals, not with a nursery tale, but with the Garden of Eden. It is a story artistically above the level, perhaps, of 'Sir Percival' or 'Blanche,' seeing that the fantastic atmosphere is never broken by the sound of everyday affairs—no rude axe daunts the nymphs of Shorthouse's world. The mystic world is suggested with fine effect; and we have only to compare this story with, say, Miss Yonge's 'My Young Alcides' to see of how much keener a temper is our author's writing. In this tale, but much better and more fully in some of the others, are found two elements with which he evidently loved to deal: the place of music in the intellectual life and a sort of idealised stage, the notion of which Shorthouse must, one thinks, have taken from German romance, and, in fact, took most probably from 'Wilhelm Meister.' Whether he was a good musician or a good critic of music we are not told; and, in truth, that matters little. But in an admirable passage at the opening of 'The Teacher of the Violin,' telling of the effect on Otto's temperament of wood and wind, in certain places of 'The Countess Eve,' and in the second volume of 'John Inglesant,' Shorthouse has written well on this head. The ideal stage appears in 'The Countess Eve' and in 'Helena von Saarfeld,' one of the short stories. And both these elements are united in 'The Little Schoolmaster Mark,' which, it has been already said, if it stood quite alone, would be a very considerable achievement, so admirably does it absorb and re-embody the delicate and evanescent spirit of German romance in the days of Jean Paul, the later spirit of Goethe. Jung's 'Heinrich' 'Stillings Leben' has given the framework of the story. But it often reminds one of 'Wilhelm Meister'—nowhere more than in the passages which are concerned with the theatrical company with which the hero, the devout and simple peasant-boy, gets so strangely involved. Mark is a sort of male counterpart of Mignon, religion taking in him the place which love takes with Mignon; and the Prince's sister is a counterpart of Katerina von Klettenberg, who furnished the material for the 'Bekentnisse einer schönen Seele.'

How admirably is all this rendered by the language of the story!

‘They had discovered in the deepest dell of their native mountain a deserted babe—the offspring doubtless of the loves of some wandering god. They were become its nurses, and fed it upon sacred honey and consecrated bread. Of immortal birth themselves, and untouched by the passing years, the boy became, as he grew up, the plaything, and finally the beloved, of his beautiful friends. But the boy himself is indifferent to their attractions, and careless or averse to their caresses. He is often lost to them, and wanders in the mountain fastnesses with the fawns and kids.

• • • • •
‘Rural dances, and games and sacrifices were presented with delicately conceived grouping and pictorial effect. Then the main action of the drama developed itself. The most lovely of the nymphs, the queen and leader of the rest, inspires a devoted passion in the heart of the priest of Apollo, before whose altar they offer sacrifice, and listen for guiding and response. She rejects his love with cruel contempt, pining always for the coy and errant boy-god, who thinks of nothing but the distant mountain summits and the divine whispers of the rustling woods. The priest, insulted and enraged, invokes the aid of his divinity, and a change comes over the gay and magic scene. A terrible pestilence strikes down the inhabitants of these sylvan lawns, and gloomy funerals and the pathetic strains of dirges take the place of dances and lively songs.

‘The terrified people throw themselves before the altar of the incensed Apollo, and the god speaks again. His anger can be appeased only by the sacrifice of the contemptuous nymph who has insulted his priest, or of some one who is willing to perish in her place. Proclamation is made across the sunny lawns, inviting a victim who will earn the wreath of self-sacrifice and of immortal consciousness of a great deed, but there is no response.

‘. . . There spreads a rumour among the crowd—fanned probably by hope—that at the last moment a god will interfere. Some even speak of the wandering boy, if he could only be found. Surely he—so removed from earthly and selfish loves, so strange in his simplicity, in his purity—surely he would lay down his guileless life without a pang. Could he only be found, or would he appear!

‘The herald’s voice had died away for the third time amid a fanfare of trumpets. At the foot of the steps of the long terrace, by the Roman fountain, a delicate and lovely form stood on the grassy verge before the altar, by the leaping and rushing water’s side; a little to the left, whence the road from Hades was supposed to come, stood the divine messenger, the lofty herald. Clad in white, with a white wand, behind the altar stood the wretched priest, on whom the fearful task devolved; the passion of terror, of pity, and of love, traced upon his face; all sound of music had died away; a hush as of death itself fell upon the expectant crowd; from green arch and trellised walk the throng of masques, actors and spectators alike, pressed forward upon

the lawn before the altar. . . . The priest tore the fillet from his brow and threw down his knife.'

And of course it is before all things the language of 'John Inglesant' which makes that book a thing of worth and permanence. As the author had far more leisure for this than for anything else he produced, so it very much betters the others in almost every quality, but most of all in its completeness and dignity. From the very first the excellence of the writing seizes us—in the account of how Richard Inglesant was sent by Cromwell, Earl of Essex, to bring to reason the monks of Westacre, and how the Prior, despite all forewarning, preached his sermon in defiance of the civil power, whereby the priory was dissolved and Westacre came into the Inglesant family. A subsidiary intention is, of course, that religion revenges itself by taking possession of the mind and character of the grandson. It is Nikita's 'It 'felt strange taking that oath before the ikon' translated in a new way, according to Shorthouse's philosophy. But, that apart, how admirable an introduction to the story is this picture of Richard Inglesant beholding Westacre for the first time!

'In the middle of the summer afternoon he crossed the brow of the hilly common, and saw the roofs of the Priory beneath him surrounded by its woods. The country all about lay peaceful in the soft, mellow sunlight; wide slopes of wood, intermixed with shining water, and the quiet russet downs stretching beyond. Richard had sent on a man the day before to warn the Prior, who had been expecting his coming all day. The house stood with a little walled court in front of it, and a gate-house; and consisted of three buildings—a chapel, a large hall, and another building containing the Prior's Parlour and other rooms on the ground floor, and a long gallery or dormitory above, out of which opened other chambers; the kitchens and stables were near the latter building, on the right side of the court.' (P. 10.)

We have often contrasted Shorthouse with Thackeray, but here they meet on the common ground of style. The passage just quoted recalls another, more excellent still, wherein Esmond watches the sun set behind the rookery of Castlewood the day the new lord comes into possession. The banished prior, whose zeal possibly in the eyes of our author lacked culture from its excess—though of course we are not to hold Shorthouse responsible for this detail—becomes a sort of ghost in the fashion of Sir Walter's ghosts. Richard's son Eustace succeeds to Westacre, and this Eustace, a courtier like his father, takes up the elder

of his twin sons to be a page to the king; but he leaves John Inglesant to solitude or the companionship of the servants and the chaplain; until turns up Father St. Clair (Father Hall) the Jesuit, the moving spring of Johnny's life, and alas! decidedly the most conventional character in the book. Father Hall is a close parallel to the Father Holt of *Esmond*, and consequently less original than that personage, who on his side is not convincing. But the description of Johnny's religious doubts and searchings of heart is admirably done, and is quite outside the sphere of Thackeray; and admirable are the little sketches of the priests and parsons of the neighbourhood whom the lad visits in search of light. One of this group has a curious and doubtless quite accidental likeness to the astrologer-chaplain in the '*Chartreuse de Parme*.' Artistically considered, this portion of '*John Inglesant*' is as good as any in the whole first volume and better than almost any part in the second, even as the writer's understanding of English scenery and English character is superior to his understanding of Italian scenery and Italian character. For seeing that '*John Inglesant*' is really more than aught else the biography of a soul, such a discourse as the following by Inglesant's Platonic parson-friend is as important as any historical event with which the hero was afterwards mixed up.

'Here, in this book which I was reading when you so kindly came to see me, are withered flowers, which I have gathered in my rambles, and keep as friends and companions of pleasant places, streams, and meadows, and of some who have been with me—and now are not. There is one; this single yellow flower. It is a tormentilla, which is good against the plague. What is it, that, as I hold it, makes me think of it as I do? Faded flowers have something to me miraculous and supernatural about them, though, in fact, it is nothing wonderful that the texture of a flower being dried survives. It is not in the flower, but in our immortal spirit that the miracle is. All these delightful thoughts that come into my mind when I look at this flower—thoughts, and fancies, and memories—what are they but the result of the alchemy of the immortal spirit, which takes all the pleasant, fragile things of life, and transmutes them into immortality in our own nature! And if the poor spirit and intellect of man can do this, how much more may the supreme creative intellect mould and form all things, and bring the presence of the supernatural face to face with us in our daily walk.' (P. 41.)

Then Johnny goes up to London and becomes a supernumerary page at Court. It is during this time that he makes his first visit to the lay monastery Little Gidding,

the whole description of which, a subject acutely sympathetic with the temper of Shorthouse, has always been reckoned, and justly, one of the golden passages of the book. We are still concerned with Johnny's soul more than with anything external. The scene where he receives the sacrament in the Ferrars' Chapel may be taken as the culminating point of this subjective history.

'Above the altar, which was profusely bedecked with flowers, the antique glass of the east window, which had been carefully repaired, contained a figure of the Saviour of an early and severe type. The form was gracious and yet commanding, having a brilliant halo round the head, and being clothed in a long and apparently seamless coat; the two forefingers of the right hand were held up to bless. Kneeling upon the half-pace, as he received the sacred bread and tasted the holy wine, this gracious figure entered into Inglesant's soul, and stillness and peace unspeakable, and life, and light, and sweetness, filled his mind. He was lost in a sense of rapture, and earth and all that surrounded him faded away. When he returned a little to himself, kneeling in his seat in the church, he thought that at no period of his life, however extended, should he ever forget that morning or lose the sense and feeling of that touching scene, of that gracious figure over the altar, of the bowed and kneeling figures, of the misty autumn sunlight and the sweeping autumn wind. Heaven itself seemed to have opened to him, and one fairer than the fairest of the angelic hosts to have come down to earth.' (Pp. 59, 60.)

But not alone is this passage of the Gidding visit sympathetic with the feelings of the author; it is, in its shadow of romantic love for Mary Collet mingling with its sacramentalism, an admirable piece of historic psychology, transmuting to its page the fine essence of seventeenth-century devotional poetry—the verse of Herbert and Vaughan and Crashaw—but mostly of this last. Even so the earlier-quoted discourse of the Platonic parson might be matched with a great deal of English prose of this date. Here we touch the unique quality in 'John Inglesant:' that out of the native sympathy which made Shorthouse become a student of English seventeenth-century literature (of the Anglican type), and the added sympathy and insight begot of this long study, he has drunk in the spirit of that age and party as few romancers have ever done for any time; more deeply even than Thackeray absorbed the spirit of our Silver Age, though Thackeray's greater literary gifts allowed him to make in some respects a wider use of his knowledge. There has sprung up at no other time in our history a stranger literary product than the verse of this Anglican

group of poets—Donne, Vaughan, Herbert, Crashaw, Herrick—which throughout has a likeness of kinship, is all instinct with beauty, yet never leaves an impress of full—the fullest—sincerity; and which graduates so marvellously—taking the verse of this Pleiad as a whole—from brutal coarseness, up through romance, into religious devotion. No description can give an idea of that poetry to a reader who is unfamiliar with some good proportion of it; but probably such readers are few. To judge it, as most of us do, standing upon the threshold is one thing; so to absorb it that one's mind has taken the very form and pressure of the time, is quite another thing; and this is what Shorthouse has achieved.

In this history of John Inglesant's spiritual developement the events of national history flit out and in of the narrative in a capricious fashion, sometimes very impressively, as in the account of Strafford's ghost—another purple patch—sometimes quite the reverse, as in Johnny's proceedings during Laud's trial: never in a wholly artistic fashion. Our author is here and throughout large portions of his story in the position of a circus rider trying to ride two horses and keep them always in step: it is impossible to achieve the feat with perfect grace. Perhaps Thackeray's literary instinct was the surer in making history, as he said, step down from her high place, put off her cothurni, and mingle in every-day life. On the other hand, if Shorthouse had done the same we should have missed a great deal. We have always in his book a sense of great historical events, though they pass in the background. Excellent, for example, is the picture of Oxford during the war, even though one feels that Johnny would really have had very little part or lot in the business. Then there is the episode of the rescue of Lady Fentham, which is a separate gem: all this serves its turn in emphasising Shorthouse's *doctrina*, that a man should be a good Christian and a man of the world. Unfortunately, it emphasises it too obviously: the hero seems—in the unconscious cerebration of the author—to be posing for an effect: as, in truth, all Shorthouse's fine gentlemen do a little. It has been admirably said, 'Tact, as soon as it is praised, deserves no praise.' And one may say that as soon as a man's fine manners are praised they too cease (almost) to deserve it. Shorthouse is always praising the fine manners of his fine gentlemen. And what a terrible come down is that when John Inglesant hints to Mary Collet that he is too poor to marry her; one of those

sudden shocks which we have noticed also in Shorthouse's prose.

All the part of the story connected with the enlistment of the Irish and the attempted relief of Chester, ending with Inglesant's appearance on the scaffold, rises to a high level of interest, that should subdue the critical feelings of any reader. He may upon colder reflection complain of its want of naturalism, want of realism. Mere historical inaccuracies or voluntary departures from accuracy are of small moment—such as the attitude attributed in the book to Lord Byron, who is reputed to have said, in reality, that if the King would call in the Irish, or, for that matter, the Turks, provided they would serve him, he saw nothing against it. In 'John Inglesant' Byron is filled with horror at the notion of enlisting the Irishry. The fault of this portion does not lie in such things, but in the too clear anxiety of the author to put his hero in the most favourable light, not merely face to face with his own conscience, but *vis-à-vis* even to his enemies. There is too much of the school-girl's hero here, or even of the child's, who, following some 'third brother' through the troubles of his earlier years, has to 'pretend' he didn't mind. It is in this we surprise the essential weakness of Shorthouse, that which keeps his work on this side of real greatness, a flinching from reality, or thoroughness in any direction. Theoretically, John Inglesant made the most splendid sacrifice that a man could make. But as you are never really allowed to see him in his hours of weakness, and even his enemies are not permitted to think the worst of him, the result upon reflection seems like the 'pretending' of children. Then follows the vision in the crystal, which is admirably fitted to Shorthouse's style of narration, and is, moreover, quite in the spirit of the time (Meric Casaubon's 'Veritable Relation'* has, no doubt, supplied the pattern for it). Follows the murder of Eustace, as the crystal had foretold it. And therewith the first part (the English portion of Inglesant's history) comes to an end.

On the way to Italy we stand by the death-bed of Mary Collet, a passage which, Mrs. Shorthouse tells us, was especially admired by the elder Shorthouse, who read 'John

* 'A veritable and faithful relation of what passed between Dr. Dee and certain spirits.' This was published within a year or two of the event of the vision in 'John Inglesant.' But Dr. Dee was already dead when the essential part of Shorthouse's story opens.

‘Inglesant’ for the first time in print a few months before he died. Was there, in fact, a pause in the writing between the first and second parts? We are not told. It is certain that the Italian portion is suggestive of a certain fatigue in the writer, and this notwithstanding that it contains the episode which was the germ of the whole romance. All this section is, of course, a great *tour de force*, seeing that the author was never in the country he describes. Passages of description are of high merit, and many of the episodes are so likewise. How good that scene is which leads to the acquaintance with the Cavaliere di Guardino, the murdered English lad, and the maskers; and then, again, the vielle-player’s story, and the Papal election, and much of the talk about music and the drama! They are utterly in the spirit of the age; but the career of the central figure has become too nebulous through all these histories; and, moreover, some of them read like imitations, like *pastiches*. The maskers’ scene has its counterpart in ‘Don Quixote,’ and the vielle-player’s story may have been suggested by more than one *novella*. Our author has turned his back too much on probability. The passages in which Lauretta figures are unreal as a dream. The crowning absurdity in this kind is that, though Eustace’s murderer had been living for some months in Lady Cardiff’s household, Inglesant should, as we are constantly told, have gone to Italy without the least idea of Malvolti’s personal appearance. A second improbability almost as great is that Inglesant’s friends, the Jesuits, could not trace the villain. Howbeit, these two ignorances are capital to the story, for they alone are excuse for the hero’s drifting about as he does. Let us then close the book with the scene in the chapel among the mountains, which was, we know, the origin of the whole tale.

‘The priest, who was an old and simple-looking countryman, continued his office without stopping; but when he had received the sacred elements himself, he turned, and influenced probably by his appearance and by his position at the altar, he offered Inglesant the sacrament. He took it, and the priest, turning again to the altar, finished the mass.

‘Then Inglesant rose, and when the priest turned again, he was standing before the altar with his drawn sword held lengthwise across his hands.

“My father,” he said, “I am the Cavaliere di San Giorgio, and as I came across the mountains this morning on my way to Rome, I met my mortal foe, the murderer of my brother, a wretch whose life is forfeit by every law, either of earth or heaven, a guilty monster steeped in every crime. Him, as soon as I had met him—sent by

this lonely and untrodden way as it seems to me by the Lord's hand—I thought to crush at once, as I would a venomous beast, though he is worse than any beast. But, my father, he has appealed from me to the adorable name of Jesus, and I cannot touch him. But he will not escape. I give him over to the Lord. I give up my sword into the Lord's hands, that He may work my vengeance upon him as it seems to Him good. Henceforth he is safe from earthly retribution, but the Divine Powers are just. Take this sword, reverend father, and let it lie upon the altar beneath the Christ Himself, and I will make an offering for daily masses for my brother's soul." (P. 367.)

An account of Shorthouse's writings is really incomplete until not our author's social theories only have been set forth (as has in some sort been done), but his religious creed likewise. To do that would, however, open up too many controverted questions. We must at least take for granted the distinctly Christian and Anglican portions of it, assuming that the reader can reconstruct them for himself. What was peculiar to Shorthouse was his special endeavour to combine Christianity with 'culture.' That was the word he used generally, but sometimes it is Platonism, sometimes Hellenism, in the sense in which Matthew Arnold used the word. Hellenism is the best term. But it is necessary to point out that Shorthouse never penetrated to the root of Platonism or Hellenism, in so far as he confounded these influences with what is commonly called 'culture.' To Shorthouse it was a marriage of morality and intellect that he sought to bring about. It is a common error of our days (from which Matthew Arnold was not exempt) to overlook the moral side of Hellenism. Things which are so great do not rest on intellectual greatness alone; and that which makes the grandeur of Hellenism or sets the coping-stone upon its greatness is its embodiment of the supreme Pagan virtue, justice. It is easy to overlook this, because, in fact, the sense of justice has for our world been overlaid by other virtues—overlaid more especially by humanity, which to the Christian is 'charity.' Justice has been lost sight of in her dwelling-house with the gods below. And modern society is apt to confound justice with law. Yet even its law the modern world has not created, but inherited it from the union of the Greek mind and the Latin.* Thus people like Shorthouse read Plato for what they call his 'spirituality;' they are interested in his speculations about

* As in the codes of the Byzantine emperors Theodosius and Justinian.

a future life. And they never see—what yet is written on every page—that this spirituality, that these eschatological myths of Plato have their root in one supreme passion of his mind—the love of justice. The passage of the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians appeals to such readers as a thing of life and power. But the famous ‘paradox’ of the ‘Gorgias,’ that it is better to suffer injustice than to do it, is for them only a sentiment, a beautiful idea and thing of ‘culture.’ Now this sense of justice is not among the Greeks confined to Plato and to Socrates, though to themselves it often seemed so to be; for it is the moral counterpart of all the Hellene’s sense of proportion, which is his sense of art. It lies concealed in all Hellenic ‘culture,’ but in the poets it continually comes to light also. The paradoxes of their own creed are due more than everything else to this foundation of their minds. At whiles they, like Job, come to the conclusion that the heavenly powers are invincible, and that, whether they be just or no, it is no use complaining. At whiles, again, they do complain, or, with Prometheus and Ajax, defy Olympus. But oftener yet they trust with Plato that the Olympians are indeed just.

Οὐ γὰρ τί μοι Ζεὺς ἦν ὁ κηρύξας τάδε
Οὐδ’ ἡ ξύνουκος τῶν κάτω θεῶν Δίκη.

By missing, then, this essential of the moral force of Paganism, Shorthouse really slid aside of the question he tried to solve. This is not written in any controversial spirit, nor with any desire to prejudice the question of a possible union of Christianity with Hellenism. But it is certain that such a union can never be planned by those who rest content with the surface of Hellenism, the flower of beauty growing above it, like the water lily on the water not troubling themselves concerning the depths below.

ART. VI.—IRELAND UNDER GEORGE II.

1. *Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville of Drayton House, Northamptonshire.* Vol. I. London: Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1904.

IT has been justly remarked of Irish history that it embraces periods of political calm as remarkable as those storms, often as sudden in their uprising as destructive in their course, which challenge the attention of the reader at so many stages in the record of the relations between Great Britain and Ireland. If we analyse the Irish chronicle from the Revolution of 1688 to the present day, we shall find periods, sometimes covering a whole generation, which remain almost complete blanks upon the page of history. Thus, in the nineteenth century there are the long silences which intervened between the Union and Catholic Emancipation, between the Repeal and the Home Rule agitations. And in the eighteenth century the pauses are still longer and the silences yet deeper. Between the events that immediately followed the Battle of the Boyne and those that closely preceded the creation of an independent legislature, there intervened a space of something like ninety years. Yet, save for the brief squall that raged over Wood's halfpence, there was, throughout that lengthened period, no popular movement serious enough to threaten gravely the repose of English Ministers, much less to engross the attention of the general public of the three kingdoms. To the first sovereigns of the House of Brunswick, Ireland gave little concern through the greater part of their reigns. To them it appeared, to use Horace Walpole's expression, 'no more than a remote part of their dominions which was not accustomed to figure on the theatre of politics.'

This characteristic is best explained by the consideration that in Ireland, though the materials for agitation are never far to seek, the master-spirits capable of giving cohesion and a common purpose to scattered and often antagonistic factions have appeared only at rare intervals. In Ireland, the personal element has always been the dominant factor. Many have aspired to ride the Irish whirlwind, only a very few have proved themselves capable of directing the storm; and the hour of apprehended danger has often passed harmlessly by because it has not brought with it the man who could convert difficulty into disaster. Thus it comes about that Irish history has been characterised by a certain lack of pro-

portion. Swift's brief irruption into Irish politics has been fully explored by historians and exhausted by the biographers of the author of the 'Drapier's Letters.' The story of Grattan and his Parliament is a literature in itself. O'Connell and his triumphs, though still awaiting the final verdict of the impartial historian, are in no danger of being forgotten. But while it is natural that the stirring incidents which cluster round strong personalities should concentrate attention on such movements as those which are inspired by the genius of a Grattan or an O'Connell, it is none the less essential to a right understanding of Irish problems that the less conspicuous landmarks of the past should be observed. For it is in the examination of hidden history that the true origin of familiar events is most often revealed. The darker periods of history are not always the least attractive: the obscure is not necessarily the uninteresting. And the investigator is unfortunate who, delving in the dead past, is not occasionally rewarded by the discovery of the secret springs of some long famous but only half-understood event.

Such a period is that which intervened between the age of Swift and the rise of Flood and Grattan. It is a period of which less is known, perhaps, than of any other in the history of Ireland since the Revolution. Yet it forms a chapter which is far from unimportant, and some knowledge of which is requisite to a right conception of the more stirring era which followed. If it is deficient in pre-eminent and dominating personalities, it is not without its share of interesting personages in politics, literature, and religion. The period which witnessed the rise of a parliamentary Opposition under Anthony Malone at College Green, and of popular agitation under Charles Lucas, has great importance and suggestiveness in relation to the subsequent movement for legislative independence. And the Dublin of Lord Chesterfield's Viceroyalty, and of Mrs. Delany's Letters, is not lacking in social distinction. The importance of such a period cannot be more conveniently indicated than in the form of a notice such as is here attempted of some of its more picturesque figures, and of the once famous controversy over the altered Money Bill which, according to Edmund Burke, first showed that the English in Ireland had begun to recollect that they had a country and to transform themselves openly and avowedly into an independent Irish interest.

Perhaps Irish politics have never been so narrowly provincial as during the middle period of the eighteenth century. Scarcely any question of importance then occupied the

attention of the statesmen who were responsible for the welfare of the country. This apathy was due in the main to the neglect of their viceregal functions by the noblemen from time to time sent over by English Ministers to govern the country. It was the heyday of that extraordinary system of government by Undertakers which prevailed through the earlier part of the century, and was only destroyed by the Octennial Act of 1767. Of this system, by which so many successive Viceroys practically abrogated their functions in favour of certain of the more wealthy and ambitious members of the Irish aristocracy, it is impossible to give a more accurate description than that which has been left us by one of the most eminent of the Lords-Lieutenant who experienced its effects. Writing in 1758, Chesterfield, whose Viceroyalty has been justly praised by Lecky as one of the most successful of the century, gives the following description of his own experience of this curious system:—

‘The Lord-Lieutenant may, if he pleases, govern alone, but then he must, as I know by experience, take a great deal more trouble upon himself than most Lord-Lieutenants care to do, and he must not be afraid. But as they commonly prefer *otium cum dignitate*, their guards, their battleaxes, and their trumpets, not to mention perhaps the profits of their post, to a laborious execution of it, they must necessarily rule by a faction, of which faction for the time being they are only the first slaves. The condition of the obligation is this. “Your Excellency or Your Grace wants to carry on His Majesty’s business smoothly, and to have it to say when you go back that you met with no difficulties. This we have sufficient strength in Parliament to engage for, provided we appear to have the favour and countenance of the Government. The money, be it what it will, shall be cheerfully voted. As for the public, you shall do what you will, or nothing at all, for we care for that no more than we suppose Your Grace or Your Excellency does. But we repeat it again, our recommendations to places, pensions, &c., must prevail, or we shall not be able to keep our people in order.” These are always the expressed, or at least the implied, conditions of these treaties, which either the indulgence or the insufficiency of the Governors ratify. Thus from that moment these Undertakers bury the Governor alive, but indeed pompously.’

Much too self-confident and, indeed, too honest to acquiesce in such an effacement of his office, and chafing throughout his government under the control of a plebeian oligarchy, for which, though unable to withstand it, he felt a most patrician contempt, Chesterfield appears to have conceived an intense disgust for the whole system of Irish government. The references to Ireland in his subsequent corre-

spondence are permeated with a contemptuous cynicism which never varies. Thus, in a letter to his friend Chenevix, Bishop of Waterford, a prelate who owed to Chesterfield's patronage a mitre which he adorned by a life of the simplest piety, he expressed his opinion with uncompromising frankness. Parties in Ireland, he did not scruple to say, thought no more of the public good than they did of the squaring of the circle. The question with them was by no means how Ireland should be governed, but by whom; and whoever prevailed, the difference to the country would be 'no more than that between a cat in a hole and a cat 'out of a hole.'

If it be urged that the impressions of an Englishman and a stranger like Chesterfield, notwithstanding that his position gave him so full an opportunity of judging at first hand of the political system he was appointed to preside over, were jaundiced by his unsympathetic temperament, no such objection can be urged against the estimate formed of the Undertakers by an Irish politician whose honesty and sagacity were so conspicuous as to win him the reputation of a statesman, even under a system which hardly left room for statesmanship. Edmond Sexton Pery, who, for a score of years prior to his elevation to the Speakership in 1771, held a seat in the Irish House of Commons, has left us in a masterly review of the state of parties in Ireland, addressed in 1757 to the Duke of Bedford, a succinct account of the state of parties in Ireland, as it appeared to one who had the best means of judging of its operation from within. It is precisely to the same effect as Chesterfield's, though, being addressed to a Viceroy, the language of condemnation is more decorous. According to this candid observer, the one point on which men of all parties were agreed was that the Chief Governor should not be permitted to interfere in the domestic administration of the kingdom. And the same authority averred that the Undertakers' notion of 'doing the 'King's business' in each biennial Session consisted in 'procuring the supplies which were thought proper to be 'demanded by the English Minister, and in preventing the 'Parliament from examining into the accounts of the previous 'years.'

For some years prior to the period with which we are now concerned, the principal Undertaker had been Henry Boyle, the Speaker of the House of Commons, a scion of that remarkable house which had been founded more than a century earlier by the great Earl of Cork. Down to the

death of Primate Boulter, Boyle had held only the subordinate place in the triumvirate of Lords Justices to whom the authority of the Lord-Lieutenant was commonly delegated. But Archbishop Hoadly, though nominated to the same position which his predecessor had filled so vigorously, had little taste for statecraft, and was content to leave the direction of civil politics and patronage in the hands of his lay colleagues. On Hoadly's death, however, after a primacy of little more than four years, the chief place at the head of Church and State was placed in the hands of a very different prelate. Archbishop Stone united to Boulter's capacity for affairs a love of power and a talent for intrigue which have seldom been surpassed in any Minister: qualities which speedily made him the most powerful subject of the Crown in Ireland, and for some time threatened to eclipse all other influences in the State.

Unlike the letters of Archbishop Boulter, which form perhaps the principal authority for the affairs of Ireland for the first twelve years of George II., little of the correspondence of Archbishop Stone has been printed. A few letters belonging to his latter years are to be found in the correspondence of the fourth Duke of Bedford, and some others have been made available in the Stopford-Sackville Papers, published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, cited at the head of this article. But many more survive among the papers of the Duke of Newcastle, which are now among the Additional MSS. at the British Museum. They range from the year 1739 to 1762. But by far the greater number of them belong to the years 1752-55, and cover the period of the conflict between the Irish Government and the Irish House of Commons on the subject of the disposal of the unappropriated surplus of the Irish Exchequer. Though the question at issue in this controversy was a comparatively small one, the dispute is one of serious interest in the developement of Irish politics, marking, as it does, the first concerted attempt by the Irish Parliament in the eighteenth century to assert its independence of ministerial dictation. It is an incident which has hitherto been little attended to and only half-understood, for the materials available for forming a judgement on the real state of parties in Ireland at the time have been curiously scanty till just recently.

Remembering how little tolerant England has been since the days of the Stuarts of the interference of ecclesiastics in the affairs of state, it may seem strange to illustrate

the civil politics of Ireland in the eighteenth century in the person of an archbishop. But the retention by the heads of the Irish Establishment of a large share of civil authority, for almost a century after such a combination of political with ecclesiastical authority had ceased to be possible in Great Britain, is not the only instance of the survival in Ireland of practices from which the British Constitution had, in theory, long been purged. The peculiar condition of Irish politics and society in the eighteenth century naturally tended to throw civil power into the hands of the rulers of the Church. No religious system was ever more thoroughly Erastian than the Irish Establishment in the eighteenth century. The Church of Ireland of that age, and especially of the earlier half of the century, was a religious organisation imposed from necessities of state upon a people who rejected its doctrines. In an institution so circumstanced, it was inevitable that at a period which witnessed the enactment of the Penal Laws, and was marked by the elaborate educational policy of which the Charter Schools were the instrument, such an organisation should lean heavily towards England. It was equally natural that its rulers should become in civil, as well as in ecclesiastical affairs, the instruments of the Government by which it had been constituted, and by whose authority alone it had been sustained. Recruited almost exclusively from England, the Irish episcopal bench became a stronghold of English ideas. The practice by which the Irish Primate, as the subject of highest rank in Ireland, was invariably placed at the head of the commission of Lords Justices in the absence of the Viceroy, provided numerous opportunities for the assumption of a political rôle which might easily lead to the absorption of almost the whole executive authority in the hands of an ambitious ecclesiastic. It is no exaggeration to say that during the entire reign of George II., and for some years before and after it, the true Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was the Archbishop of Armagh. A succession of prelates, of whom Boulter's is the best known name, took full advantage of the opportunities thus afforded them. But it was reserved for Stone to prove to the world that the ambitions of a Wolsey and not a little of his power might still be displayed by a Protestant prelate in the Ireland of George II.

The Primacy to which Stone was called at the early age of thirty-nine was thus a Primacy much more political than ecclesiastical. Always prone to dependence on the Crown,

the concern of the higher ecclesiastics in Ireland under the first sovereigns of the House of Hanover was rather for the State than for the Church. In the choice of such prelates as Boulter and Stone, political considerations predominated over all others. The Prime Ministers by whom the Primates of Ireland were recommended, and in effect appointed, were more solicitous for the effective management of the Irish Parliament than for the episcopal supervision of the Irish Church. Accordingly, the preference given to Stone over his principal rivals for one of the most splendid prizes in the gift of the Crown was due to his known aptitude for the management of affairs, and to the confidence felt by the Premier, Henry Pelham, in the loyal support which he could rely on receiving in Irish business from the old friend and protégé of his brother Newcastle. It is, however, no more than justice to the much-maligned eighteenth century to observe that this political conception of a great ecclesiastical position had prevailed in Ireland even in an age when the interests of religion were more particularly regarded. A long succession of sixteenth-century Chancellors, who were politicians rather than Churchmen, had created a tradition that civil rather than religious qualifications were to be looked to in the filling of the higher places on the episcopal bench in Ireland. To such a degree had this become an accepted rule, that as early as James I.'s time so experienced an official as Sir Henry Harington did not scruple to apply to Cecil for the succession to Archbishop Adam Loftus; and, as he frankly avowed to Cecil, his 'offer and desire' was to be the Chancellor's successor 'as well to his sperytuall office as to his 'temporall.' The Irish Chancellorship and the Archbishopric of Dublin were frequently, though not invariably, vested in the same person in the seventeenth century, and this association was not finally terminated till after the Restoration.* In the reigns of William III. and George I. the traditional union of the offices was sustained by the frequent nomination of the Archbishops of Dublin to be Commissioners of the Great Seal, while the political preoccupation of the Primates was emphasised by their continual nomination as Lords Justices in the frequent absences of the Viceroys.

* Even in England the association of the heads of the Establishment with civil statecraft lasted into the reign of Charles II. Archbishop Sheldon was a member of the Cabinet in 1664, and again in 1673. See Pepys's Diary, and Letters to Sir Joseph Williamson.

The letters of Primate Stone shed a flood of clear and fresh light on the obscure politics of the time. They enable us to understand the process by which the Irish House of Commons was moulded to be the instrument upon which, as was said of Peel in the case of the English one, Grattan could play as on an old fiddle. And they are also valuable for their references to the state of political society at the time they were written, as well as for the illustration they give of the personal idiosyncrasies of the writer. Filled with the chicane of negotiation, with singularly penetrating and able criticisms of the men he had to deal with, with projects for combinations by which this politician might be checkmated or that other utilised, they are the letters of an adroit and able statesman, thoroughly cognisant of every move on the political chessboard which it was his business to watch so attentively. But they are not the letters of a churchman or divine. Not once in Stone's long and familiar confidences to his patron and political chief is religion mentioned, nor is the Church spoken of except as the nomination to vacant bishoprics might affect ministerial interests in the House of Lords. Occasionally the incompatibility of such pursuits with the sacred character of his profession is alluded to, but the topic is never long dwelt on, and the pen of the churchman returns readily to the concerns of the statesman. Nor are we left in any doubt as to the means by which the health of the chief pastor of the Irish Church might become impaired in 'doing the business of Government.' Horace Walpole, in noticing the Primate's death, describes the Archbishop as having 'ruined his constitution by indulgence in the style of luxury and drinking established in Ireland, and by conforming to which he had found the means of preventing the most grievous prejudices, and of gaining popularity, ascendent, power, an instance of abilities not to be matched.' And it is related that when, being threatened with mortal illness, Stone had recourse to his physician, he warned this adviser not to treat his case as that of an average clerical patient. 'Look on me,' he said, 'not as an ordinary clergyman, or as subject to the diseases of the clerical profession, but as one who has impaired his constitution by sitting up late and rising early to do the business of Government.' Stone's letters fully support both Walpole's statement and his own.

The convivial excesses which were still common among the Irish country gentry in the last quarter of the eighteenth century have been described by Sir Jonah Barrington, and

there is no doubt that such orgies as those which Sir Walter Scott describes in his account of the Osbaldistones were common in the Ireland of a generation earlier, and remained so for long after they had ceased to be general in English society. From these letters we learn that intemperance equally gross prevailed in the highest ranks of society in the early part of the century. It is indeed hardly an exaggeration to say that wine was the medium through which the King's government was carried on. Chesterfield, whose letters disclose a wholesome disgust with the system which for a couple of years it had been his business to administer, expressed himself very pointedly on this feature of Irish politics. 'It is a maxim that business 'is best done over a bottle, and that people are never so fit 'for it as when they are fit for nothing else. I make no 'doubt that there has been more claret drunk over the 'barracks than will be drunk in them in ten years; and I 'wonder the bridge was not agreed to, considering the 'national aversion to water.' Elsewhere the same statesman remarked that the five thousand tuns of wine annually imported into Ireland were chiefly employed 'in destroying 'the constitution, and too often the fortunes, of those of 'superior rank, who ought to take care of all the others.' Cumberland, the dramatist, who had excellent opportunities of observing the manners of Dublin society, and was a frequent guest at the Primate's house, was astonished at the magnificence displayed in the great houses, and at the degree in which 'in several prelatial houses the gravity of demeanour 'maintained by our English dignitaries was laid aside, and the 'mitre was mingled with the cockade.' Stone's own testimony is to the like effect. Criticising the conduct of affairs by the Viceroy prior to the Duke of Dorset, he observes that the King's business was indeed carried on, 'that is, the 'money bills were passed, and the chief governor gave 'wine to the men and fiddles to the women as usual.' The use made of wine in promoting political ends is yet more candidly avowed in another letter, in which the Primate, felicitating himself on his success so far, expresses his confidence that in future the Government may be carried on 'without trusting entirely to the influence of wine, and the 'exacting of intemperate promises at the end of a debauch.'

Nor was this use of wine confined to the government. Intemperance was equally the weapon of the opponents of the administration. 'Satires and claret,' as Walpole puts it, 'were useful weapons even against corruption.' The

sheriff of Dublin is described as having died in 1754 of a violent fever, 'occasioned by a very hard drinking bout at a late meeting of patriots in the Tholsel.' The 'Orrery Papers' contain several amusing letters descriptive of the doings of the Opposition. At one of their gatherings—a meeting of the 'gentlemen of the Province of Ulster'—no fewer than thirty toasts appear to have been drunk. Henry Pelham writes with indignation at Speaker Boyle's attendance at the 'drunken and mobbish assemblies' of the popular party; and, not to confine the evidence to English sources, Edmond Pery, in his 'Letters from an Armenian in Ireland,' written in 1756, observes with scarcely extravagant exaggeration that 'their people go to such excesses in their intoxicating liquors that it would be no difficult task to take any city of their kingdom by surprise two hours after the time of dining, as half of the people are at that time usually mad.'

Chesterfield is not exactly the man we expect to find in the rôle of temperance reformer, but even he was moved to express the pious aspiration that 'it would please God to blast all the vines in the world, and by His thunder to turn all the wines in Ireland sour.'

Of the actual course of the proceedings which so disturbed the ease of the Duke of Dorset's second administration, by far the best account yet available is to be gleaned from the passages relating to Ireland in Horace Walpole's 'Memoirs of the Reign of George II.' That most scandalous of political chroniclers knew little of the internal condition of Ireland, and probably cared still less. But he was keenly interested in the administrative changes in that country under the Cabinets of George II., as they affected the careers of the great personages of English politics. Whatever else may be said of the Government of Ireland in that reign, it is at least certain that the Viceroyalty was continuously held, not merely by great noblemen, but by noblemen who held great positions in the actual governing circle. The Dukes of Dorset, Devonshire, and Bedford, the Earls of Chesterfield and Harrington, were all of them important members of the Pelham and Newcastle Cabinets, whose removal to or from Ireland sensibly affected the combinations of the political kaleidoscope. It was from this point of view that Walpole was interested in Irish affairs, and it is manifest from his account of them that he contrived to get information regarding what went on in Dublin which was both accurate and minute, enabling him to draw several excellent and characteristic portraits of

persons whose fame was purely Irish. And as, in dealing with Ireland, Walpole departed for the sake of convenience from the chronological order of his narrative, and grouped his Irish information into connected summaries of events running through a considerable period, it is possible to obtain from his pages a clearer account of affairs in Ireland, in the last years of George II., than has been left by any other writer. But Horace Walpole, although he knew almost everything that went on in political circles in London, and contrived to know much about the leading personages in College Green, knew very little, if anything, of Ireland itself. To him, contemporary history was little more than the record of political tittle-tattle and the ups and downs of Court favourites. Admirable from the point of view of English politics, it is necessary to correct Walpole's narrative at many points by a reference to conditions of Irish politics and society which, lying a little below the surface, were hidden to this acute and sagacious, but somewhat superficial, observer. And on these points the correspondence of Archbishop Stone with the Duke of Newcastle, and of Lord George Sackville with both, supplement Walpole's narrative in many important particulars.

Prior to the accession of the Duke of Dorset to the Lord-Lieutenancy in 1751, a dead calm had prevailed for many years. In the language of one of the numerous Opposition pamphlets which within a twelvemonth were everywhere disseminated, 'everything was happy here and agreeable 'to England.' Speaker Boyle, who, as already mentioned, was the principal Undertaker, had conducted for many years the little business there was to do in Parliament, and in return for that service had been allowed, by a succession of Chief Governors, complete control of the much more important business of dispensing the Government patronage among his own adherents. Dorset had already served for above six years, from 1730-37, in the same great office, and had seen and realised the degradation of the Viceroy's position in the hands of the Undertakers. Chesterfield, as we have seen, had felt acutely the insignificance of his position, and had revolted against the notion that the great English nobles deputed to represent the Crown should become the puppets of a knot of provincial place-hunters. He had imbued Pelham and Newcastle with a sense of the danger of surrendering authority over Ireland in the fashion which had prevailed for a generation. On Chesterfield's retirement a resolution seems to have been taken to reform the system. It was

at first intended that Dorset should directly succeed him. But the Earl of Harrington, who had been obliged by the King to resign the seal of the Secretary of State, insisted on his title to the Lord-Lieutenancy. He was accordingly nominated, and held the post for four years. His administration was undistinguished by a single act of importance, other than the advancement of Stone to the Primacy. But on the resignation of Harrington, the opportunity for which Pelham had been waiting was provided. Dorset returned to Dublin Castle. He brought with him instructions, which were certainly not disagreeable to him, to assert the authority of the Crown and 'to bring back administration 'to the Castle.'

The task was obviously difficult, but Dorset was favourably circumstanced for its performance. He had been popular in his former tenure of office, and had earned the goodwill of Swift. Several letters from the great Dean, whose friendship was at that period essential to the peace of any Irish administration, are extant in the Stopford-Sackville Papers. He had also the assured support of his superiors in England. The Duke of Newcastle was the Minister through whom the communications between the English and Irish Privy Councils were carried on under his brother's government, and Newcastle, Dorset, and Stone were all three of them on terms of personal and intimate friendship. With Lord George Sackville, the Viceroy's son, as secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, and with Stone at the head of the Commission of Lords Justices, circumstances were more than ordinarily favourable to an attempt to reassert the paramount authority of the English Ministry over the self-seeking place-hunters, so graphically described by Chesterfield, who monopolised both the honours and the emoluments of Irish administration. Admirably persuasive and adroit, and skilled in the management of men, Stone was from the outset of Dorset's government at the elbow of the Viceroy, and in his absence took the lead in the triumvirate of Lords Justices by whom the business of the State was carried on. The Primate had thus at first no difficulty in carrying on affairs to the satisfaction of his patron. Confining himself in the first instance to the control of the House of Lords, and the disposal of ecclesiastical patronage—the latter at that time an important element in the scheme of English government—he at first aroused no hostile feeling. In the first year of Dorset's government, and before that nobleman came over, he carried on the business of administration with

marked success. Amongst other measures he negotiated a plan for improving the currency, which had become so debased that, according to a letter of Lord Orrery, the 'guinea was clipt in such a manner as to want six or eight shillings of its full weight, so that no money is current except at the card tables. There the gentlemen are obliged to produce their purses, out of which the ladies choose the broadest guineas they can find.' Stone withdrew the proclamation under which Spanish pistoles had been recognised as legal tender, and allowed English money to be imported into Ireland.

But when, on the opening of the parliamentary session, the Primate proceeded to consolidate his power by the formation of a separate party in the House of Commons, the friends of the old system took alarm. Henry Boyle, who had filled the Speaker's chair for eighteen years, had unquestioned control of the assembly over which he presided. He had influential connexions among the Irish aristocracy, and commanded immense influence as an owner of Irish boroughs. He was not a man of striking abilities, and at critical moments was always fond of leaning on the advice of others rather than deciding for himself. But he was affable and popular, and knew how to make things smooth for the Viceroy who governed through him. According to the compendious character given of him by Horace Walpole, he was 'vain and popular, and, as the idols of the people and of themselves generally are, a man of moderate capacity.' At the outset of Dorset's Viceroyalty, and down to the opening of the Session of Parliament, the best relations were maintained between Boyle and Stone. But the moment that the Primate's adroit diplomacy threatened to establish a strong Court interest in the House of Commons, their friendship was speedily dissolved. The result of the conflict of interest between the Primate and the Speaker was to precipitate a conflict of principle between the English and Irish elements in the Irish Parliament. Factions were created which, in Walpole's phrase, soon imbibed all the inveteracy of party except disaffection. For the first time since the Restoration, an Opposition was formed in the Lower House, in which, oddly enough, not a few of the most vigorous members were placemen and servants of the Crown.

That a definite attempt would be made to assert viceregal authority was known before Dorset's arrival. Lord Orrery, writing from England, was quick to inform his relative, the

Speaker, of what was in store. 'There are various struggles and great workings within our mountain of state. When it bursts, some people will be knocked on the head. But, thank Heaven, I am out of this Vesuvius.' No sooner was the Lord-Lieutenant arrived, than the issue was quickly joined between the two interests. The Government were anxious to get rid of the Speaker on decent terms, and thought to allay his opposition by the usual panacea. He was offered a peerage and a pension of 1,500*l.* a year, but rejected the proposed accommodation in language which, if correctly reported by Walpole, was dignified and to the point. 'If I had a peerage,' he said, 'I should not think myself greater than now that I am Mr. Boyle; for the other thing, I despise it as much as the person who offers it.'

Open war was at once declared, and a struggle immediately ensued. The Speaker started with the initial advantage of a great majority in the House of Commons, which he had consolidated during his long tenure of power by a skilful use of the vast patronage in his hands. The Primate, on the other hand, was supported both by the Viceroy and by the English Ministry, and, as 'the Governor of the Governor,' had acquired the control of all future patronage.

The House of Commons, which thus became the scene of a struggle so important that within a twelvemonth of its commencement, Pelham, the Prime Minister, wrote to Dorset that if a proper stand were not made by the Government the dependency of Ireland upon England might be regarded as over, was a peculiarly constituted body. It consisted of three hundred members, representing half as many constituencies, of whom above two-thirds were returned by boroughs of which the great majority were rotten. Most of the members either belonged to good county families and were the nominees of great peers, or they held positions of emolument in the military, legal, or civil services of the country, and were thus at the service of the Government. Many of the former class had seats in the English House of Commons at Westminster, and but seldom occupied the benches at College Green. But the latter were constantly present and made the normal House. At the beginning of Dorset's administration, the House was already quarter of a century in being, having been summoned at the accession of George II., and it endured throughout the entire reign of that sovereign. Its sessions, which were biennial, were usually but thinly attended, and but that they furnished the sole occasion for the visit of

the Viceroy, whose presence brought the territorial magnates to the capital, the assembly would have been still smaller. The Opposition, in so far as one existed, numbered less than thirty, and had hitherto always been powerless to resist the Administration. The Primate Stone in his letters notes that the attendance in the House of Commons on the Money Bill on November 16, 1753, which amounted to 239 was 'the greatest ever remembered;' and, as appears from the Charlemont Papers, it included members who, though elected at the first summons of Parliament in 1727, had not previously taken their seats. Its debates were held in the dignified edifice which had been opened by the Duke of Dorset in his first Viceroyalty, and which the great parliamentary period inaugurated by Grattan was ere long to render famous.

At the outset of the first session of Dorset's government the parties of which the House was constituted, in so far at least as party system can be said to have prevailed, were three in number. The Primate controlled the large official party directly dependent on the immediate favour of the Court. John Ponsonby, afterwards Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and father of a future Whig leader of Opposition in the English one, controlled a large Whig vote which he placed at the service of the Primate. The Speaker commanded the remainder. This consisted mainly of the friends and adherents of the great family of Boyle, which for above a century had enjoyed so large a share of political and ecclesiastical patronage, but it also included not a few of the place-holders who abounded at College Green.

Before relating the progress of the dissensions between the Primate and the Speaker, it may be convenient to give some account of the leading parliamentary personages. Considering that the long period of dull, though not unprosperous, quiescence which had remained unbroken since the accession of the House of Hanover was little favourable to the display of great parliamentary qualities, it is remarkable how large a proportion of members of capacity the House of Commons contained. The rank and file were of course provided by the great territorial interest and its nominees. On its roll appear the names of all the great territorial families whose names, since the Act of Settlement at all events, have been continuously associated with the Irish counties. Among the Knights of the Shire were to be found representatives of the Fitzmaurices of

Kerry, and the Fortescues of Louth; of the Bingham of Mayo, and the Caulfeilds of Tyrone; of the Skeffingtons of Antrim, and the St. Legers of Cork; of the Wynnes of Sligo, and the Wesleys of Meath. But while the territorial interest of course predominated, some corrective to its power was supplied by the mercantile interest in the representatives of large towns, and by the considerable admixture of the legal element among the members of the smaller boroughs. The great banking houses were honourably represented by La Touches and Burtons, while the Bar, which was afterwards to have so large a part in the glories of Grattan's Parliament, provided the House with its greatest orator in the person of the Prime Serjeant, Anthony Malone.

There was a further feature which, whatever its drawbacks in other respects, was not without its compensation in adding to the variety of the House of Commons. The large number of placemen made a company in themselves. Reflecting of course the predominance for the time being of one or other of the great county families, there was at every period in the history of the Irish Legislature a family group, which proved by its numbers the almost boundless possibilities of family aggrandisement under the eighteenth-century system of placemen and pensioners. In the latest era of the Irish Parliament, the Beresfords were the most conspicuous illustration of this characteristic. In the Parliament of George II., the same phenomenon was witnessed in the perhaps unparalleled achievement of the powerful family of the Gores. In 1750, no fewer than nine gentlemen of this name, known as the 'nine Gores,' sat together in the House of Commons, of which one of them had, for a time, been Speaker. Of the nine there was not one who was not in receipt in one form or another of the sweets of Government patronage; no fewer than four among them were eventually advanced to the peerage. One, rising to eminence as a lawyer, attained to the great office of Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and the dignity of Earl of Annaly. And the noble houses of Arran and Harlech derive from this singularly capable family coterie, which, always voting solidly together, engrossed a large proportion of the honours and emoluments at the disposal of those in power.

The official spokesman of the Government in the House of Commons was the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, a title, by the way, which has survived from times when the Viceroy had more than one parliamentary assistant. Under

the Dorset *régime*, the post was filled by the Duke's son, Lord George Sackville, who was to win a few years later an unenviable notoriety as the inglorious hero of Minden. Though his conduct on that occasion subjected him to imputations of cowardice, the charge does not appear to have been deserved. His daring had been the redeeming feature in the display of the British on the unfortunate field of Fontenoy, and much later in his career his spirited conduct in a duel evoked the encomiums of his adversary and the reluctant applause of Horace Walpole. But whatever his physical courage, there was no doubt of Sackville's intrepidity in conference and his vigour in debate. There he was audacious to the point of insolence. For though he understood business and was a man of unquestionable capacity, he was deficient in tact and in consideration for other men's feelings; and the difficulties which arose from the very outset of his official career in Ireland were attributed by capable observers in a great measure to his lack of temper and his greed for power. Horace Walpole, in noting Sackville's death, which did not occur till 1785, recalled the provocative character of his Irish career in his comment on him as 'the man who first taught Ireland to think.'

Less conspicuous in debate, but not less important in his influence in the House, was the leader of the extra-official wing of the ministerial party. John Ponsonby, the second son of the Earl of Bessborough, came of a Cumberland family, which had been settled for about a century in Ireland. Having had considerable grants of land confirmed to them by the Act of Settlement, the Ponsonbys had, by fortunate matrimonial alliances, acquired a leading position in the country, and had founded early in the reign of George I. the Earldom of Bessborough. Supporters of the Cromwellian and extreme Protestant interest in the seventeenth century, they were ardent supporters of Revolution principles; and the future Speaker of the Irish House of Commons further strengthened the Whig connexions of the family by his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter of the third Duke of Devonshire. At the moment when Dorset arrived, Ponsonby, who had been for many years in Parliament but was only just turned forty, was at the head of the Revenue Board, a position which, as the case of John Beresford was to prove forty years later, was one of immense influence in the official hierarchy of eighteenth-century Ireland. That influence Ponsonby's connexion with the Cavendishs disposed him to

place at the service of a government of which his father-in-law was a member. Accordingly he joined forces with the Primate, and thus enabled the latter to commence operations against the Speaker with a slight majority in his favour.

While the power of the Primate in the House of Commons depended on the support of Ponsonby, the position of Boyle in the same assembly mainly rested on the Prime Serjeant, Anthony Malone. The eulogies cited by Grattan, in his pamphlet in reply to Lord Clare, have rescued from oblivion the name of this remarkable man, and preserved his reputation as a great orator. 'A great sea in 'a calm,' he appeared to those who knew him in his latter years; 'a great sea in a storm' was the verdict of those who had known him in his prime. And, as Grattan finely added, 'like the sea, whether in calm or in storm, he was a 'great production of nature.' Of an old Westmeath family, educated at Christ Church, Malone had, on his admission to the Irish Bar, quickly reached eminence in his profession, and had been appointed Prime Serjeant at an early age. In the House of Commons, which he entered in 1727, he was to attain a double fame. It is the distinction of Anthony Malone to have been the first to form at College Green that school of Attic oratory which was to reach its zenith in the sonorous rhetoric of Grattan, though his own eloquence probably came nearer to the stately periods of Plunket. It is also his distinction to have been the inventor of a patriotic opposition in the Irish Parliament. Of Malone's great parliamentary abilities many testimonies survive. But none are more convincing than the frankness with which Stone, who felt their power, admits his superiority to all other antagonists. 'I will be so candid 'as to own,' he wrote to Newcastle in December 1753, 'that the Prime Serjeant, Mr. Malone, is by far the most 'able man in the House; and if his dispositions were as 'good as his talents, the Government could not pay too 'much for his support. He must bring strong debating 'support to any side.'

Though Malone's father had been a member of the English Bar, who had a large practice at Westminster and had many English connexions, he came of an Irish stock with strong Irish traditions, and he married a Roman Catholic. These circumstances gave a strong national leaning to Anthony Malone's opinions, and though there does not seem to be any warrant for Stone's statement that he was actually born a Roman Catholic, his 'popish

'connexion' certainly created some suspicion of the sincerity of his devotion to the Revolution principles so strenuously professed by his political allies. Thus, while many zealous Protestants in consequence felt averse to the thought of his arriving at that 'principal possession of 'power' at which he was known to aim, others were fearful of the effect which talents such as his, influenced by national leanings, might have upon the connexion between the two kingdoms. Stone early predicted that the opposition organised by Boyle and Malone would assume the appearance and dimensions of a national movement, and this he attributed to Malone's influence. 'The constitutional dependency upon England is the object upon which the 'Prime Serjeant's eye is constantly fixed. The Speaker is 'dragged unwillingly by him.' 'The leaders of the Opposition,' he wrote in 1754, 'do not mean disaffection to the King. God forbid that I should say anything that could 'be so understood. I do not think it. But some of them 'do certainly mean an emancipation from the English 'legislature and from English administration.'

Other figures of importance in the House were those of Philip Tisdal, the Solicitor-General, Stone's principal henchman in the Lower House, and afterwards an eminent Attorney-General; Dr. Francis Andrews, Provost of Trinity College, a *bon vivant*, a scholar, and a man of trusted political loyalty; and among the younger men, Edmond Sexton Pery, who, twenty years later, was to succeed Ponsonby in the chair; and Hely Hutchinson, afterwards so well known as Andrews's successor in the Provostship, and the author of a famous work on the commercial relations between England and Ireland.

The Irish House of Lords before 1750 was, of course, even more stagnant than the House of Commons. In the time of Boulter, it had been managed entirely by that Primate, with the help of the bishops. The Spiritual Peers habitually made the quorum, and in the rare divisions helped to swell the majority. But at this period it can hardly be said that they numbered many persons of eminence. The great Berkeley was still Bishop of Cloyne. But he had already fallen into ill-health. He was not far from his end and took little part in politics, though his remarks on patriotism, suggested by the events of the year 1753, show that he was an interested spectator of what went on. For a long period the deliberations of the peers had been presided over by a series of English Chancellors, and although at the time of

which we are now writing its Speaker, Lord Newport, was so far distinguished from his predecessors that his professional career had been passed in Ireland, the whole atmosphere of the place was much more English than Irish. At the head of the Irish peers, in rank and political importance, stood James Fitzgerald, twentieth Earl of Kildare, later and better known as the first Duke of Leinster, and father of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. From the eclipse of the great rival house of Butler, which followed the attainder of the second Duke of Ormonde, the head of the Geraldines was *facile princeps* among the Irish nobility. Traditionally connected with the national party of earlier days, his adherence to the Speaker and Malone emphasised the patriotic leanings of the latter, and added to their popularity; while his connexion with Henry Fox, through his marriage to the daughter of the Duke of Richmond, gave the Opposition a support among the Whig adherents of the Pelham Ministry which proved of great service in the struggle.

Besides these conspicuous personages, two others of less eminence, but of much importance in the Irish capital, require some notice. Thomas Carter had for twenty years held the sinecure office of Master of the Rolls, the reversion of which he had previously acquired by purchase from the Earl of Berkeley, according to a pernicious practice severely condemned by Swift in one of the 'Drapier's Letters.' He had, all his life, taken a prominent part in political business, usually in opposition to the Government. Archbishop Boulter had, as early as 1726, found occasion to censure his conduct as lacking in respect to the English Government. And Horace Walpole describes him as an able, intriguing man, who had always been a Whig, but had constantly fomented every discontent against the Lords-Lieutenant in order to be bought off. He had been closely associated with Boyle throughout the latter's long tenure of the Speakership, notwithstanding that he had himself been a candidate for the chair. He shared to the full the convivial habits of the time, contributing much by a lively wit to the vivacity of the Opposition dinners; and, according to Pery, he was the author of the ingenious invention of conveying libels in toasts, of which much invidious use was then made in Dublin.

Less eminent at this period than the Master of the Rolls, but even more powerful in the parliamentary interest he exerted, was Nathaniel Clements, the Teller of the Exchequer. He was without the slightest pretension to parliamentary

talents, and, according to Stone, incapable of speaking three sentences in public. But his position at the Treasury, where important employment had become hereditary in his family, gave him an influence which in that age of corruption it was scarcely deemed dishonourable to turn to political purposes, and which he was not slow to use. His almost uncontrolled power gave him at once the means of corrupting individuals and of embarrassing the State. At this period the Bank of Ireland had not yet been formed. The Government finances were entirely in the hands of the individuals controlling the Exchequer. So much so, that it was possible for one of the Lords Justices of Ireland to assert that 'the whole stock of the nation is now in the hands of a single person. And how and where vested is known to him only.' This extraordinary state of affairs arose from the fact that the Teller, whose nominal salary was only 250*l.*, was really remunerated by the profits of the manipulation of the Treasury balances. And these profits were said to amount in Clements's hands to no less than 8,000*l.* a year. Connected by marriage with the great interest of the Gores, Clements belonged, like Carter, to that section of placemen who were disaffected towards the Court set; and, like Carter, he had long been in close alliance with Boyle. Of the methods by which he made his power felt no details are given in the correspondence relating to the controversies of this period, and there is no suggestion that he used his public position for his own private gain, otherwise than as just mentioned, and as the recognised system allowed. But at a later date Clements was roundly accused by Hely Hutchinson of augmenting the Treasury receipts at the expense of his political opponents, by making undue deductions from their salaries in respect of income tax. He even carried this novel system to the point of reducing the salary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself. Clements, who preserved his political influence to the close of a long life, and a year before his death procured the elevation of his son to the peerage as Lord Leitrim, enjoyed for thirty years the dignified office of Ranger of Phoenix Park, and in that capacity built the mansion which, for more than a century, has been familiar to the people of Dublin as the Viceregal Lodge.

The Parliament in which the persons just noticed were the leading figures had, throughout the first twenty years of George II., remained in a state of passive

and even somnolent acquiescence in the policy dictated by the English and administered through the Irish Privy Council. But a question was now to be mooted which in a moment aroused its dormant energies, and brought it into alarming collision with the prerogatives of the Crown. Under the government of the Earl of Harrington a question had arisen on a constitutional point of some delicacy which, at the beginning of Dorset's administration, still remained undetermined. The commercial prosperity which followed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had considerably benefited the trade of Ireland, and at the end of the year 1749 it was found that a considerable surplus out of the monies voted by Parliament for the service of the Crown remained in the Treasury. The Irish House of Commons proposed to apply this surplus to the discharge of the National Debt, which had been largely increased in the late war, and a Bill was prepared to that effect. No controversy arose on the question of prerogative under Harrington, and the Bill, which contained an acknowledgement of the sovereign's right to direct how much of the surplus could be spared to the purpose assigned by Parliament, was passed in that form. The English Government, however, took the view that this was an interference with the prerogative, and that monies due to the Crown, being in the absolute control of the sovereign, any surplus could only be dealt with as he might direct or consent. Accordingly, there being again a surplus in 1751, the Duke of Dorset was instructed, while not refusing to sanction the proposed application of the funds, to assert the prerogative explicitly. In his speech at the opening of the session, the Viceroy accordingly declared that His Majesty 'would consent and 'graciously recommend' that so much of the surplus as could be so applied consistently with the public service should be devoted to the reduction of the debt. The House of Commons, under the guidance of Boyle and Malone, took no notice of the Viceroy's phraseology, and omitted all reference to the prerogative in the Bill they sent over to England for approval. It was, however, too soon for an Opposition which relied on the votes of a number of placemen nominally subservient to the Government to press matters to extremities, and the Bill, having been amended in England by the insertion in the preamble of a recital of the King's consent and recommendation, was passed without further protest. Postponing for the present matters of government, the leaders determined to fight for

the moment on the safer ground of personalities. The Primate being justly regarded as the chief agent of the English Ministry, they resolved to show their power by attacking one of his known favourites and subordinates, rightly judging that in such an enterprise they would have the support of many whose personal pique was stronger than their zeal for constitutional privilege. The Surveyor-General, Nevill Jones, a protégé of the Primate's and the member for Wexford, had been for some years engaged in the erection of barracks through the country. Having been called on by the Lord-Lieutenant to vote more money for this work, the Commons readily complied. But having at the same time been invited to enquire into the alleged malversation of money destined for that service, an invitation intended by the Viceroy as an oblique reflection on the conduct of his predecessor Harrington, the House took advantage of the opportunity to arraign Nevill Jones. They accordingly passed a resolution condemning the contractor for deficiencies in carrying out the work, and calling on him to make good the defects at his own expense, and at the close of the session they declined to present the usual address of thanks to the Viceroy which had hitherto been a matter of course. Having thus given a foretaste of their intentions, and an indication of their power, the Opposition desisted for the present from further measures. The session coming to an end in May, the Viceroy returned to England and matters were left to simmer quietly for eighteen months. The interval was occupied by the Primate in endeavouring to consolidate his forces, and by the Opposition in appeals to the Whig members of the Government. Lord Kildare betook himself to England to present to the King a rather vainglorious memorial against Dorset and the Primate. It had, however, but little effect. 'No facts,' says Walpole, 'were alleged against the Lord-Lieutenant, nor any crime pretended in the Primate but 'that he was a Churchman,' and the King, who had a high idea of his prerogative, concurred with his Ministry in supporting the Viceroy.

Immediately on the reopening of Parliament in October of the succeeding year, the duel was resumed. There is a gap in the Stone and Newcastle correspondence during the period of the recess, but it is evident from other sources that the Viceroy returned to Ireland fully determined to assert the prerogative in the matter of the disposal of the surplus, while endeavouring to smooth over the personal

difficulties which had arisen. Dorset had apparently been so much upset by the troubles in which he had found himself involved, that he had designed to throw up his place. But the embarrassments which threatened to follow in choosing a successor made it important to the Ministry that he should remain. 'The thoughts of a successor,' wrote Newcastle from Hanover to his brother the Premier, 'make Dorset's stay in Ireland absolutely necessary.' The Duke of Cumberland seems to have had a hankering for the Irish Government, and the prospect filled Newcastle with dismay. 'I conclude you know the fat, little, round great man would like it,' he wrote. 'We have now nothing to do in the English army; we should then have as little in the Irish one.' It was accordingly arranged that Dorset should return, and that while no surrender should be made on the point of prerogative, the Primate and Lord George Sackville, on the latter of whom Newcastle threw the chief blame, should make it up with the Speaker. Proposals for an accommodation were accordingly made by the Primate, and at first seemed likely to be successful. But matters had gone too far. The Opposition had organised its forces and was confident of its power. Boyle, who was much in the hands of Malone, after taking time to consult his friends, rejected the Primate's overtures, and the battle was resumed with more vehemence than ever.

Parliament met at College Green on October 9. On the 10th an indication of the heat of party spirit was given in the robbery of the Armagh mail, which carried the writ for a new election in county Armagh, with a view to delaying the filling up of a vacancy in a constituency largely dominated by the Primate's influence. In November, a resolution directly aimed at Nevill Jones, and preliminary to a motion for his expulsion from the House, was carried by three votes. Matters were thus ripe for a fight on the larger constitutional issue. The procedure of the former session had been adopted, but on the Bill coming back from England with the words as to consent and recommendation inserted, it was rejected, after a debate of nine hours, by a majority of five, in the largest House that had yet been seen in College Green.

'Whoever,' wrote Horace Walpole, 'has seen the tide first turn in favour of an Opposition may judge of the riotous triumphs occasioned by this victory. The ladies made balls, the mobs bonfires, the poets joyous odes.' Dublin went mad with joy. The 'Patriots,' as the Opposition now began to be

called, were toasted as saviours of their country all over the island. A list of the members who voted in the division was printed, in which the supporters of the Government appeared in black and their opponents in red letters, under the title *Insula Sacra et Libera*. Medals were struck which showed the view entertained by the popular party of the real essence of the struggle in which they had been engaged. On one of them, Hibernia with a harp in her hand, and the Speaker with a cap of liberty on his head, were represented together, with Fame blowing a trumpet, and a banner displaying the figures of the majority. Another showed on the obverse 'The Speaker and Liberty ;' on the reverse 'The 124 Patriots of Ireland.' Lord Kildare took an hour to pass from College Green to his house not five minutes distant, so cordial were the greetings of the mob. The Dublin chairmen distinguished their patriotism by refusing to carry any fare to the Castle. Finally, Sheridan, the manager of the Smock Alley Theatre, had his stage wrecked and the house reduced to a shell for refusing to comply with a call of the audience for a repetition of some lines in Voltaire's 'Mahomet,' which were applauded as applicable to the defeated partisans of the Court in the House of Commons.

The news of these unexpected and disquieting proceedings caused no little astonishment in London, where all capable observers were quick to note the significance of this outburst of independence in the hitherto subservient Parliament of Ireland. To so old a parliamentary hand as Bubb Dodington, whose easy indifference to every interest save his own was not easily disturbed, the rejection of the Money Bill appeared a 'dangerous event, and productive of more mischiefs than I shall live to see remedied.' To Chesterfield it seemed equally serious, though it was rather the harm to Ireland than the annoyance to England that this acute and experienced critic deplored. Among the members of the Cabinet, the Duke of Newcastle, always alarmed and ready to temporise, was for conciliation and moderate courses. But to his brother, the Prime Minister, the affair seemed much more grave. 'If a proper stand is not now made,' he wrote to the Primate, 'the dependency of Ireland on this country is over ;' and he assured Dorset and Stone of his support in any measures which they might think necessary to mark the displeasure with which the conduct of the Patriots was viewed. Carter, Malone, and Dilkes, the Barracks-Master General, and Sir Richard Cox

—a man of some mark, who had taken an active part in developing the linen industry, and had given offence by writing a violent attack on the Administration in a pamphlet called the 'True Life of Betty Ireland'—were accordingly dismissed summarily from their posts. Bellingham Boyle, a near relative of the Speaker, had his pension stopped, and the Speaker himself was threatened with removal from his office of Chancellor of the Exchequer. With these steps, the matter was allowed to rest pending authoritative directions from London, whither two emissaries at once proceeded: Maxwell, the Under-Secretary, to report to the Premier and his brother; and the Marquis of Kildare, as the ambassador of the Opposition, to lay the grievances of the Patriots before the King. Of the two, Kildare's was the harder task. George II. had notions of prerogative little less pronounced than his grandson's. As Lord Chesterfield put it, abilities greater than Kildare's were needed to convince the King that the surplus of his own revenue was not his own. The King flatly refused to see Kildare, with whom he was, as Henry Fox reported, as angry as it was possible for a man to be. And the views of the sovereign were reinforced by the powerful counsels of Murray, the future Lord Mansfield. The disgrace of Boyle was therefore sanctioned, and he was removed from office. A touch of absurdity was imparted to the whole controversy by the resolution of the Ministry to appropriate the surplus which had been the nominal bone of contention, thus illustrating the real powerlessness of the Irish Parliament. The money was applied by the Crown at its own discretion, and not another word was ever heard about it. But Parliament, to obviate the risk of any future embarrassments, took care by voting every sort of unnecessary expenditure to prevent the possibility of a surplus.

For the moment the Castle had triumphed. The Patriots were indeed more than ever heroes in Dublin, and the displaced officials were *fêted* everywhere. But the agitation must soon have died a natural death had the energetic measures of Pelham and Murray been persevered in. This was the opinion of so competent an observer as Lord Macartney, who was afterwards Chief Secretary under Lord Townshend, and who reviewed the history of these events in his 'Account of Ireland in 1773.' 'Why the Duke of Dorset did not return to Ireland, and why the system then laid down was not pursued, I do not know. But I know that the not pursuing it has been the cause of all the

‘distractions and disturbances in Ireland since that time.’ The explanation, however, was not far to seek. The death of Pelham, and the construction of a Newcastle Cabinet, in which Henry Fox had a place which he seems to have mainly valued as a means of thwarting the policy of his chief, had a marked effect on the course of Irish affairs. Fox was closely connected, through Kildare, with the Irish Opposition; and although Murray, who was now Attorney-General and the principal figure in the House of Commons, helped to sustain the Primate in his place, the Dorset influence henceforward declined. Matters slept quietly enough during the twelve months following the prorogation of Parliament. But in the autumn of 1754 it became necessary to consider affairs with a view to the approaching session. Dorset and the Primate had recommended, as a further means of showing the power of the Crown and overawing those members of the House of Commons whose defection had caused the difficulties of the preceding year, that Clements should be dismissed from his post. The latter, however, had his friends at Court, and contrived to postpone a decision till the imminent meeting of Parliament rendered a decision imperative. The matter was referred to the King, who was averse to the removal, if avoidable, but ready to sanction it if deemed an indispensable measure; and the Primate was asked to state explicitly whether the turning out of Clements would ensure a majority in the House of Commons. But while affairs were in this doubtful state the Cabinet underwent another shuffle, as a consequence of which the influence of Fox, who became Secretary of State, both with Newcastle and with the King, was materially strengthened. After much irresolution, the Fox party carried the day. It was resolved to supersede Dorset, who became Master of the Horse, and the Marquis of Hartington, shortly to become the fourth Duke of Devonshire, was sent over as Lord-Lieutenant. Boyle and his friends had thus carried the day. ‘The triumph of the ‘Patriots is complete,’ wrote Chesterfield, ‘and the power is ‘now theirs. With all my heart; let them but use it well.’ The measures recommended by Chesterfield to the Patriots in 1755, for this end, were such as to a modern patriot would appear sufficiently extraordinary, and show the limitations of the views of even the most enlightened statesman of that age. ‘Let them encourage the extension and ‘improvement of their manufactures, the cultivation of ‘their lands, and, above all, the Protestant Charter Schools.

‘ Let them people and civilise the country by establishing a fund to invite and provide for Protestant strangers. Let them make Connaught and Kerry know that there is a God, a King, and a Government—three things to which they are at present utter strangers.’ Chesterfield strongly deprecated any further revival of the constitutional disputes. The discussion of ‘national points,’ he considered, could never be of advantage to Ireland. The people, he thought, had liberty enough, and the Crown had prerogative enough. Those appeared to him the real enemies of Ireland who would enlarge either at the expense of the other.

The new arrangement was intended as a pacification. But it was not efficient for the purpose. The new Viceroy was brother-in-law to Bessborough, the promotion of whose son to the Speakership had been a principal object in the game of faction. Bessborough and Stone had been left as joint Lords Justices, and the former had no notion of giving up the prize for which he had contended. A battle now ensued between the Primate, supported by Lord Bessborough, and the Speaker, backed by Kildare and Fox, for the possession of power in the next recess. Of this contest, Horace Walpole gives an amusing account. Boyle demanded the dismissal of the Primate: the Primate was professedly willing to resign his place in the Commission provided the Speaker would resign too. In the end this arrangement was adopted, to the equal disappointment of both aspirants for power. The Patriots, in the language of Walpole, dismissed the woes of their country, for which they had no longer occasion. The Opposition was placated by the reinstatement of Boyle as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the finding of fresh places for Malone and Carter. At the end of the session, Boyle, accepting an earldom and a pension of 2,000*l.* a year, made way for Ponsonby in the Speaker’s chair, and Kildare and Bessborough were named Lords Justices on the Lord-Lieutenant’s departure from the kingdom. But, before he went, there was time for an object-lesson in the sincerity of patriotism. A motion, made by Pery, to take into consideration the heads of a Bill to secure the freedom of Parliament, by vacating the seats of members accepting pensions or offices of profit under the Crown, was opposed by the full strength of the disinterested Patriots who had refused the Money Bill. The motion was rejected, and among the majority were Malone, Clements, Dilkes, and the whole troop of Gores.

It would serve no useful purpose to recall the petty

intrigues which followed these events. The first result, naturally, was to draw down on the 'Patriots' the not undeserved opprobrium of the Dublin mob. Boyle was burnt in effigy, and Malone was hooted; and the Duke of Devonshire was probably not sorry when, on the collapse of Newcastle's Government, he was summoned to construct his own short-lived Ministry and relieved of immediate responsibility for Ireland. A further result of this unprincipled conduct on the part of those who, a short time before, had so successfully posed as the saviours of their country, was to produce a revulsion of feeling in favour of the discredited, but consistent, director of English interests in the minds of English statesmen. Even in his temporary discredit under the Hartington Government, the sagacious Chesterfield had predicted the ultimate triumph of the Primate, as being the ablest of all the competitors for power. 'I am bewildered 'at your Irish politics,' he wrote in the autumn of 1757, 'but 'upon the whole, take my word for it, the Primate will be 'too hard for them all at the last.' Although the new Viceroy, the Duke of Bedford, struggled to maintain his independence of the Undertakers, he was soon driven into an alliance with the only member of the governing group who really understood the management of men. Even while out of the Government, the Primate had shown the extent of his influence in the highest places by managing with equal acceptance to both statesmen, as Dodington's Diary informs us, the delicate negotiations between Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, which resulted in the alliance that terminated the Duke of Devonshire's Government, and substituted for it the Administration under which Pitt's greatest triumphs were achieved. If he had lost power by attempting to grasp too much, Stone now showed his adaptability to circumstances by coming to terms with his former adversary. Absolutely devoid of rancour and resentment, Stone had no difficulty in acting with those he had formerly opposed. He now entered into a close alliance with his former foe, the ex-Speaker, now become Lord Shannon. The two great Undertakers, together with Speaker Ponsonby, became the joint depositories of power, and for the next six years, till their deaths, which happened in the same month at the close of 1764, their power was undisturbed. Under the successive vicerealties of Bedford, Halifax, and Northumberland, the triumvirate were continually appointed Lords Justices, and the influence of the Undertakers was greater than ever before.

Such a result seems a lame and impotent conclusion to the controversy so long and so energetically sustained by the Opposition, and may perhaps appear to contradict what has been said above of the importance of that controversy as a stage in the evolution of parliamentary institutions. Yet it is certain that the struggle over the altered Money Bill marks the first definite appearance in the eighteenth-century politics of Ireland of a patriotic party, professedly actuated by a national spirit. However interested and even venal the conduct and motives of those who masqueraded in the garb of patriotism, their action had enduring effects on the character of the Irish House of Commons. For the first time in its history, the territorial oligarchy, which had governed Ireland since the Restoration, became identified in the public mind with the principle of the constitutional independence of the Irish Parliament; and, despite the backsliding of individuals, it continued to be so identified even after the Undertakers had recovered power. The notion of the national identity of Ireland took firm hold of the public mind, and was eagerly adopted by the opponents of the Administration as a means of strengthening the power of the Opposition, and checking the hitherto uncontrolled power of the Undertakers. And for the first time, too, the control of the purse began to be effectively asserted by the House of Commons as an unquestionable constitutional right.

To two observers of great eminence these aspects of the 'Patriot' struggles of 1755 were clearly apparent. Both Edmund Burke, from the point of view of English Whiggism, and Lord Clare, from that of Irish Unionism in its most militant form, have left, in striking passages, their impressions of the immense significance of these events. It was at this period, as the great orator observed in his well-known letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, that the English in Ireland 'began to be domiciliated, began to recollect that 'they had a country.' The English interest, at first by faint and almost imperceptible degrees, but at length openly and avowedly, became an independent Irish interest full as independent as it could ever have been 'if it had continued 'in the persons of the natural Irish.' The clear-sighted and uncompromising champion of English interests in Ireland at the end of the century put the same point in another form, and in his great speech upon the Union referred to the struggle as the fatal precedent on which 'a system had 'been gradually built which would beat down the most 'powerful nation of the earth.'

ART. VII.—BATH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Une Ville d'Eaux anglaise au XVIII^e Siècle : La Société Élégante et Littéraire à Bath sous la Reine Anne et sous les Georges.* Par A. BARBEAU, Docteur ès Lettres, Chargé de Cours à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Caen. Paris : Alphonse Picard & Fils, Libraires-Editeurs, 82 Rue Bonaparte. 1904.
2. *Life and Letters at Bath in the XVIIIth Century.* By A. BARBEAU. With a preface by Austin Dobson. London : William Heinemann. New York : Dodd, Mead & Co. 1904.
3. *The Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath.* By MOWBRAY A. GREEN, Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Bath : George Gregory. 1904.

ONE cannot spend even a quickly passing hour, much less the slower days of leisure, in Bath without being struck at once with the continuity of the main characteristics of its history. There has been change in superficials, but to-day are gathered round the warm and perpetual springs of Bath, a town still in a secluded and picturesque part of England, at one time isolated from the world, men and women seeking from these healing waters relief from bodily ills as they did nineteen centuries ago, when these same springs were the centre of the Roman baths, among the remains of which the curious still ramble, and of the agreeable but now departed villas of the city of *Aquæ Solis*. Throughout the Middle Ages the same attraction drew the stranger to the valley of the Avon ; meanwhile the convent founded in Saxon times became a flourishing monastery, and in 1130, under the shadow of the Gothic abbey, a little hospital for lepers was established. Gradually the same past and present characteristics of the place emerge unbroken as descriptive writing grows and preserves local characteristics for future readers. The invaluable Leland pictures Bath for us, as he did so many of the places of Elizabethan England, with its 'temperate and pleasant springs much frequented of people 'diseased with various horrid ills' and 'great aches.' From that point of time we see it more clearly, becoming, difficult as travelling was along the foundrous roads of rural England, the rendezvous for noblemen and the affluent, and at last of royalty itself in the person of Anne of Denmark, the consort of James I. To reach Bath in those days was a tiresome

and even dangerous expedition ; its cost prevented any but the rich from undertaking it, and the rich in the seventeenth century were chiefly great landed proprietors. Presently comes the visit of Charles II. and his Queen in 1663, which drew more attention to the value of the waters, and then that of Queen Anne in 1702, which may be considered the beginning of that remarkable period which continued throughout the eighteenth century, when Bath occupied a unique position in the social history of England. We may follow the fortunes of the city from that interesting epoch to our own time, when, affected just as it had been before by numerous and large national movements, it has fallen to a tranquil watering-place, whose vital interest to most people lies in its singular and unexampled depiction, by its streets, its Crescent, its Circus, and its many remarkable houses, of the city of the eighteenth century where were gathered, as nowhere else in England, a representative collection of English society, noblemen, squires, rich merchants, the affluent professional man, the politician, the author, the player and the gambler, with the varied female crowd, more or less virtuous, necessarily attendant on so kaleidoscopic an assemblage. But Bath as a watering-place, though a perennial attraction, is of secondary interest ; it is a watering-place to-day, and to-day no one but doctors and invalids troubles in this respect about it. It is the fashionable Bath of the eighteenth century which remains a permanent object fixed for ever in the pages of novelists and dramatists.

For the moment we must here interpose something in the nature of a digression to congratulate Monsieur Barbeau on having produced a description of an English city which does the greatest credit to his labour and erudition, even if our national pride is a little hurt that it has fallen to a foreigner to undertake a work which has been so long wanted. Monsieur Barbeau's book is a mine of information, a collection of material, a large amount of which is set out in many copious notes, which indeed are somewhat troublesome from the reading point of view, but will be found of great value to the student of the age. Monsieur Barbeau is satisfied to give us information and leaves us to draw our own conclusions—a mode of literary presentation which has many advantages. The English translation, published under a different title, will be found useful to those who do not read Monsieur Barbeau's work in French ; it is pleasant and readable ; indeed, the author's plain and straightforward style is one which lends itself to satisfactory translation. The English

text is enriched by a number of admirable illustrations which should not be left unnoted.

But to return to Bath. If it had not been a resort for those in search of health, and so drawn to it a number of strangers who created the nucleus of a cosmopolitan society, it could not have become a social and literary centre; it would have remained a mere health resort if it had not also satisfied many social needs and given scope for the fulfilment of various tendencies peculiar to the eighteenth century. Most of those who came either to take the baths or to drink the waters set about their cure in the same way as men and women now do; but among those who were supposed to require the aid of the healing springs were many imaginary invalids who made the waters an excuse for change of amusement and for social intercourse. Around this collection of persons who came with a real or fictitious purpose were gathered a crowd who found Bath the only place in England which responded to a complex demand—the demand for social intercourse unfettered by differences of rank, for change of air and for new scenes, sufficiently rural to satisfy, without discomfort, the desire for country life, the full appreciation of which was as yet unattained by the habitués of St. James's Street who was not yet able to find enjoyment in sport or country pleasures, and who had an unmitigated contempt for the manners of the ordinary country gentleman. To the man of letters and to the witling of the coffee-house the fox-hunting squire was the personification of ignorance and bad manners, but he in his turn looked on the one as wanting in all manly qualities and on the other as contemptibly conceited. Yet, at Bath each of these antagonistic characters met on common ground, the squire and his wife and daughter also finding in Bath the only place where the pleasures of the capital could be enjoyed within measurable distance of the manor-house, and where town fashions could be studied and town amusements followed without the irksomeness of a stay in a great city. 'I think,' wrote Mrs. Delany, an uncommonly good judge of the world, 'Bath a more comfortable place to live in than London; all the entertainments of the place lie in a small compass, and you are at your liberty to let them alone just as it suits your humour.' Mrs. Delany was herself an excellent example of the cultivated and sensible women who found year after year in Bath a scene of agreeable recreation, pleasure without toil, companionship without effort, and a freedom from

social duties and the often equally troublesome bonds of so-called pleasure which is shown by the last words of the above quotation. As Mrs. Thrale, a still more constant lover of Bath, said, it was the place which best could lengthen and most could gladden life. More cynical views could be taken of it by less kindly natures than these two agreeable women, especially if one dwelt on the seamy side of human nature. Of this Smollett is the great depicter. Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle are the central figures in a society of rakes and gamblers. After many adventures by land and sea the one goes to Bath to pick up an heiress—Miss Snapper, the daughter of a Turkey merchant, who had bequeathed to her 20,000*l.*, no great fortune in our day—the other to distinguish himself in the fashionable world. Arrived at Bath, each finds himself surrounded by the same selfish and disreputable crowd. The novels which take their titles from Smollett's two heroes were written in 1748 and 1751, and may be accepted as true pictures of parts of the society of Bath just at the middle of the century. But too much regard should not be paid to the particular section of society which figures vividly in Smollett's pages. It suited his talent and his fancy to take one part of the society which he knew well. Later in his life he shows us a quieter and more honourable company. But, though manners may have generally softened between 1751 and 1771, the difference in the atmosphere of Smollett's earlier and later works is caused by his intention to present to us in them different sides of life at Bath.

'Bath,' says Goldsmith, 'came into vogue because people of fashion had no agreeable summer retreat from the town (London), and usually spent that season amidst a solitude of country squires, parsons' wives, and visiting tenants or farmers; they wanted some place where they might have each other's company and win each other's money as they had done during the winter in town.' Bath to many of the country folk was a provincial capital more gay, more amusing, and more full of change than the provincial capitals themselves, such as Shrewsbury in the North-West and Norwich in the East, which in this twentieth century have dwindled socially to mere country or cathedral towns. Thus two constant streams met year by year at Bath, and only at Bath—the stream from the Metropolis and the stream from the rural districts of the West and South and Midlands of England, increased by recruits from among the business and commercial classes of Bristol, each stream being impelled to this centre by influences and tendencies and temporal facts

peculiar to the particular age, which necessarily did not exist before it, and which vanished under the effect of an increasing population, and the growth of progress during the succeeding century—the improvement of locomotion,* the increase of recreative literature, the spread of general knowledge, the intermixture of different classes throughout the country. The social cosmopolitanism of Bath was more than superficial; it indicated the fortunate facility with which the English people have in their different classes intermingled for practical and public purposes. The landed aristocracy were yet for many years to come to be the chief administrators of English government, but the growth of the influence of capital and of industrial energy—that growth of the ‘monied men,’ which had been so disagreeable a spectacle to the Tories of the reign of Queen Anne—was visible in social circles in Bath to a marked extent. The active persons who had traded in the Colonies or India were by no means welcome to many of the other frequenters of Bath.

‘Every upstart of fortune, harnessed in the trappings of the mode, presents himself at Bath, as in the very focus of observation. Clerks and factors from the East Indies, loaded with the spoil of plundered provinces; planters, negro-drivers, and hucksters, from our American plantations, enriched they know not how; agents, commissaries, and contractors, who have fattened, in two successive wars, on the blood of the nation; usurers, brokers, and jobbers of every kind; men of low birth, and no breeding, have found themselves suddenly translated into a state of affluence, unknown to former ages; and no wonder that their brains should be intoxicated with pride, vanity, and presumption. Knowing no other criterion of greatness, but the ostentation of wealth, they discharge their affluence without taste or conduct, through every channel of the most absurd extravagance; and all of them hurry to Bath, because here, without any farther qualification, they can mingle with the princes and nobles of the land. Even the wives and daughters of low tradesmen, who, like shovel-nosed sharks, prey upon the blubber of those uncouth whales of fortune, are infected with the same rage of displaying their importance; and the slightest indisposition serves them for a pretext to insist upon being conveyed to Bath, where they may hobble country-dances and cotillions among lordlings, squires, counsellors, and clergy. These delicate creatures from Bedfordbury, Butcher Row, Crutched Friars, and Botolph Lane,

* The gradual change in the speed of travelling, even by coach, is illustrated by the fact that in 1750 the time on the journey from London to Bath was three days. In 1776 Johnson started at 11 A.M. and arrived the next day at 7 P.M. In 1827 Dickens makes the hero leave at 7 A.M. and arrive at 7.30 P.M. Barbeau, p. 53, in notes.

cannot breathe in the gross air of the lower town, or conform to the vulgar rules of a common lodging-house; the husband, therefore, must provide an entire house, or elegant apartments in the new buildings. Such is the composition of what is called the fashionable company at Bath, where a very inconsiderable proportion of genteel people are lost in a mob of impudent plebeians, who have neither understanding nor judgment, nor the least idea of propriety and decorum, and seem to enjoy nothing so much as an opportunity of insulting their betters.'

The plebeian was, in other words, the man of commerce, and the 'genteel people' were the great landed proprietors and the country squires—the latter being especially nervous of the growing power of the men of business, whom the former regarded with some disdain, but without fear, for their position was far too secure to be affected by merchants, however wealthy.

In London the Nabob, as it was the fashion to call him, was beginning to obtain a footing in Parliament and among politicians, since his wealth enabled him to buy pocket boroughs. But a seat at Westminster did not necessarily give an *entrée* either to a fashionable club in St. James's Street or to an aristocratic mansion in Bloomsbury. At Bath, however, the Nabob and his family could meet in the Pump Room the best people in England, though their pleasure in so doing was probably in some degree spoilt by the necessity of rubbing shoulders with the wives and daughters of the 'low tradesmen' who, as well as the more wealthy frequenters of The Bath, were impartially disliked by the Squire Brambles of the age—in other words, by the county gentry, who have, after the clergy, always been the most Conservative class in Great Britain—the backbone of political and social Toryism. It would be an exaggeration to say that because Bath had this unique power of drawing to it, and there, as it were, mingling together numerous strata above the lower ranks of the English people, it had a distinct effect on the national character. One cannot, however, doubt that this intermixture of diverse classes of men year after year for the best part of a century must have had not a little influence on the general course of the development of English society. Through it politicians became better acquainted with the growing importance of men of business; it introduced the country squire to the shipowner from London and Bristol, and to the wit from town; in a word, its influence, whilst necessarily powerful, would necessarily also be largely indefinable. It is impossible,

in the growth of an intercourse of this kind, to lay a finger on distinct indications of a change of feeling, however much we may be sure that it existed. The enveloping atmosphere of Bath was essentially one of pleasure, and its temporary inhabitants, as has been said, were pleasure-seekers, so that it is easy amidst its scandals, its egotism, its petty social ambitions and strifes, to lose sight of the larger influences of the place, and especially of the indication which it gives of the impending changes in English society, and of the craving at this time of various sections of the people to emerge into a freer day, to have a less restricted life than heretofore, to move from home, to meet with fellow-men—in a word, to be modern.

Bath fell into obscurity from the same causes which raised it to fame.

‘The special charm of Bath under Nash had been that it offered a sort of public salon to the aristocracy, the gentry, and the upper middle classes; reduced to a minority there, they formed into separate cliques. Bath continued to be a city of pleasures, but these pleasures began to be enjoyed in the same manner in other places. Twenty or thirty years later it was nothing but a little English town, similar, but for its memories, to any other English provincial capital, and differing from these only by virtue of its thermal waters and the presence of the invalids attracted by them.’*

We might not perhaps have chosen these particular expressions to describe the wane of the special character of Bath in the days of which we are writing, but they fairly well indicate its transition from a place unique in the records of English social life to a modern town, commonplace though pleasant.

It has followed from its special position in the eighteenth century that Bath has held a striking place in the fiction and drama of this age alike in the pages of Fielding, of Smollett, and of Miss Austen, and in the plays of Foote and Sheridan. For nowhere were characters of the most varied kind so easily studied, nowhere were the opportunities of finding subjects for the new school of personal characterisation, for the analysis of temperaments and motives so near to hand. Necessarily, also, this indraught to one centre of men and women of the most opposite pursuits and of the most divergent interests, with plenty of leisure as well as money, made it an admirable field for portrait painters.

* Barbeau, p. 211.

‘My son,’ Mrs. Barber wrote to Swift in 1736, ‘who is learning to paint, goes on well, and if he be in the least approved of, in all probability he may do well at Bath, for I never saw a painter that came hither fail of getting more business than he could do, be him ever so indifferent.’ Later in the century William Hoare, one of the first members of the Royal Academy, a capable and industrious painter, had a large *clientèle*—Pitt, Lord Camden, and Pope being among those who sat to him. And Barker, ‘of Bath,’ spent his whole life, during the latter half of the century, at work in this city on landscapes and portraits. But the two great painters who are permanently associated with Bath are Gainsborough and Lawrence, more especially Gainsborough, for the years (1760–1774) which he spent at Bath are contemporaneous with its most flourishing and interesting time. He settled in the Circus, in such fine apartments that his prudent wife was frightened at the probable expense of living in that dignified and agreeable locality, where Chatham built himself a house (No. 7), and where to-day in its stately quiet one almost expects to meet a figure being carried in a chair from the baths.

Among the portraits which Gainsborough painted during this period are those of nearly all the most notable persons who came to Bath. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Chesterfield, Lady Ligonier, Wade, who succeeded Nash as Master of the Ceremonies, the Lindleys, and Garrick are among those who sat to him, and indicate the mixed and cosmopolitan life of the town. The pleasant scenery around the city also gave him constant subjects for his landscape work; ‘The Cottage Door’ and ‘The Watering Place’ belong to this period, and even to-day an elm near the road from Bath to London is known as Gainsborough’s Elm. But, apart from his work as an artist, Gainsborough is not largely identified with the social life of Bath. His was a homely nature. No one was more alive to the exhibition of human character afforded by Bath, but he probably saw too much of the frequenters of the place, as sitters and as the friends of sitters, to care to mingle in their general life, and preferred to amuse himself at home on his violin or hautboy, or to chat with Quin, rather than play cards or attend a dance at the rooms. A modern critic has noticed the considerable advance as a painter which Gainsborough made after he came to Bath on the advice of his good-natured but rather officious friend Thicknesse, and has ascribed it to the opportunities he now

had—which were unobtainable at Ipswich—of seeing fine masterpieces at Wilton Castle and other country houses. But it may be doubted if such occasional visits would have this effect, and we may probably regard the greater power and scope of Gainsborough after he settled at Bath as due rather to the confidence arising from immediate success, and from the mental stimulus received from daily intercourse with many men of the highest parts. ‘Why, sir,’ he wrote to Henderson, the actor, in 1773, ‘what makes the difference between man and man is real performance, and not ‘genius or conception.’ If Bath were not the scene of a strenuous life, at any rate those who had taken part in great affairs, and those who in the future were yet to make their mark, rested there for a while, and Gainsborough was daily in their stimulating company. So that Bath marks in his career the beginning of real performance, the seizing of the highest position in his art, whilst in his life it forms a period of happy days, of easy yet continuous work in a society of distinguished pleasure-seekers.

Lawrence is a less interesting and important figure than Gainsborough at Bath, for during his life there he was that somewhat tiresome creature, an infant prodigy. He began work in pastels at Bath in 1782, at the absurdly early age of eleven, and remained there for six years, when he became a student at the Royal Academy Schools in London. One would suppose that it was impossible for a boy to have more than an artistic facility, and that the work which he did at Bath would probably be due to the personal attraction and chatter of a delightful lad; but his inherent gifts were extraordinarily abnormal, and his studio was crowded. Among those whose portraits he drew during these few years were Mrs. Siddons, the Bishop of Durham, and Lord Barrington, not to mention others, whose favour showed how much leisure lay on their hands rather than the actual greatness of Lawrence as an artist in those early days.

Bath we thus see is the great English focus of the age; it was London without its labour; politics could be discussed without spending hours listening to debates at Westminster, and the affairs of the East India Company without sitting in an office in the dimness of the City, and the place was permeated with a light atmosphere of pleasure, more French than English. The universal levelling of all classes under this particular influence was, for the first fifty years of the century, increased by the extraordinary and

unique power of Nash *—Beau Nash, as he was nicknamed, from his absurd display of dress—by whom, in his social realm, princesses and peers and boors were lectured or snubbed with equal impartiality and rudeness. One day, having forbidden ladies to appear at assemblies in white aprons, the Duchess of Queensberry came with the obnoxious garment. Nash tore it off and threw it aside, saying that ‘such articles were suitable only for Abigails,’ and the Duchess promptly begged his pardon. He was just as severe with the incongruities of dress of the country squires who lived in high boots and spurs. These gentlemen he ridiculed in a lampoon—Fontinella’s ‘Invitation to the ‘Assembly’—which ends with these lines:—

‘For why shouldn’t we
In dress be as free
As Hog’s Norton Squires in boots?’

In a comic piece played by Nash’s direction ‘Punch’ remarks, when he is going to bed in his boots, ‘Why, ‘madam, you may as well bid me pull off my legs.’ The code of rules which Nash framed and hung in the Pump Room touched on polite manners rather than on becoming dress, but it was composed in the same strain of raillery, and, as we should now think, of impertinence, as thus: ‘That ‘gentlemen crowding before the ladies at the ball show ‘ill-manners, and that none do so for the future, except ‘such as respect nobody but themselves.’ We are inclined nowadays to laugh at Nash’s social despotism and at his impudence, but a man who was a mere brainless adventurer could not have exercised his social sway year after year—a sway which declined chiefly through old age; he must have possessed some special qualities. Born in 1674, after being ‘sent down’ from the University of Oxford Nash became a student at the Temple, where he was notorious among his contemporaries for his frivolous and dissipated life. He went to Bath with the crowd of gamblers and idlers, who found there opportunities of gaming and pleasure, for the purpose of getting his livelihood by gambling. Just at this time a certain Dr. John Radcliffe had begun to attack the medicinal value of the waters of Bath, and Nash determined to assist the city in a

* Nash began to be an arbiter of society about 1706. He died in 1762, aged 87, but his power had much diminished during the last ten years of his life.

practical way. He saw that more might be done to make the place agreeable as well as healthy, and one of his first improvements was to establish an orchestra. The story of his sudden rise is not clear, and probably he had already made himself personally popular. As amusement was the aim of all who came to the city, and as Nash was so opportunely bent on enlarging the means of agreeably passing the time, was so much awake to the need of being 'up to date,' whether by new assembly rooms or improved roads, he was, on the death of Captain Webster, appointed Master of the Ceremonies in his place. This was probably about 1704, and it gave an opening for his particular qualities. He has been well described as 'an agreeable and ingenious person of organising capacity;' he possessed tact, which enabled him to know how to treat individuals, a knowledge of men, and a distinct decision of character. In a word, he was endowed with a peculiar capacity for taking a position, which to many would be trivial, not to say ridiculous, with sufficient seriousness to make it appear, as indeed in some senses it was, positively important.

It was understood by everyone in Bath that Nash honestly desired by his rule to make the place and its amusements pleasant and obtainable by everyone, and so all his subjects tacitly agreed to abide by his decisions and decrees. Nash dropped the character of a spendthrift and became a positive social power. His position gave him influence and friends; he became a success,* and has actually had the good fortune to have had Goldsmith as a biographer and to live in the pages of this historian. One may smile, as Goldsmith says, 'at the solemnity he assumed in adjusting 'trifles,' though, after all, experience shows that it is often by the proper adjustment of trifles that peace between persons and peoples is preserved. But he had higher capacities than that of merely knowing how to preserve the social peace: he was not without wit, of the use of which he was sparing, his good nature and his kindness were universally recognised, and his adaptability to all sorts and conditions of men is clear. It cannot, indeed, be doubted

* Nash lived for most of his time at Bath in a house in St. John's Court, designed by Thomas Greenway, which is now part of the theatre. He died in another house, where he had lived for some twelve years, a little to the north of his first home. 'Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath,' p. 25, and plates xvii. and xviii.

that he obtained an income from gambling; it is probable, however, that his gains were made chiefly through confederates, and that to the outside world he was a mere amateur player like any one of it. 'Here,' wrote Lady Bristol to her husband on September 20, 1721, 'is very deep 'play. . . . Nash lost 50*l.* a Saturday at Harrison's;' in other words, at the Assembly Rooms. Lord Chesterfield wittily remarked, 'I don't wonder at your losing' money, 'Nash, but all the world is surprised where you get it to 'lose.' About 1745, or perhaps earlier, for there seems to be an uncertainty as to the exact date, Nash imprudently brought an action against Walter Wiltshire, a confederate, to recover a share of the gains at Lindsay's Assembly Room. In 1740 an Act had been passed against public gambling, and in 1745 a still more stringent statute became law, under which Wiltshire himself was sued by the Vestry of St. Peter and St. Paul for keeping a gambling-house and fined 500*l.* A new generation had arisen, less inclined to submit to Nash's rule, and these proceedings were sufficient to bring the Master of the Ceremonies into a disrepute not unwelcome to many visitors.

The special position which Bath holds in English history is thus, partly, conterminous with the life of Nash. During his lifetime Bath changed from a mere watering-place, with small, badly constructed, and often filthy houses, to the dignified city which now remains to us. Savage Landor, who lived at Bath for many years, with the enthusiasm of a lover, likened it to Florence. But the likeness arising from configuration of ground is superficial only, and in Bath we see typified in stone the eighteenth century with its sturdy commonsense, while in its verdant and immediate surroundings are visible the attraction of the peaceful country-side which had not a little to do with the drawing to the city of men and women from the larger world and from the dust and din of London.

Bath was fortunate in that at the moment when her recreation became urgent a man singularly suited to carry out the work was at hand. Joseph Wood was a shrewd young Yorkshireman, born in 1704, and probably introduced to Bath by Ralph Allen. As an architect he had clear and definite ideas, and purposely decided to create a fine and distinguished modern city in place of the cramped town clustering round the Roman Baths and the mediæval Abbey. At the end of the year 1725 he had formed a grandiose plan—at the instance, it may be, of Allen, whose ideas

were large and daring, as his career had shown—for the erection of various public buildings and dwelling-houses. There was to be ‘a grand place of assembly,’ to be called the ‘Royal Forum of Bath;’ another place, no less magnificent, for the exhibition of sports, to be called the ‘Grand Circus’—the original idea of the well-known buildings known to many generations as the Circus. It was not, however, till the end of 1727 that his ideas took definite shape, and he agreed with Mr. Gay, the owner of much land in Bath, to construct a new street. This was the beginning of the work which soon transformed the city. Wood was his own contractor—he was, in fact, a speculative builder—but his business capacity was considerable and his taste was excellent, and he had the good fortune to be followed by a son who carried out his designs and was permeated by his father’s architectural views. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the houses of Bath were old, dilapidated, and dirty; by the end of it the town had, by the work of one man—whose successor had wisely followed on the lines he had laid down—become a dignified, spacious, and healthy city, so harmonious in its form and in its colouring that it has retained its individuality through the succeeding years. Queen’s Square, the Circus—finished by the son in 1765, eleven years after Wood’s death—the Parades, the Lower Rooms were Wood’s own work. The Royal Crescent was both designed and completed by his son, whilst his successor Baldwin (1750–1820) was the designer of Pulteney Street and Laura Place. But the mind of Wood was the cause of the buildings of eighteenth-century Bath, the merit of which consists not so much in the beauty of individual streets or buildings as in the remarkable harmony of the whole of the town which grew up during the reign of Nash. Monsieur Barbeau truly says:

‘The peculiar merit of the Woods in proposing and accomplishing this task was that they were architects and not mere builders; that they had the beauty of the city they were transforming always before their eyes; that they conceived and carried out a harmonious whole. Their ideal is no longer ours altogether; their academic style is far from having retained the universal favour. . . . Rigorous criticism will find their regularity a little cold sometimes; their solemnity a little heavy; their decoration somewhat poor; their invention somewhat circumscribed. But, granting all this, their conception remains original, dignified, and happy.’

And we may add that the architect never lost sight of utility in the search for the picturesque, and that the houses which

were built in Bath in the eighteenth century were solid as well as dignified, comfortable to live in as well as agreeable to look at.

One should remember also that through the energy of Ralph Allen—the never-to-be-forgotten Squire Allworthy of ‘Tom Jones’—who had exploited for the first time the stone quarries on Combe Down—a material was at hand which by its constant use served to complete in tone and substance the harmony of the new Bath. Its buildings which arose under the eyes of the two Woods have been admirably reproduced in Mr. Green’s work on ‘The Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Bath’—a book which is of value not only as a pictorial memorial of Bath, but also for an instructive and well-written commentary on the subject of its pages.

The fortunate contemporaneous up-springing of an architect of bold views, and the necessity for the enlargement of Bath, made it the unique city it became, causing it thereby to attract many more persons of all sorts and conditions than its social or medical character could have done. It is not difficult even now to picture the place as it was in the days of Pitt and Sheridan and Gainsborough, though the extending suburbs have broken the well-defined lines of the ample town which spread on either bank of the Avon, having as its centre the ruins of Roman Bath and of the Gothic Abbey. Nor is it difficult even to realise how fair it must have seemed alike to the Londoner and the countryman. The dweller in the metropolis, fatigued by several days of disagreeable travel over muddy roads, alarmed by thoughts, if not by attacks, of highwaymen at each end of his journey—on Hounslow Heath and Claverdon Downs—vexed and ill by stays at country inns, blown about by the winds of the Wiltshire Downs, arrived in a spacious and civilised city, where, if he were a well-known personage, he was welcomed by a peal from the Abbey bells. He saw on one side the green slopes of Landsdown Hill; on the other, above and below the town, the meadows of the valley of the Avon; he hugged himself with pleasure at the material comfort around, while the sight of the country, of the young sportsmen driving their teams on the London road, gave the feeling of country life which he sought for without its discomforts. The country squire, on the other hand, noted with something akin to reverence the fine streets, the substantial houses; he felt that he was at length in the world; and while the rural scenes close at hand impressed the Londoner with the sense

of change, they brought to the countryman the feeling of home. We may look round England in vain for any place which was in the least degree comparable, in those days, with Bath.

The frivolity and worldliness which characterised so much of the society of Bath made it certain to become a field for the propagation of the new Christianity, of which John Wesley and Whitefield were the chief apostles. To invade Bath was, as Charles Wesley said with a spiritual relish, 'attacking Satan at his headquarters.' The stagnation and the formalism of the Established Church produced the Methodist revival—a movement, as has been often pointed out, which was not in its inception antagonistic to the Established Church. But its emotional character made it especially distasteful to a society such as that of Bath, still stiff and careful of conventional forms, and it was long before it produced an effect on this particular group of English men and women. The feeling of the majority of those who stayed at Bath was typically expressed when the Duchess of Buckingham wrote to Lady Huntingdon—

'I thank your ladyship for the information concerning the Methodist preachers. Their doctrines are most repulsive and strongly tinged with impertinence and disrespect towards their superiors, in perpetually endeavouring to level all ranks and do away with all distinctions. It is monstrous to be told that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl the earth. This is highly offensive and insulting, and I cannot but wonder that your ladyship should relish any sentiments so much at variance with high rank and good breeding.'

The revolt against formalism in literature and the increasing love of nature and movement were at work in Bath, but this fact did not make the labours of Wesley and Whitefield less objectionable to men and women who were yet the slaves of formalism, although they were, unknown to themselves, endeavouring to escape from it.

When Wesley appeared at Bath in 1739, drawing his hearers by the thousand, he was regarded as a nuisance by most of those who came to Bath, not to be converted from their sins, but to be cured of their bodily ailments, or for mere change of social and local scene; and to none was Wesley more objectionable than to the amiable, sometimes learned, and rather idle ecclesiastical dignitaries who mixed among the secular throng in the Pump Room.

Wesley himself tells how he came into conflict with Nash.

It was a scene characteristic of the time. Wesley, indeed, on the Parade at Bath is as important a figure in the social picture of the time as is Savonarola preaching in the Duomo at Florence of that of the Italian Renaissance; and its suggestiveness, the way in which it throws into strong relief the opposing and yet the same tendencies of the time, should not be overlooked. The third time that Wesley preached Nash appeared on the scene, and demanded of him by what authority he did these things :

‘I replied, “By the authority of Jesus Christ, conveyed to me by the (now) Archbishop of Canterbury, when he laid his hands upon me and said, ‘Take thou authority to preach the Gospel.’” He said, “This is contrary to Act of Parliament. This is a Conventicle.” I answered, “Sir, the Conventicles mentioned in the Act (as the preamble shows) are seditious meetings. But this is not such. Here is no shadow of sedition. Therefore it is not contrary to the Act.” He replied, “I say it is. But, besides, your preaching frightens people out of their wits.” “Sir, did you ever hear me preach?” “No.” “How then can you judge of what you never heard?” “Sir, by common report.” “Common report is not enough. Give me leave, sir, to ask—is not your name Nash?” “My name is Nash.” “Sir, I dare not judge of you by common report. I believe it is not enough to judge by.” Here he paused a while, and, having recovered himself, asked: “I desire to know what these people come here for?” On which one replied, “Sir, leave him to me. Let an old woman answer him. You, Mr. Nash, take care of your body. We take care of our souls, and for the food of our souls we come here.”’

For the next thirty years Wesley constantly preached at Bath, where he attracted congregations very diverse in character. Walpole went and sat under him in Lady Huntingdon’s Chapel in 1766, actuated by his usual desire of seeing or hearing some new thing, and found him ‘as evidently an actor as Garrick.’

Revivalism flourished, as was to be expected, when the modern spirit was beginning to make itself felt, and if we mention Wesley chiefly it is only because he is the personification of the new movement. Nowhere had Lady Huntingdon greater influence than at Bath. Enthusiastic, aristocratic, as capable of organisation as she was full of zeal, it was impossible to find a place more suited for her peculiar powers. In Bath, in 1765, she built the chapel which still stands; but earlier, in 1748, Whitefield had become her chaplain and constantly preached, as did Wesley, at her house. Walpole has told us how her chapel looked a year after it was built:—

‘My health advances faster than my amusement. However, I have been at one opera—Mr. Wesley’s. They have boys and girls with

charming voices, that sing hymns, in parts, to Scotch ballad tunes; but indeed so long that one would think they were already in eternity and knew how much time they had before them. The chapel is very neat, with true Gothic windows (yet I am not converted); but I was glad to see that luxury is creeping in upon them before persecution; they have very neat mahogany for branches, and brackets of the same in taste. At the upper end is a broad *hautpas* of four steps, advancing in the middle: at each end of the broadest part are two of *my* eagles [a gift by Walpole to Lady Huntingdon] with red cushions for the parson and clerk. Behind them rise three more steps, in the midst of which is a third eagle for pulpit. Scarlet arm-chairs to all three. On either hand a balcony for elect ladies. The rest of the congregation sit on forms. Behind the pulpit, in a dark niche, is a plain table within rails; so you see the throne is for the apostle. . . .

Chapel, preachers, the mingling of high and low, form a remarkable picture, showing the influence of this memorable religious movement, the small dimensions of the canvas at Bath enabling us to realise it there with greater distinctness than when we try to observe it spread over the whole of England. The contrast did not escape either the eye or the pen of Anstey, and the lines with which he touched on it, though intended at the moment only to amuse, are essentially true:—

‘ Where Gaming and graces
Each other embraces,
Dissipation and Piety meet—
May all who’ve a Notion
Of Cards or Devotion
Make Bath their delightful retreat.’

Remarkable and suggestive as are the features of social life at Bath between 1700 and 1800, indicative of movements that elsewhere in England were, though in existence, almost imperceptible, yet another side of that same society forms an interesting phase in the personal elements of English literature. All over England are to be found places which are associated with some famous name; sometimes it is a town, sometimes a village: Gray and Cambridge, Milton and Chalfont St. Giles, the Brontës and Haworth, and, to go to a lesser name, Mrs. Craik and Tewkesbury, are every day connected in our minds. But a diverse company of men spent week after week at Bath, thus uniting the town not with a single personality but with many, so that Bath becomes a part of the literary life of the eighteenth century—a wholly unique and unparalleled fact.

It was chiefly through Ralph Allen that, early in the

century, Bath was closely linked with the history of English letters, for he was the constant and intimate friend of Pope, of Fielding, and of Warburton. Allen was a remarkable and attractive character. The son of a small innkeeper in Cornwall, he entered the post office at Bath at the age of eighteen, and his official zeal caused him to be appointed postmaster when quite a young man. It is instructive as showing the changes which modern demands were now creating, to note that the means whereby Allen attained to wealth were the improvement of postal communication. His project was to establish cross-country means of communication in addition to the North and South lines which were then the main postal routes. In 1720, being then six and twenty, Allen was granted a concession to work the cross-road and the byeway letter service in England and Wales for the term of seven years, for which he had to pay the Government an annual rent of 2,000*l.* a year. The success of the enterprise was assured after three doubtful years and the concession was renewed from time to time at increased rentals, Allen meanwhile securing profits which have been put down at from 10,000*l.* to 16,000*l.* a year. He was a man of a broad, kindly, and generous disposition, of great sagacity, discretion and power, one who in a larger sphere might have secured a place as a statesman; of Bath he was the great civil figure, the controller of its municipal affairs. His nature is visible in the smooth and thoughtful features which are preserved to us in Hoare's drawing. Pope does not seem to have made Allen's acquaintance till about 1726,* though before that time he had made many visits to Bath for the benefit of his health. In 1728 Gay and Arbuthnot were with him, thus linking the age of Anne with that of the Georges, and bringing to the Western city memories of the Scriblerus Club and of the famous literary and political coterie associated with the society of the Court of Anne. In 1734 Pope was at Bath with Bolingbroke, and it is easy to see that Bath was only made bearable to him by the pleasant company of those around him; sometimes he was there for two months, sometimes even for three, but he was not complimentary to the place 'to prefer rocks and dirt to

* M. Barbeau says 1732, and ascribes the acquaintance to Allen's admiration for Pope's Letters—following Warburton. But the first volume of these letters was published in 1726. It is improbable that Allen should not have known Pope slightly from the time of his first visits.

‘flowery meads and lovely Thames, and limestone and fogs
 ‘to roses and sunshine. When I arrive at these sensations I
 ‘may settle at Bath, of which I never dreamt, further than to
 ‘live just out of the sulphurous pit, and at the edge of the
 ‘fogs at Mr. Allen’s for a month or so. I like the place so
 ‘little that health itself could not drag me thither, though
 ‘friendship has twice or thrice.’ Allen had an unquestion-
 able admiration for Pope which flattered the vanity of the
 poet and increased the comforts of his visit. ‘He (Allen)
 ‘has come a hundred miles to fetch me.’ In his own way
 Pope repaid Allen’s kindness and liberality with affection
 and regard, which are expressed in his letter to Warburton
 in 1741, a letter which gives us a picture not only of his host
 at Prior Park, but of the place itself:—

‘I am here,’ he says, ‘in more leisure than I can possibly ever enjoy
 in my own house, *vacare literis*. It is at this place that your exhorta-
 tions may be most effectual to make me resume the studies I have
 almost laid aside, by perpetual avocations and dissipations. If it
 were practicable for you to pass a month or six weeks from home, it is
 here I could wish to be with you, and if you would attend to the
 continuation of your own noble work, or unbend to the idle amusement
 of commenting upon a poet who has no other merit than that of
 aiming by his moral strokes to merit some regard from such men as
 advance truth and virtue in a more effectual way; in either case, this
 place and this house would be an inviolable asylum to you, from all
 you would desire to avoid in so public a place as Bath. The worthy
 man who is the master of it invites you in the strongest terms, and is
 one who would treat you with love and veneration rather than what
 the world calls civility and regard. He is sincere and plainer than
 almost any man in this world, *antiquis moribus*. If the waters of Bath
 may be serviceable to your complaints (as I believe from what you
 have told me of them), no opportunity can ever be better. We are
 told the Bishop of Salisbury is expected here daily, who I know is
 your friend, at least, though a bishop, is too much a man of learning
 to be your enemy. You see I omit nothing to add to the weight in
 the balance, in which, however, I will not think myself light, since I
 have known your partiality. You will want no servant here. Your
 room will be next to mine, and one man will serve us. Here is a
 library and a gallery 90 feet long to walk in, and a coach whenever
 you would take the air with me . . . Is all this a dream or can you
 make it a reality? Can you give ear to me? *Audistin’? an me ludit
 amabilis insania?*’

But Pope’s peevish and hypochondriacal nature caused
 him to break off this admirable friendship a few months
 before his death, through some petty quarrel between
 Mrs. Allen and Pope’s constant friend and companion,

Martha Blount, whose 'indecent arrogance,' as Johnson called it, was not calculated to make things pleasant for her hostess. Pope at any rate departed from Prior Park in a pet—he wrote to Martha Blount (1743) that he would never set foot in Allen's house again, and he called Warburton a 'sneaking parson' for taking the side of Mrs. Allen. Allen was too sensible and too kindly to allow this foolish quarrel to become a permanent estrangement, and in March of the next year he called on Pope and tried to renew the broken friendship. But he was evidently unsuccessful. 'I thought,' wrote Pope, 'his behaviour a little shy; but in mine I did my very best to show I was quite unconcerned what it was. He parted, inviting himself to come again on his return in about a fortnight.' These words have no sound either of cordiality or of renewed affection, and in a few weeks Pope was dead.* Allen lives in his verse, and in a line which has become proverbial:—

'Let humble Allen, with an awkward shame,
Do good by stealth and blush to find it fame.'

A frankly accurate and famous description which marks the writer as a man of rare literary skill, whilst it is a memorial to a human character much more admirable than that of the poet who celebrated it.

The friendship of Fielding and Allen was simpler and more manly. Fielding, in the middle of the century, was living at the village of Twerton, close to Prior Park, and constantly visited the great house, while his sister Sarah had a cottage in Widcombe, the village of which Prior Park was the mansion. Allen allowed her 100*l.* a year, and it was, perhaps, through this friendship that Fielding himself became acquainted with Allen, though with his weak health Bath would naturally be a bourne in his life.

Allen seems to have been as generous to Fielding as to his sister, and the honest and straightforward way in which Fielding shows his gratitude remains for all time in his portrait of Squire Allworthy, though the picture does not do justice to Allen's considerable capacity as a man of business and affairs. But this side of his character Fielding would have but few opportunities of observing, so that his portrait, agreeable and generous as it is, is after all but a half truth. But whilst for the moment we meet all these distinguished men at Prior Park, we must not forget that

* Allen died at Prior Park on June 29, 1764.

we are in the environs of Bath, that if they spent part of their days at Allen's stately mansion, they were constantly in the city, and that it is around it that these associations cluster.

It is near the end of the century when the drama of which Sheridan and Miss Linley were the hero and heroine was enacted at Bath, one full of personal interest and excessively illustrative of contemporary life and manners there. It is a long story, of which only the outlines can here be told. Sheridan, whose father had come to Bath in 1770 to teach elocution, was young, impetuous, idle, enjoying to the full the elements of comedy which he saw around him, when he fell in love with the beautiful Eliza Linley, whose father was the conductor of the concerts. Child as she was, she had already several suitors, among them Sheridan's elder brother Charles, his friend Halhed—who subsequently made both a reputation and a fortune in the service of the East India Company—and a rich sexagenarian of the name of Long, to whom in 1771 she was actually, through parental pressure, on the point of being married. Society at Bath, full of personal likes and dislikes, could not bear the idea of so unequal a marriage, and Foote voiced its opinion when he wrote his play, 'The Maid of Bath,' which appeared at the Haymarket Theatre on June 26, 1771. In it Eliza Linley figures under the name of Miss Linnett, and her old lover as the fool, knave, and miser Flint, a very unfair caricature of a man whose only fault was his age. The gist of the play is contained in the *dénouement*, when the engagement is suddenly broken off and Miss Linnett exclaims, 'I beg to remain in the station I am in: my little talents have hitherto received the public protection, nor, whilst I continue to deserve, am I the least afraid of losing my patrons.' The end of the engagement came, in fact, in a much more prosaic fashion. Miss Linley was in love with Richard Sheridan, and, more sensible than her parents, wrote to Long, asking him to break off the engagement. He put an end to the affair, settled 3,000*l.* on the young lady, and made her a present of valuable jewels. It may be that Foote's play had shown Long the public opinion of his engagement. But Miss Linley was being tormented by a certain Don Juan of Bath, one Major Mathews, the origin of Major Rackett of Foote's play, who did not trouble to disguise the origin of this dramatic person, and she took the odd resolve of flying to a convent at St. Quentin. The confidants of this plan were Sheridan and his sister, and

one evening in March of 1772, in company with a female travelling companion and Sheridan, she set off from Bath, leaving her father and sister Mary busy at a concert. Such an elopement, honestly meant as it was, might have ended in some scandal. The protecting youth and the helpless and loving girl would hardly fail to think that marriage was the best way out of the difficulty, and so Richard Sheridan, aged twenty-one, and Eliza Linley, aged nineteen, were clandestinely married at a village near Calais. This secret marriage, however, by no means ended the drama. Mrs. Sheridan retired to a convent at Lille, and then to the care of an English family in the same town, whence she was brought back by her father to England. Meanwhile Mathews, at Bath, was writing insulting letters to Sheridan, whose brother was equally wrathful at Miss Linley's flight, and finished by inserting in the 'Bath Chronicle' a notice that Sheridan was not a gentleman and also a challenge. The moment Sheridan—still in France—received the letters he hurried back, found Mathews in London, and received from his opponent an explanation which appeased his anger. But as soon as he arrived at Bath he obtained a copy of the 'Chronicle' and hastily returned to London, and fought a duel with Mathews in a tavern, a rough-and-tumble kind of fight, which produced from Mathews an apology. Mathews retired to Wales, but presently returned to Bath, where he gave his own version of the duel, which produced a second duel on July 2 on Kingsdown Hill. Little science was again shown in the encounter, which strongly resembled the first fight. It was like that between Roderick Random and Lord Quiverwit, more ferocious than skilful, showing that the duel was anything but the artistic exhibition of swordsmanship which we like to fancy it.

'Almost at the very beginning Sheridan fell fiercely upon Mathews and tried, as on the first occasion, to lay hold of his sword. The ground was uneven, and he fell, dragging his opponent with him. In their fall both swords were broken, and the struggle went on between the two men lying clinging to each other on the ground. Mathews, the older and stronger of the two, contrived to get on top of Sheridan and keep him down. He was still holding the stump of his sword, or had been able to recover possession of it. He called on his adversary to sue for mercy, and when he refused, he picked up the other piece of his sword, and began striking and stabbing him in the neck, the face, and all over the body. This unequal struggle went on for some time without any interference from the seconds. At last they separated the opponents. Mathews got into a post-chaise which was

waiting for him, and Sheridan, in a very bad way, was carried to the nearest inn, where surgeons dressed his wounds.'

It was not then the season at Bath, and Miss Linley, as she still was to the world, at this moment was singing at a concert at Oxford. On her way home she heard of Sheridan's wound, insisted on seeing him, saying she was his wife. But her words were not taken seriously. Sheridan himself made no avowal of the marriage; on the contrary, he actually promised his father that he would never marry Miss Linley, and was sent off by him to Waltham Abbey, where he remained till the following spring. Miss Linley departed for Tunbridge Wells. All sorts of intermediate difficulties, sorrows, estrangement, and concealment followed until Mr. Linley relented; and on April 13, 1773, Sheridan and Miss Linley, as we still may call her, were remarried in London. It is a curious story, interesting from the subsequent celebrity of the hero, but for our purpose a graphic description of people and life at Bath. All sorts and conditions of persons are mixed up in it. Bath society was in a perfect state of excitement over this adventure of two young and unknown people, and the affair was an important piece of news sent from Bath to the '*London Chronicle*,' wherein it is thus reported:—'*Bath, March 23, Wednesday.*—The eldest '*Miss Linley*, of this city, justly celebrated for her musical '*abilities*, set off with Mr. Sheridan, junior, on a matrimonial '*expedition to Scotland.*'

It is near the time of the Sheridan romance that Fanny Burney made her memorable visit to Bath, for in 1780 she was there, just two years after the publication of '*Evelina*,' which had made her a celebrity. She came under the escort and as the guest of Mrs. Thrale, who, wealthy, clever, and respectable, typified the best section of the women who delighted in Bath. Mrs. Thrale had been there before, in 1776, in the North Parade, when Johnson and Boswell were at the Pelican, Walcot. Much of the remainder of her life was passed in Bath. She stayed the following summer there, after Mr. Thrale's sudden death. In 1784 she was married in Bath to Piozzi, and thenceforth she was frequently a visitor, until, after her second husband's death in 1809, she settled there for the remainder of her life, till 1821—thus, the intimate friend of Johnson and the hostess of Burke, uniting the eighteenth century, and Bath in particular, with quite a different epoch.

Fanny Burney's quick intelligence and her power of

accurate description enabled her to depict with easy gaiety and simple truth the character of life at Bath. Her pleasure in bright talk, and her instant perception alike of wit and of stupidity, made her bring into relief all the features of society at Bath—its good as well as its bad points—for running beneath all its frivolity was a stratum of intellectuality. A faint imitation of the salons of Madame du Deffand and Mademoiselle de Lespinasse was noticeable in some of the parties at Bath, but the English character is not suited to the creation of a society at once intellectual and worldly; philosophy and costumes do not amalgamate on this side of the Channel, and the reunions at Bath Easton, where Lady Miller received guests in her pleasant villa and where poetical compositions dropped into a classical urn were read and prizes awarded amidst the chatter of a garden-party, brought the more intellectual side of Bath society into some ridicule. ‘He was a blockhead for his pains,’ said Johnson, in his blunt way, of a gentleman who wrote for the vase. Yet these parties must, in spite of their harmless exaggerations and affectations, have been pleasant enough; one can still see the classical character of the house and the pillars of the grottoes, and the pleasant lawns sloping to the high road from Bath. Here

‘Lady Miller once a fortnight gave out a subject for poetical composition, on which, when the company was assembled, those whom the Muses, or perhaps vanity, or the love of fame, had influenced, produced their performances, and put them into an elegant antique marble vase brought from Rome, and placed on a pedestal in the bow window; when the company were seated, some young nymph put in her delicate arm and took out a single poem, which the author, or someone who either had, or fancied he had, an agreeable elocution, read to the assembly. When in this manner the whole collection was gone through, the gentlemen retired into a contiguous apartment, where, amidst a profusion of jellies, sweetmeats, ice-creams, and the like, they decided on the merits of the several performances, from which they selected three, which were deemed the best, and, of course, entitled to prizes, which her ladyship distributed to the respective authors; a pompous bouquet of flowers to the first, a myrtle wreath to the second, and a sprig of myrtle to the third. These were then usually presented by the successful candidate to some lady, who wore them in her hair or her bosom the next evening to the publick rooms.’

We may smile at these things as much as we like, but they not only brought people to Bath,* but indicate better

* ‘I counted one morning above fifty carriages drawn up in line from Bath Easton and was at one time present at it, with four Duchesses.’ (Graves, ‘The Triflers,’ quoted by Barbeau, p. 227.)

than any description the growth of gentler manners in some sections of English society, the desire to have something better than the sport and drunken evenings of Squire Western, and the eternal cards, which formed the staple of indoor recreation all over the country.

Miss Burney on Bath is at her best. During the pleasant season of late spring and early summer of April, May, and June, when Bath, too, and the fertile valley of the Avon were also at their best, she was as happy as she could be, ingenuously delighting in her own success and recording to her diary with a quite delightful *naïveté* the remarks, often ridiculous, fulsome, and exaggerated, which were made to her on a work which was in the hands and the mouth of everyone who would pass as having the least pretension to the possession of intellectual interests. The incidents of her day were trivial enough; no one went to Bath to lead a strenuous life. With Miss Burney it was breakfast at home with Mrs. Thrale or with a friend, a walk in the meadows, perhaps; after a two o'clock dinner at another house a concert, or a walk to the Belvedere, or an evening party at which cards and tea were mingled with talk, as in Hogarth's 'Assembly 'at Wanstead House' (1728). Sometimes there was a call to be made, for evening calling was much in vogue, or else a theatre:—"We all went to the play to see an actress she ' (Miss Bowdler) is strangely fond of—Mrs. Siddons in ' "Belvidera."'" But, instead of admiring her, they all fell in love with a second-rate actor. But theatre or party, or whatever was the occupation of the evening, it was sure to be a pleasant end to a day which, if its occurrences were uneventful, not to say trivial, was from morning to night full of change and brightness, was more French than English, more resembled a *fête champêtre* of Watteau than a landscape of Gainsborough. Miss Burney moved among tonish ladies, among the wittings; now it was a *tête-à-tête* with a bishop, now with a clever young peer, and now with one of those agreeable naval officers who then were—rightly enough—the heroes of the day. She was one of the atoms in a constantly moving crowd, in the respectable, clerical, and upper bourgeois society of Bath, in which wealth, wit, and respectability were amusingly united. Miss Burney describes with admirable vivacity and truth one section of Bath society towards the end of the century, indicating not only the extraordinary cosmopolitanism of the place, but the mental atmosphere and the current ideas of one of the best portions of the English people. To transcribe

a passage from Miss Burney's note-book is as profitless and flat a task as can well be; the salt altogether loses its flavour; it is the entire picture in her pages which gives us permanent impressions, so permanent indeed that they indelibly fix in the memory the manner of life and the modes of thought of many of our forefathers. We see before us the varied throng—politicians and capitalists, artists and actors, divines and sailors, women of wit from town, and hoydens from the countryside. All mingle freely and without social restraint, not in the least aware that they exemplified drastic national changes, deep social evolutions in progress in our English way. 'Society,' it has been well said, 'in spite of the very rigorous and active controversies upon the question which decided it, was in the main self-satisfied, 'complacent, and comfortable,' nowhere more so than at Bath, where the tendencies of the century were focussed. We see also the vigorous birth of English art, the art of Gainsborough and Lawrence, of portraiture and landscape, fostered by a society which was beginning to appreciate the gifts of the painter—who had in the past been generally a foreigner and whose patrons had seldom been other than royalty or nobility. Now the great middle-class were becoming amateurs, and the purchaser of a picture was of the same kind as, across the North Sea, had sustained the Dutch artists of an earlier age. All this Miss Burney's diary shows us, and it is for this reason that her depiction of Bath is of so permanent a value.

Of the last literary phase of the society of Bath Miss Austen is the central and attractive figure. She describes the city as it passes from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century—from that markedly intervening epoch between the old age and the modern, between England of the Stewarts and the Revolution, to England as it now is. Miss Austen unites Bath in its zenith to Bath in its decline. She lived there from 1801 to 1805, and in 'Northanger Abbey' and in 'Persuasion' are described the sayings and doings of Bath just before it descended into a commonplace Spa, losing its distinctive features from causes already referred to. Miss Austen's Bath is made agreeable by the charm of herself and by the delicacy of her art. Monsieur Barbeau is right. 'She saw nothing worse around her than a good deal of frivolity, a little dissipation, and 'a touch of vulgarity'—faults of the surface, suited not for fulmination but for the gentle ridicule which, while it criticises does not wound, and recognises that there may be

sins of manners and of tastes compatible with sterling worth. In Miss Austen's days Bath had unquestionably grown more civilised, manners had softened, and decency was more regarded when she lived there. Young Thorpe, for instance, though something both of a lout and a groom, was many degrees better than the brutal young fox-hunting squire—a youthful Squire Western, brother of the charming Narcissa whom Smollett describes. What remarkable products of the age, one may remark in passing, were these damsels of seventeen who blushed with downcast eyes when their lovers spoke, and yet heard without a change of colour the grossest conversation, and lightly talked to their maid of the last illegitimate birth in the parish. Bath was then, as it had been before, an indication of national character in certain phases outside and beyond its bounds. But Miss Austen possessed to so great a degree the story-telling power that we are apt to lose touch with the locality in the interest of the novel. She had no moral to point as had Richardson and Fielding, her object was only to please, and it is perhaps after all the chief interest of Miss Austen's connexion with Bath that she lays two of her stories there—which, like her other works, are the best examples of the uprising of the modern novel, since Miss Austen's work resembles that of the present day more nearly than does that of some writers nearer to it in point of time.

One thus quits Bath in her agreeable company, the last phase of its historical importance engraved for posterity in her charming pages. On the summit of Lansdown Hill, whence one sees the lines of the town creeping up the steep hillsides, and the curves of the Avon in the valley disappearing in the distance on either hand, one is reminded by the curious and ugly tower, now the centre of a cemetery, of Beckford, the gifted but eccentric writer, and of the Radical Lord Mayor, his father, by no means a figure to be forgotten among the men of the eighteenth century. The same pleasant scene recalls likewise Mr. Swinburne's lines which are a kind of epitaph alike on Savage Landor and on the city itself. The connexion of personality and locality is always suggestive and to be valued; but these latter names do not belong to Bath of the eighteenth century, that focus of society and microcosm of the outer world, so varied, so gay, so unique, a faithful reflection of many tendencies of the age.

ART. VIII.—THE SPIRIT OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

1. *A History of Architecture.* By Professor BANISTER FLETCHER and BANISTER F. FLETCHER. London: B. T. Batsford. 1905.
2. *Architecture en France.* Par G. CERFBERR DE MEDELSHEIM. Jouvot & Cie., Éditeurs, 5 Rue Palatine, Paris.
3. *Democracy and Reaction.* By L. T. HOBHOUSE. London: Fisher Unwin. 1904.
4. *The Cathedral Builders.* The Story of a great Masonic Guild. By LEADER SCOTT. London: Sampson Low. 1899.

OF all events in the history of architecture the transition from Romanesque to Gothic is incomparably the most striking and dramatic. It is made so partly by the extraordinary contrast in character between the old style and the new, between the ponderous, solid and composed Romanesque and the eager, animated Gothic, and partly by the decisive and rapid way in which the incoming style set to work to break up and displace the old. Mr. Jackson in his lectures has called the change a 'revolution,' and its violence and suddenness deserve the name. Moreover, it is a revolution that seems to imply a definite meaning and purpose. Gothic is so powerful and decided a style, it seems to know its own mind so clearly, and to speak its thought with such conviction and emphasis, that we feel it needs must have some intelligible message to deliver to us if only we could get at the meaning of it.

When, however, we turn to the writers and lecturers on the subject, most of whom are professional architects, for an interpretation of this message, we often have to confess a sense of disappointment. Mr. Jackson tells us that the whole change came about owing to the fact that the builders of our Gothic cathedrals were obliged, from motives of economy, to use small stones instead of large ones. They had not the command of money or slave labour that the Romans had; consequently they were obliged to use stones that could be easily handled, and the towering Gothic naves and choirs were the inevitable result. Such an explanation has the merit of simplicity, but yet it is not quite what we want. It is not such a solution as anyone who feels what we may call the 'personality' of Gothic will be quite contented with. Nor is Mr. Russell Sturgis's solution, though he has

the majority of the architects with him, much more satisfactory. According to this theory 'Gothic architecture was 'a natural developement of the Romanesque architecture of 'Northern France,' and its origin was 'wholly constructional.' That is to say it grew out of a difficulty the Romanesque builders had in roofing their naves and aisles, a difficulty which necessitated and insured the introduction of the pointed arch. As soon as this happened 'the whole Gothic 'style, including everything from the Cathedral of Rheims 'to the smallest chapel, came from it as a matter of course.'

We sometimes think the poor British public is not wholly to blame for its alleged, and probably rightly alleged, indifference to architecture. We cannot all be architects, and unless we are architects we cannot reasonably be expected to excite ourselves very much about the structural laws governing arches and vaults, or the adaptability of masonry. If this is all, if this explains Gothic, nine out of ten of us will feel that the mistake we were under was in attaching the importance we did to the subject. In explaining away our difficulties Mr. Jackson and Mr. Russell Sturgis explain away our interest. We thought we were ignorant of something supremely worth knowing. We find we were ignorant of something which to us, not being professional architects, is of no importance. What wonder if, humbly accepting the explanations given, we incline for the future to leave architecture to the architects?

And yet—and it says a good deal for the power of Gothic that it should be so—we no sooner find ourselves inside one of our cathedrals than all these explanations fall away from us. They are so inadequate, or rather they are so totally disconnected with the cogent influence felt around us here and vouched for by the power and unanimity of the architecture, that however humbly we may have acquiesced in them in the lecture-room or the book, we quite forget them in the cathedral. Or, if we remember them at all, it is to perceive that they are not an explanation of ends but of means. They do not explain 'why' Gothic architecture arose, but 'how' it arose. If, we think, in presence of the strength of purpose here prevailing, the Gothic builders used small masonry, it was because small masonry suited the purpose they had in view; if they developed certain structural laws not hitherto practised, it was because those laws lent themselves to the purpose they had in view. The purpose of Gothic architecture is a thing which in its presence at least we are unable to doubt, and no explanation stands a serious

chance with us which does not address itself immediately to that purpose, or which thinks that it solves the question by an analysis of the mechanical and material means by which that purpose was carried out. A style so forcible supposes the existence of a distinct thought. It must have existed in the minds of its builders before it existed as architecture. It was an idea before it was a fact.

Thinking thus, it is needless to say that our own notions concerning Gothic lead us not so much to a minute examination of masonry or vaulting as to the age and people among whom Gothic had its origin. We will ask the reader by-and-by to accompany us in an excursion into past history; but before doing so, and that we may know what we are in search of, we wish to draw attention to one characteristic trait of the style in which, as it seems to us, its significance mainly lies.

Gothic is the only architecture, with one possible exception, which possesses the quality of energy. By energy we mean strength in action as distinguished from strength in repose. The only other style which possesses some trace of this quality is the Arab, to which we shall hope to recur later. Apart from Arab, Gothic is, so far as we know, its only possessor. All other styles exhibit strength in repose only. Gothic alone exhibits strength in action.

The difference between the two can be distinguished with some precision. Forms which are self-contained and finite are necessarily passive, and an architecture made up of such forms is a passive architecture. Forms, on the other hand, which receive and transmit energy are active, and an architecture made up of such forms is an active architecture. Now the forms which compose all other styles of architecture except Gothic—the round arches, the piers or pillars, the horizontal or rounded vaulting of Romanesque and Renaissance, and the columns and entablatures of the Classic styles—are all self-contained and finite forms. They are complete units, bounded in themselves, and their construction gives rise to styles of architecture which possess strength in repose, never strength in action. Gothic forms are of a different character altogether. They are conductors, and by acting as such—by receiving and transmitting energy, that is to say—they set up an actual movement and current of vitality. If, for example, we compare the round Romanesque arch with the pointed Gothic, we find that the former merely asks the eye to travel round it, starting from one base to end at the other, a safe and tranquil journey within prescribed

bounds which are never broken. All the attention given to the arch, the arch retains. But the pointed arch—and this is particularly the case with the pointed arch underlined with the strong mouldings so characteristic of Gothic—does not retain the attention but throws it upward. The eye, instead of travelling round it, which is an impossibility, rushes up it from either side to the apex, and, accompanying the expressed purpose of the arch, easily takes flight thence in an upward direction. The result is that whereas the round arch is of as placid a disposition as the lintel or architrave, the pointed arch is extraordinarily animated. One expresses energy, the other repose.

But the arch is not the most significant of Gothic features. The arch derives the bulk of its own energy from the column below, and if we wish to get to the source of Gothic energy it is to the columns we must have recourse. A glance at these shows us that they are not columns at all in the finite sense in which we usually apply the word. They are rather great sheaves or bundles of sinewy lines, bound together rather than terminated by their capitals, which from these starting-points radiate to all parts of the structure. Some, as vaulting ribs, uphold the roof of the aisles; others, projected up the nave wall, diverge into the groining of the nave vault; while those on the remaining two sides of the piers form themselves into those powerful mouldings which animate, in the way we were just now noticing, the nave arches. Whether, however, their course be long or short, whether they soar to the ridge of the nave or only to the arch-head, they obey the same law. They all continue upward until they meet, in a point, others of their kind that have ascended from other pier-clusters, and, meeting them, compose the framework of the architecture. Thus the same lines form, in the several stages of their progress, the piers, the arch-heads, the vaulting shafts, and the aisle and nave vaulting ribs. It is these lines which really govern and control the whole building and communicate their own energy to every part of it, making of the various architectural forms conductors through which their energy is poured. Gothic has sometimes been called the 'linear' style of architecture, and it is certainly the case that all those parts of the building which possess structural vitality possess it in virtue of the fact that they belong to and form part of this system of soaring lines.

It will be seen, then, that the energy of Gothic is a visible and tangible thing. Architectural forms, immediately they

abandon the finite, self-contained attitude and become receivers and transmitters of force, exchange their character of strength in repose for strength in action. They set up or maintain a current of energy which instils into them its own sense of movement and activity. Perhaps the definition of Gothic as the style which transmits energy is in some respects more significant than any other. The pointed arch alone is, of course, no sufficient indication, and even the 'exclusively 'vertical tendency,' as it is called, of the architecture, if expressed in vertical forms detached and separate from each other, would be found not to capture the true character of the style. On the other hand, if we make transmission of energy the test, we imply the existence of the pointed arch and of the vertical tendency, since energy cannot possibly be transmitted save by the help of both these agents; but we imply also the linking together of the structural features and their conversion into channels for the vitality of the building to flow through; and it is this undoubtedly which gives its special character to the architecture.

How completely this new spirit of energy possesses Gothic architecture may best be seen, perhaps, when we remember the effect produced by the insertion of the self-contained forms of other styles among Gothic ones. These sometimes occur as later Renaissance additions or interpolations; a notable instance is to be seen in the west front of Milan Cathedral, but others will no doubt occur to the reader. The insertion of these passive forms among the surrounding active ones suggests the idea of a broken-off branch of a tree caught and suspended among the living branches. The effect is always in the last degree disagreeable and incongruous. The best way, however, to catch the character of the new architecture is to call to mind a Norman interior when we stand in a Gothic one; to call to mind, let us say, the stolid piers and arches of St. Bartholomew's when we stand amid the rocketing lines of the nave of Westminster Abbey. We shall feel, under this test, that architecture as it passes from Norman into Gothic awakens, as it were, with a start into a sudden exertion of active energy, and that an unmistakable spirit of animation pervades the new style and penetrates every part of it.

This being, then, the main characteristic of Gothic, and this the point of difference between it and all other architecture, it will be by accounting for the presence of this characteristic that we may best hope to explain the origin of the style. We know that in the sphere of architecture

what Gothic energy did was to break up Romanesque. But Romanesque, to adopt Professor Banister Fletcher's definition, 'may be said to include all those phases of Western European architecture which were more or less based on Roman art, and which were being carried out, in a rough-and-ready way, in various parts of Europe, from the departure of the Romans up to the introduction of the pointed arch.' All these round arched styles are Roman in origin. They were, with many variations, still carrying on the main Roman traditions, and in fact between a Saxon, Norman, or Lombardic church, with their general massiveness and rounded arches and vaults, and the baths and palaces of the Classic age there exists, under the differences, a fundamental similarity of character which cannot be mistaken. On the other hand, if these styles, derived from Rome, held their own, as Professor Banister Fletcher says, 'from the departure of the Romans up to the introduction of the pointed arch,' the new races, the barbarians who overwhelmed Rome, could not during all that time have produced a distinctive style of their own, and we must consider Gothic as being therefore their first distinctive style. So that the vigorous attack of Gothic on Romanesque is the attack of the great style of the barbarians on one still in the main Roman. That is the architectural side of the matter. If, however, we turn back some six or seven centuries in European history we shall come to a more lively representation of the same encounter, and one which will perhaps throw some light on its architectural aspect.

We shall be within the mark in saying that the Roman Empire was the greatest triumph of administrative control known to history. The idea of control, indeed, as opposed to the idea of freedom, was its guiding motive. Gibbon, who held that powers of self-government 'will be first abused and afterwards lost if they are committed to an unwieldy multitude,' and whose own ideas of government were perfectly represented by the Roman polity, has described with great appreciation the wise and careful measures taken to suppress the dangerous spirit of liberty. When that object had been attained, 'when the popular assemblies had been suppressed by the administration of the Emperors,' then indeed 'the conquerors were distinguished from the vanquished nations only as the first and most honourable order of subjects.' But the first business was to crush out the spirit of local initiative and individual freedom. 'In Etruria, in Greece, and in Gaul,' says Gibbon, 'it was the first care

‘ of the Senate to dissolve those dangerous confederacies
‘ which taught mankind that, as the Roman arts prevailed by
‘ division, they might be resisted by union. Those princes
‘ whom the ostentation of gratitude or generosity permitted
‘ for a while to hold a precarious sceptre were dismissed from
‘ their thrones as soon as they had performed their appointed
‘ task of fashioning to the yoke the vanquished nation. The
‘ free states and cities which had embraced the cause of Rome
‘ were rewarded with a nominal alliance and insensibly
‘ sunk into real servitude.’

The centre of the whole system was Rome. Thence all orders issued, thither all eyes were turned. ‘The public authority was everywhere exercised by the Ministers of the Senate and of the Emperors, and that authority was absolute and without control.’ By these means the spirit of liberty was gradually exterminated, and as it died down a series of gifts and privileges, administered on a sliding-scale according to the docility of the subject, introduced a feeling of loyalty and pride of quite another kind. The ‘civis Romanus sum’ pride of Roman citizenship, so far from having anything to do with liberty and independence, was bought by the sacrifice of liberty and independence. It was the pride of serving, in some humble capacity, or at least of having one’s existence recognised by and being on friendly terms with, a tremendous and imposing organisation which could bestow benefits worth having or inflict terrible penalties.

The result of this system of control, pursued patiently, tactfully, and implacably for several centuries, was that in Europe the spirit of liberty was literally killed out. The individual was sunk in the system, and when the system broke up, when Rome herself was no longer capable of diffusing energy and exercising control, the entire fabric collapsed and fell to the ground. In the separate parts of it there existed no life, no capacity for independent action, and not the direst necessity, not the instinct of self-preservation even, could galvanise into any such independent action these great provinces which had been accustomed for centuries to have all the strings that moved them pulled from Rome. There is a most curious example of this helplessness, which we find quoted by Guizot in one of his lectures, in a despatch addressed in the year 418 by the Roman Emperors to the Prefect of Gaul. We need not quote the despatch. The object of it was to establish in central Gaul, with its headquarters at Arles, a kind of

representative government which might rouse the country to its own defence. The attempt failed owing to the fact that none of the towns or provinces took the slightest interest in it. No one went to Arles; no one elected deputies. Rome had done her work too well. The provinces had become so inured to control that it had come to be the only form of government thinkable to them. That they themselves, that their individual inhabitants, could exercise rights of their own, combine among themselves, provide for their own safety and act on their own initiative, was an idea they were incapable of entertaining.

What we want the reader to notice is the accuracy with which this character of the Empire is reflected in its architecture. That architecture is usually held to testify to the greatness and dominion of Rome. It does so, no doubt, but it reveals also the nature of that dominion. It possessed one or two qualities well worth having, qualities which went down in the common wreck, and which we have felt the want of more or less ever since. But it is characterised on the whole by its deadly and vast monotony. Local conditions count for nothing in it. It is impossible to trace the slightest record in these theatres and amphitheatres, temples and triumphal arches, which adorned the Empire from one end to the other, of the character of the inhabitants of any particular country or neighbourhood. The likes and dislikes of the people, national usages and customs, traditions or superstitions, the influence of climate and of scenery, nay, the influence of time itself, all go for nothing in Roman architecture. It suggests the idea of having been turned out by some great central factory and forwarded to the different parts of the Empire as need arose. Near the little village of Sbeitla, overlooking from the southernmost spurs of the Aurès the distant expanse of the Sahara, stand the well-preserved remains of several of these temples. In that land of unclouded skies and fierce heat, of palm and sand, one might expect the local genius to reveal itself. But no! These columns and architraves and friezes, these ugly composite capitals and the solid blocks of masonry, would have been just as much in place in the Forum in Rome. Even the quality and tricks of workmanship, the use of the drill as a cheap and expeditious means for outlining the sculpture, and the loading of the architrave with misplaced ornament, followed the Roman model. Nothing is to be learnt here of the history of Sbeitla or of its inhabitants. On all those matters of human character and human life of which archi-

ecture has usually so much to tell us, Roman architecture is dumb. It knows nothing of man and can tell us nothing about him. It can utter but one word, and that word is 'Rome.'

It was inevitable that the system which had been fatal to freedom in life should be fatal to it in art. But what is most significant, and what is evident from the very plentifulness of these remains, is the pride the people took in their own servitude. There was no hardship in the matter. The turning out of these endless, dull acanthus-leaved capitals, which have since adorned so many churches and mosques, evidently seemed to the sculptors of that age the only legitimate exercise of their trade. Art is the interpreter of life, and what could their art do more for them than express their entire acquiescence in the great administrative system which had so completely absorbed them? One may fairly conjecture that the arch, gateway, or temple of Roman pattern must have been as coveted by the provincial town of the Empire as the charters and privileges which attested their freedom were by our later English boroughs. This architecture, with its immense dulness and perpetual iteration, is, in short, no sign of the conscious tyranny of Emperor or Senate, but of the unconscious tyranny of routine. It suggests, not oppression, but apathy.

It was upon this scene of unparalleled listlessness and torpor, over which officialism seemed to have woven a kind of enchantment, that the hordes of barbarians descended. In mass behind mass, Goth and Alan, and Ostrogoth and Hun, they gathered along the eastern frontier like ridges of toppling thunder-clouds at the close of a stifling day. They were the judgment Rome had heaped up for herself. The individual energy and initiative which the Empire had crushed out of its own citizens rose up to destroy it. It has been usual to credit these wild forefathers of ours with profound, mystical intuitions, to imagine their dark and troubled spirits lit with strange gleams from the supernatural world, and to suggest that they were visited in their frozen forests by impulses of deeper birth than fall to the lot of average humanity. Such may have been the case, but what is certain is that they were visited also by impulses of a more intelligible kind. Races of robust stock, like individuals, seem to go through a stage when virile efficiency is a sufficing ideal; when the physical qualities of strength, fleetness, endurance, and the moral qualities of courage, fierceness, and daring are the only things worth having.

The ideal is an almost purely physical one ; the only virtues acknowledged being those which tend to the free and effective display of physical efficiency. This, at least as regards human affairs, was certainly the creed of the barbarians. Their life was action, and they valued exclusively, or at least primarily, such qualities as took effect in action. On the other hand, owing to this very restriction of ideas, it is obvious that they must have been, as indeed we know they were, altogether lacking in the power of organisation, and in their migrations and campaigns we perceive the motion of hordes, not moved by discipline and authority, but by the unanimity of will of individuals all equally fierce and enterprising.

In short, the invasions were an attack on a system of organisation pure and simple by individual energy pure and simple. What followed immediately was the total overthrow and smash-up of organisation. What followed by degrees was the re-establishment and restarting of society on a new basis, the basis of individual energy and the rights it involved. The coming of the new races poured a fresh tide of vitality through the Empire, the old listlessness and torpor disappeared, and free play for the individual became the ruling principle of life. This is the change which is by-and-by to transcribe itself with literal exactness into architecture. This tide of vitality is to be poured into column and arch, and we are to see a style, still Roman and passive, transfigured, as here we see society, with startling suddenness into a style expressing in every line a consuming energy.

And why, perhaps it will be objected, did not all this happen at once? When the life that had made Roman architecture what it was went, why did not the architecture go with it? When the new inspiration came in, why did not its appropriate architecture follow it? Why did half a dozen centuries elapse between the change in life and the change in architecture? An obvious, though not a complete, answer is to be found in the fact that the barbarians were barbarians, and incapable of putting their ideas into stone ; but a moment's consideration of the nature of art itself will give us a reason which may perhaps lead on to something more definite.

Art is always a somewhat mysterious subject to deal with, but we may say this about it with some confidence, that it never manifests itself with certainty, and least of all in the form of a great architectural style, until it has behind it a combined and united effort. It has in it something of the

nature of a solution of life's problem. So far as that particular race which creates it is concerned, it is an answer to the question how to live. And for this very reason a great creative epoch in art never can occur when society is uncertain of itself and distracted in its aims. Art being essentially a conclusion, the expression of a solution already arrived at, it follows that the solution must be reached in life before it can be expressed in art. There have been very few great creative epochs in art. The Greeks, we may almost say, lived in such an epoch. But to the Greeks was given in their own way, a finite way perhaps, an extraordinarily clear perception of what, so far as they were concerned, life meant. The Italian Renaissance was another creative epoch, much less sure of itself, it is true, than the Greek, but still quite believing that its own new-found joy in life theory was the answer to life's problem. For the time being at any rate Renaissance art did, more or less adequately, express the life of its age, and was therefore genuine.

But indeed all manifestations of art, even those quite minor and subordinate ones which are more than fashions, but much less than great creative epochs, demand an effort of a certain weight and unanimity to back them. Such movements, for instance, as the Louis Quinze and Louis Seize periods stand at least for the fact, and are made possible by the fact, that the French society of that day, with its ideal of luxury, show, and magnificence, was unanimous in the demands it made on life, and had power to enforce those demands. So the English upper-class movement of the same time was less important than the French one, to the extent to which luxury and magnificence were less dominant as a social ideal in England than in France. If these minor manifestations seem trivial when compared with the great art epochs, it is because they interpret the life, not of a people, but of a class. Their importance is less to the degree to which the conviction of a single section of society is weaker than the conviction of the whole of it. In every case the power and sincerity of the movement in art is determined by the extent to which the idea inspiring it has already possessed itself of life and penetrated life. An idea that has collected a great deal of life will inspire a robust art. An idea that has collected but a little life will inspire a feeble art. But always the idea must have established itself in life and made good its hold upon life before it can manifest itself in art.

The reader will see why we emphasise this. In Gothic architecture the Northern nations have had their, so far, one

and only great creative epoch. It deserves that title, for it had behind it, if ever art had, the conviction of a whole people. At the same time the important thing to remember about it is that the idea it embodies, before it could translate itself into art, was bound to work itself out in life and thoroughly possess itself of and penetrate life. Accordingly, what we are concerned with immediately is the working out of the Gothic ideal in life. That was the problem at which the new races were labouring for six centuries and more.

We know what their ideal was. 'What is spontaneous in 'a people,' writes Mr. Hobhouse in a book we have all been reading lately, 'is always the source of life, the well-spring 'of the fresh forces which recruit jaded civilisation.' To recruit a jaded civilisation with what is spontaneous in a people was evidently the object of the barbarians. They had come into the West, as we looking back can see clearly enough, though they themselves were naturally unconscious of any mission at all, to vindicate the primary truth that man is greater than any routine or system; that he is to wield them, not they him. To a world lapped and lulled in routine they came to preach the rough gospel of individual initiative and freedom of action. This was their unconscious doctrine, and they preached it in their own straightforward way, not ineffectively. So long as tearing up and clearing away was their cue, they had but to let themselves go. But to clear the ground is one thing, to rear and reap the crop another. It was the process of constructing a society and evolving a scheme of government containing as its vital principle their own characteristic theory of free play for the individual that took the time.

The difficulties before them were enormous. For four or five centuries after their first appearance the elements of which the new society was to be composed were never at rest. Fresh influxes of barbarians force their way westward. No sooner does a settlement, a definite form, begin to emerge out of the chaos than it is broken up and swept away by a new combination and arrangement of its material. Moreover, the barbarians had not only the refractoriness of society but their own individual refractoriness to order. The very idea of an organic society presupposes in its members a certain power of generalising, of deducing abstract principles, of looking at life impersonally; powers which the Gothic races, in the first centuries of their settlement, certainly never possessed. Their ideal of physical energy

would probably have meant in those early days, translated into a governing principle, little more than the liberty to indulge in their own furious whims and passions. It had to go through a long course of tempering and refining before it could emerge as a principle of national freedom capable of forming a social bond.

Many forms of government came and went in the interval; many experiments in the ordering and casting of society were tried and failed. None of these experiments embodied the Gothic idea; none of them offered that appearance of unanimity necessary to back up a creative epoch in art. In what place and what time in Europe from the fifth to the twelfth centuries can we imagine such an epoch occurring? What would it have had to say? What would have been the solution it would have proposed? Can we imagine it appearing during the reign of Charlemagne, that reign of military despotism over social anarchy? Or during any of the inflexible tyrannies that make up the history of the German Empire? Or in a Europe disintegrated by the feudal system and parcelled out into a number of estates, each one the theatre of miniature revolt and insurrection? Can we lay our finger anywhere during all these centuries on a society of which we can say that it knows its own mind, that it is animated by a definite conviction, that it has a message to deliver, a thought to give utterance to? Evidently we cannot. During these centuries the social material is either in violent commotion, or, if settled or settling, has not yet found the law of its nature. It has nowhere yet put into life the principle it was charged with. Under such circumstances it would be obviously impossible for a great creative epoch in art to occur. The makings of such an epoch are non-existent.

We must pass on until we find these makings. There seems little doubt as to the moment of their appearance. It is a trait of the Gothic spirit, as much in life as in art, that it is obvious and unmistakable in all its doings. The barbaric ideal was no profound and subtle affair, difficult to track and analyse, but an outward matter of action and politics. Its natural tendency was to work itself out into a social and political system safeguarding the rights and liberties of the individual, and its ability to do this is what marks its establishment in life. The systems we have glanced at, of Charlemagne and others, were all directed to checking this tendency. Their whole aim and object was to prevent the new ideal from working itself out into life

at all. It is not until we come to the national movement of the twelfth century that we find these obstructions overcome, and the Gothic thought victoriously asserting itself. The idea of the common weal, of public right, of a king as 'grand juge de paix du pays,' of liberty and justice as inalienable possessions of the people, now for the first time makes its appearance as a basis of government. It is the same old idea that the barbarians have always had, that they brought with them out of their forests, and that Rome made way for. But it has expanded and grown, it has been adapted to the needs of a community, and it is expressed now, not in its raw form of individual licence, but as a social and national bond. In a word, it has passed into life, it has a united effort behind it, and it has become capable of artistic expression.

That expression followed soon enough. Indeed, both these final acts, the assertion of nationality and the rise of the national style, are marked by all that decision which belongs to the Gothic character. Green tells us that the reign of Henry II. 'marks the period of amalgamation when 'neighbourhood and traffic and intermarriage drew English-men and Normans rapidly into a single people.' He adds, 'a national feeling was thus springing up before which the 'barriers of the older feudalism were to be swept away.' In referring the rise of nationalism to this time Green is only endorsing the common decision of history. What is important to note is that its rise meant really the recognition of public liberty as a governing principle. The liberty of the citizen was the foundation on which the European nations have been built. The 'national feeling' was the consciousness of freedom as a bond of union among the people. There is no need to insist on this. The signs of developing nationality are unmistakable. The growth all over the country of free towns with self-won rights and liberties and charters, the rise of the influence of the commons, the blows aimed at the throttling effect of feudalism are some of the unmistakable signs that the struggle for national unity was a struggle to assert the supremacy of the idea of freedom in life, and to safeguard the rights and liberties of the individual citizen. The fact is abundantly clear that nationalisation was the final vindication of the Gothic ideal as a matter of life; and if having once possessed ourselves of the dominant characteristic of the barbaric races, we were asked to determine the moment when that characteristic established its control over life,

we should have no hesitation, as we reviewed the succession of events and changes of government, in laying our finger on the rise of national consciousness and saying, 'This was the moment.'

And in pointing to the moment when the Gothic ideal came to the front in life, we point also to the moment when it can declare itself in art. The reign of Henry II., when the Gothic idea worked itself out in life, lasted from 1154 to 1189. The new style of architecture in which that idea embodied itself dates from the last twenty years of the century. Fergusson, accepting Canterbury as the first example, gives the year 1175 as the date of its first appearance. Canterbury, however, owing to the fact that it was designed by foreign architects, is somewhat discredited as an English specimen. Mr. Russell Sturgis and other authorities give 1190; others again 1185. We shall be safe in referring this event to about the end of the reign of Henry II. We shall be safe, that is, in saying that the manifestation in art of the Gothic idea came directly it felt the weight and unanimity of the national impulse behind it.

But, it will be said, Gothic did not have its birth in England; France was the nursery of the new style. Well, if we turn to France we shall find the same change in society occurring there and the same working out in life of the Gothic principle going on there, as we see in England, only asserting itself, as it ought to do, rather earlier. French historians date the rise of national feeling in France from the reign of Louis le Gros, just as confidently as Green dates it in England from the reign of Henry II. All the forces that brought about that developement, the rise of free communes, the breaking up of feudalism, the change in the character of kingship from a military despotism to what Guizot calls 'the guarantee and protector of public order, 'of universal justice and of the common interest,' occurred a little earlier in France than in England. These things give to the reign of Louis le Gros its 'caractère tout-à-fait 'nouveau,' as Guizot calls it, among the hitherto existing governments of Europe, and incline French historians to date the history of France as a modern nation from that time.

Accordingly we find this thought which the barbarians brought with them into the West, of the sacredness of individual energy and its right to free play, assuming control of life and constituting a national bond in France in the same

way as it does in England. France, however, takes precedence. The Gothic idea had its collective impulse behind it in France before it had in England, and consequently found its artistic expression there earlier than it did with us. Louis le Gros reigned from 1108 to 1137. French Gothic is dated decisively from the foundation of the Abbey of St. Denis in 1144.

It is especially in the case of French Gothic that the close connexion between the rise of nationality and Gothic architecture is demonstrated. In England the national instinct worked under more or less thwarting conditions. The very fact that we were an island operated against its free working. England was a crucible into which the elements of the forthcoming nationality were thrown one after the other, and within the strict confines of which they had to fight out their own destiny. The result is that the outward semblance of unity, of nationality, several times appears, and that centuries before the real principle of cohesion declares itself. It seems first to be on the point of emerging out of the chaos which followed the departure of the Romans and the first English invasion; and already, in the absorption of the smaller states by the three larger ones, Mercia, Wessex, and Northumbria, Green sees 'the tendency to 'national unity which was to characterise the new England.' But the tendency is merely outward. The unity, such as it was, was the work of contact and force operating within fixed limits. It was cemented by no principle, and represented no idea.

The history of the next three centuries is a history of the struggle of each of these three states to swallow the other two. Each in turn attempted it and failed. The attempt of Wessex was so far successful that at the time of the coming of the Danes the whole country had acknowledged her nominal authority. But the Danish invasion showed that this momentary combination did not amount to anything like national unity. The country was again divided in opposition. The North fell first, then the East; the West alone, under Alfred, maintained a local independence. The absence of cohesion shows the lack of national sentiment among the people. 'To them the conquest was simply their 'transfer from one overlord to another.' That is to say, the idea which they as a race had come into the world to preach had not yet been worked out into a system of government. Government was still a matter of 'overlords.'

These experiences are again and again repeated. At the

beginning of the eleventh century the conquest by Canute left him master of the country, and his rule was accepted by the whole people with that indifference which strikes one as so strange until one realises the meaning of it. The Norman invasion a little later revealed exactly the same state of things. Such unity as existed was merely apparent and yielded to a touch. A single battle decided the fate of the country. There was no universal rising, none of the fierce and patriotic outburst which, but a century later, would have greeted a foreign invasion. Harold's army fought for Harold, not for England, and on Harold's death the struggle, except for some fitful resistance of the earldoms, was practically over.

The defect about all these attempts at nation-making evidently is that they none of them worked on a great popular ideal. They none of them realised that to achieve unity you must get hold of the profoundest conviction of the people, that in which they all agree, and make your principle of union out of that. None of these 'overlord' governments expressed any such conviction; nor could they, for no such conviction had yet worked itself out in life. It was, however, on the way to do so. The Norman contribution made the elements of our population complete. While the country was being parcelled out into feudal domains, the races were fusing and mixing. There followed very shortly the event to which centuries of blind struggle and abortive effort had been leading—the rise of the consciousness of freedom as a bond of social union among the people.

The great principle, once vindicated, was like a flag run up. A united people rallied round it, tightened, hardened, solidified. At the same time it will be seen that towards this result there were in England two forces acting. There was the pull of the idea acting from within, and there was the fact of insularity, which kept trying again and again to impose the semblance of unity by mere force. Perpetually one is conscious of the dual origin of English nationality: of the pull from within and the pressure from without. There is the principle sure enough; but there also is practical necessity always trying to take the work out of its hands. The form of the nation existed before the spirit, and the resulting nationality is due partly to an idea and partly to a fact.

Whether this practical necessity and sense of working to a foreseen end, which presided over our national evolution, has left its traces in the national character we will not discuss, but it has certainly left its traces on the national

architecture. English Gothic is not the ideal Gothic. It is a Gothic more or less baffled, obstructed, and not quite sure of itself. The ideal Gothic is the French. In France the principle of nationality worked as a pure idea. What France shows us is that that idea is not to be thought of as connected with defined frontiers and the aspect of the completed national form. All this is accidental and subsequent. The nationalising influence is the attraction of a common bond to a common centre. In France we see this centrifugal action working quite independently of territorial extent and dimensions. France does not attain the outward aspect and form of a nation until long after England has attained it; but the principle is active, the pull is being exerted, earlier in France than in England.

At the time of our Gothic outburst in 1190 England was to all outward appearance an already united nation. Fifty years earlier, when that outburst occurred in France, the French kingdom consisted of a little nucleus round the Ile-de-France, a patch of territory not half as big as Ireland. Up to about thirty years before that nothing had foretold that this particular spot of earth was cradling a great idea. The Capets had possessed hardly a semblance of authority over the feudal provinces of the rest of the country, and their own independence was perpetually threatened by the Normans. It was Louis le Gros, as we have already seen, or rather, to be exact, it was his minister, Suger, who first joined the kingly power to that instinct which was then working merely as a social force among the rising communes, and thus turned it into a governing ideal and made a national bond of it. From that moment an influence of a new and decisive character emanates from this centre. The kingdom seems endowed suddenly with a power of assimilation; its influence is magnetic, and it increases and extends itself not so much by conquest as by attracting the surrounding provinces to itself.

What we find worth observing in this national extension in France is this, that although the same struggle to realise the same ideal was being carried on by the people of France outside the national area as within it, yet nothing of this could take effect in art, or vent itself in architectural expression, until national concentration acted upon it. We have tried the experiment of attempting to track and follow this extension of the national idea by drawing a map showing the successive rise of Gothic buildings. The first

example occurs appropriately at St. Denis, the royal chapel, a few miles from Paris. The second is Notre-Dame in Paris itself. Next come Senlis, Rheims, Chartres, Rouen, and the movement spreads till we have several score of buildings registered and our map looks like a target with the marks of shots scattered over it, all aimed at, and thickest nearest to, the bull's-eye, Paris. What with political complications and the uncertainty as to date of buildings, it is not, perhaps, practicable to trace with minuteness the national progress in the national style. But we can at least say with certainty that the new style in architecture had its birth in the very heart and centre of the little national area, that it came into being with the national idea, and from this centre, like the national idea itself, overflowed the neighbouring provinces.

French Gothic is, then, more a Gothic of the pure idea than English. English Gothic shows in itself something of those mixed influences of contact and blind force which went to make the nation, and which were due to the arbitrary mould within which the national impulse had to work. The English races were not drawn by a central attraction only. They were drawn, but they were hammered and pounded as well. And their national architecture shows this. Not only is it not so logical, not only does it fail to carry out the meaning it was meant to carry out with the completeness and absoluteness of French Gothic, but you cannot follow its progress from the centre and observe it keeping pace with the spread of the idea. You can say of English Gothic that it arose with, or immediately after, the sense of nationality, following it as sharply and abruptly as the report follows the explosion. And perhaps this is enough to say. But with French Gothic you can say more. You can say that it springs into being with the sense of nationality at a given point; and that, as the sense of nationality spreads, as the struggling, unruly, and distracted elements gather round the principle it represents and concentrate and combine into an ever-enlarging homogeneous body, so too Gothic extends its sphere of operation, everywhere answering to, and made possible by, the bond of national cohesion. Just in so far, in fact, as the new races could work out their ideal as a matter of life by making a national bond of it, was it granted to them to give it utterance in its appropriate architecture.

Moreover, if we interpret Gothic architecture in this sense, as the embodiment of a great thought with which

the new races had reinvigorated the old world, how easy it becomes to understand the extraordinary popular zeal and enthusiasm which the new style excited! Added to much that is unique in it, Gothic had this, that it was built, so one may almost say, without the help of architects. In spite of the appalling difficulties to be overcome, and the daring structural innovations involved, anyone could build Gothic. The people needed no teaching in the style. They seemed already to know all about it; and the architecture consequently rose, not slowly and by degrees, but spontaneously, with one impulse, rather like the uplifting of some tremendous chorus than the slow setting of stone upon stone. All this seems natural and intelligible if we regard the style as the visible presentment of their own profoundest convictions and deepest racial characteristics. That art comes easily which expresses the thought which has thoroughly penetrated life. It is there the difficulty lies—not in the artistic expression, but in the accumulation of the weight of conviction behind it. The obstructions in the way of Gothic were overcome and its expression made easy and inevitable, not by the builders and masons of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but by a score of preceding generations of our rugged forefathers who held by the instinct of their race, and, in the face of many obstacles, worked their thought slowly out into a practicable scheme of life. These were the real Gothic architects. The thought that had attained to such a hold on life as theirs had fell into stone almost of its own accord. The resulting architecture was the expression of a solution already arrived at.

We are obliged, within the limits at our disposal, to deal with our subject only in outline. There is, however, one bit of evidence, the more weighty, it seems to us, as being independent, which we are anxious to call attention to. We pointed out, to begin with, that the only architecture which at all resembled Gothic in its quality of energy was the Arab. Between the Arab hordes which attacked the Empire from the South and the Gothic races which attacked it from the East there are several obvious resemblances and one important difference. The difference, to take that first, is that the Arabs were nationalised before they set forth on their conquests. They had fought out their national unity within their own deserts. They had achieved their independence, driven out their Himyarite oppressors, fused their various dialects into a single language, and as a seal of unity received

the inspiration of their prophet. They issued forth, for the first time in their history, a united people. Their conquests were in fact national undertakings, carried out by regular armies, and controlled and directed by a central government.

In all this they differed of course fundamentally from the Northern invasions, which were blind and instinctive migrations of savage races. But still under this outward difference there is a profound inward resemblance between the two movements. If ever there was a race richer in the qualities the Empire was languishing for, a race which possessed the passion for action and the quality of individual energy in a greater degree even than the Goths did, it was certainly the Saracens. In the appalling velocity of their conquests and campaigns this energy of theirs may still be traced, and still, after the lapse of ages, it is felt as one of the most vital things in history. There was, it is true, a difference between the energy of the Goth and the Saracen. The Saracen energy had none of the virile purpose and stubbornness of the Gothic. It was rather a fickle and fiery impetuosity than energy in the Northern sense. Still it was a quality of a kind akin to the Northern quality and it embodied itself accordingly in an architecture, fickle and fiery as itself, yet, because of the kinship of the quality that inspired it, resembling in character the architecture of the North. This relationship has always been felt by us, and Arab or, as it is usually called, Moorish architecture has, in spite of its obvious weakness and vicious eccentricity, a shade of the same sentimental hold upon us that our own style has.

What, however, we have to note here is that the style, such as it was, was the direct result of the act of nationalisation. There is evidence enough forthcoming to show that the Arabs before the Flight had no distinct style of their own in architecture, but acquiesced, just as the Northern races did, in the prevailing forms of Romanesque or Byzantine. When, therefore, they issued from the desert they had their own style to manufacture, and, ignorant and untrained builders as they were, they immediately and quite instinctively invented the requisite forms. We remember in one of the earliest Cairo mosques, designed evidently by a Byzantine architect, that some of the round arches have been made into rudely pointed ones by merely hacking a notch in the top of them. No structural evolution or economic necessity presided over a change like this. The Arabs were full themselves of the style they required in

their architecture. They wanted to get their own energy into it, and they quickly found out a way. But this need for them did not arise, this power of collective expression did not arise, until the national bond had been forged. It required that the energy, to dignify it by that name, of the scattered tribes, the fiery and fickle desert energy, should be compressed and tightened into national solidity before that style, the germs of which were in every individual tribesman just as the germs of Gothic were in every one of the Northern invaders, could utter itself. No sooner did the Arab energy get a collective effort behind it than it exploded into a Gothic of its own, and a national style was the result, which the national style of the North has always recognised as a kind of humble relative of its own.

We are inclined to lay the more stress on the evidence of Arab architecture because of the similarity, in its case as in ours, of that influence which held the field and underwent attack. The Arabs attacked Byzantine as the Goths attacked Romanesque, and although it is true that the Byzantine architects possessed a knowledge of art equally beyond the comprehension of Arab, Goth, or Roman alike, yet it is also true that Byzantine architecture, in its nature sensuous, dreamy, and emotional, has no sort of sympathy with action, and answers to none of the demands that a nation-making people makes upon art. In presence of Byzantine architecture the Arab felt exactly as the Goth felt in presence of Romanesque. The passive round arch affected him in just the same way, and if in any of our early Gothic or transition building we can see the old inert forms undergoing reanimation and having energy poured into them by the Northern races, so also in many buildings in Egypt, Italy, and other countries, we can see similar forms undergoing a similar transformation at the hands of the Arabs.

We cannot help thinking, then, that this extraordinary transformation, the rise of Gothic and the reanimation of the old Romanesque styles, are events which admit of an explanation more satisfying than is to be derived from a mere examination of the material used, or the laws by which that material is disposed. It has always seemed to us that the fascination of architecture, as of all art, lies in its application to life. Nor is this a difficult or subtle operation, or one involving any special technical knowledge. Anyone who compares the vigorous vitality of an English borough of the latter half of the twelfth century with the torpor and apathy of a town of the Roman Empire will have presented

to his mind the full effect of the change wrought by the new idea which the Gothic races had introduced into life. He will easily perceive that though this idea might work itself out in many ways, yet always the root was the same, and strikes back to that ideal of personal energy with which the new races had burst into the West centuries before. But anyone, too, who looks from the contrast in life to the contrast in architecture must needs see that the same change is embodied here, that the listless apathy of the Roman town is embodied in the buildings it erected, while the personal, human energy of the Gothic races breathes in every line of its own peculiar style. To realise that connexion, to perceive the intimate relationship between the character of an age and the forms into which it casts itself, is to infuse into the subject of architecture a vitality of interest which no technical explanations can obscure for a moment. Between the forms and shapes of architecture and the instincts and impulses of human character there exists a profound affinity or a profound aversion, according as those forms embody or fail to embody the human impulse dominant at the time. To search for the origin of forms, as forms, is a wearisome and sterile task. Let us rather search for the dominant thought of an age, and accept that as the origin of the appropriate forms in which it will inevitably and easily clothe itself. The greater the creative epoch, the stronger its convictions, the more thorough its unanimity, the more easily and inevitably will it adopt its own forms, and the less need have we of scientific explanation or research.

The Gothic epoch is in this sense the greatest creative effort of Christian Europe. It adopted, with instinctive knowledge of their appropriateness, those forms which best conveyed the Gothic message, and, by so doing, cast into visible shape a thought which had profoundly possessed itself of life. It is because it did this that the human, historic interest of Gothic architecture is so great, so unrivalled. Two events in the history of Europe eclipse all others in importance. The first is the great influx of barbarism, which changed the material and substance of European society. The second is the formation of nationalities, which marked the triumph of the ideas and philosophy of the new races. Gothic is the outcome of both events. The energy which, in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, we find suffusing Roman society is the force which we find long afterwards transforming Romanesque arches

and columns. It is impossible to imagine a change in life cast into a form more dramatic and convincing. The fury of Gothic's attack, its rapid carrying of position after position, the helplessness of the old style, the nature of the transformation effected from passive repose to strenuous activity, all tend to give to the Gothic outburst an air almost as if it were a purposely designed representation of the great social revolution. At the same time we have to remember, too, that stringent condition of art which lays it down that no idea shall receive artistic expression until it is backed by a solid, united effort; and, remembering this condition, we have to recognise the effect which the second great European event, the forming of nationalities, had on the appearance of the style—namely, that it was this event which brought the necessary collective effort to bear upon it. It may be added that in the very names we have applied to the style we have instinctively recognised its significance. We call it 'Gothic' because it embodies what the Goths came into the West to do. And we call it our 'national' style because the act of national concentration was what made its appearance possible.

ART. IX.—LIFE OF LORD DUFFERIN.

The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. By Sir ALFRED LYALL, P.C. 2 vols. London: Murray. 1905.

AMONG those who have represented their Sovereign in any of the oversea dominions or at foreign Courts, Lord Dufferin's name stands high. Few, or none, can approach his record of successful service in all parts of the world. For four-and-twenty years he occupied without a break, one after another, the highest posts which can be held by a subject of the Crown outside the United Kingdom, and from each new trial he emerged with an enhanced reputation. When the facts of a man's career speak for themselves so plainly, his biographer need not fear the dilemma of the old epitaph-writer, who, divided between fear of the family and regard for the truth, lied so roundly as to the merits of the deceased that, while the family could not complain, posterity could not be deceived. And though every biography would be the better for an appendix by a well-informed advocatus diaboli, Sir Alfred Lyall's sympathetic but impartial narrative by no means errs on the side of excessive panegyric.

Lord Dufferin began his career with so many brilliant advantages on his side that a weaker man might easily have been overwhelmed by them. On coming of age he found himself head of his family, and master of very considerable estates. His wit and his good looks combined to make him the darling of society, and as the son of one of the three famous Sheridan sisters he was everywhere welcome. But his own strength of character, and the wise and powerful influence of his mother, saved him from the temptation to devote himself too exclusively to the pleasures which lay open to him. His inclinations turned naturally to politics, and he had thoughts of entering the House of Commons. In 1849 he accepted from Lord John Russell the post of a Lordship-in-waiting, and later in the year became a Lord of the Bedchamber. Shortly before this he had refused an offer by Lord Lansdowne, then Leader of the House of Lords, to vote for his election as a Representative Peer of Ireland, on the ground that he wished to make a beginning in the House of Commons; yet now, acting on the advice of Sir James Graham, his great-uncle, he actually wrote to Lord John Russell and asked for a peerage of the United Kingdom, mentioning that he had conclusively adopted free-trade doctrines, and was prepared to support the Whig

Government. He appears to have felt some embarrassment in making this request, and well he might. The amazing thing is that his request was granted before the end of the year. Surely never was a peerage given so entirely on promise. It speaks volumes for the prestige with which Lord Dufferin began that at the age of twenty-three, after holding a Court appointment for a few months only, on the mere expression of his political opinions, he should have been thus elevated to the House of Lords.

After this startling event it might have been expected that his progress in his political career would have been rapid. But it was not so. He accompanied Lord John Russell as an attaché to the Conference at Vienna for arranging terms of peace with Russia in 1855, and gained some valuable experience during his seven weeks' stay among the statesmen and diplomatists of Europe. In 1860 he was appointed British member of the Joint European Commission to inquire into the affairs of the Lebanon after the Damascus massacre; here he proved for the first time his high diplomatic qualities, and learned his first lessons in 'the sinister school of Turkish 'statecraft,' lessons which were to bear valuable fruit in later years. But even this success had no immediate result. In 1863 he writes to the Duke of Argyll:

'I feel that life is slipping by very fast, and that I have very little to show for the years that are gone, and that unless soon I have some opportunity of taking part in affairs it will be too late altogether, as, after forty, the necessary initiation is almost impossible. I should prefer what would keep me at home, but I do not see much chance of any opening occurring there, consequently I am forced to look abroad, and I turn to Canada . . . I do not know whether Bulwer is to return to Constantinople, but if he did not I would be glad enough to go there, and intend to tell Johnny [Russell] as much, but I am afraid such an idea would not be compatible with justice to other more regular members of the diplomatic profession, though I consider myself a legitimate graft on that honourable branch of the public service, after Syria. But one thing is certain: I cannot endure to be idle any longer, and though literary occupation is open to me, it will be with great dissatisfaction that I shall subside into that lower form of existence.'

The letter shows a wonderfully accurate estimate of his own capacities, and was also a very true forecast of his eventual destiny, but neither of the ambitions here expressed was to be immediately fulfilled. In 1864-66 he held office first as Under-Secretary of State for India, and then as Under-Secretary of State for War. In 1869 he became

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Mr. Gladstone's Government, though without a seat in the Cabinet. Such minor offices, however, to a man rightly conscious of his own great powers, could not offer sufficient scope for distinction. While not underrating his public services (in 1871 we find him applying to Mr. Gladstone for an earldom), he was clearly dissatisfied with his political prospects; for he writes :

‘I am rather inclined to think that whatever ability I possess would be more usefully employed in literary than in political labours, and that five or six years spent in writing a really good, impartial history of Ireland would be as useful an employment as any other, and might help to soothe and compose the angry reminiscences which so embitter the relations of Catholics and Protestants, and of this country with England.’

The fact was that up to this time Lord Dufferin's career in public life had not been such as to fulfil its early promise. He had, it is true, attained an honourable position, but, measured by the standard of achievement, he fell short of the expectations created by his brilliant start and his many great qualities. At the age of forty-five he was still in the stage of promise; nor is this strange. Home politics have always been a jealous and exacting mistress. They are a field in which none can gain real distinction without the most constant application and concentration. To a man of Lord Dufferin's wide and eager interests the world offered too many varied attractions for him to be able to tie himself down to the sometimes wearisome routine, unless he was bound by some very strong and definite chain. Such a chain the House of Commons might have supplied; the light discipline of the House of Lords was totally inadequate. From a purely political point of view Lord Dufferin made a great mistake when he asked for a peerage at the age of twenty-three, but that choice can never be regretted, in so far as it was one of the causes that eventually turned him to paths other than politics.

It must be remembered that Sir James Graham was strongly in favour of his choosing the House of Lords in preference to the House of Commons. Sir James could have been under no illusions on the subject. He was himself a staunch House of Commons man, and, as a shrewd judge of character, he probably had clear views as to the kind of career in which his nephew was most fitted to shine. Some years later, on the occasion of Lord Dufferin's appointment to the Syrian mission, he described him as the ‘beau

‘*idéal* of a British diplomatist.’ Lord Dufferin himself sometimes thought that his health was not good enough to stand the strain of politics, but scruples of that kind, though often too well founded, are seldom regarded by men on the road to success. But though the years had not brought with them any striking political success, they were very far from having been wasted. He had never, for one moment, allowed his mental abilities to rust. If at Eton and Oxford he had not been very assiduous in the beaten pathways of learning, his reading had always been wide and various, and he never allowed the process of self-education to slacken in later days. In an address to the students of University College in 1868 he said :

‘When I stood up to be examined for my degree at Oxford, the examiner called upon me to construe a passage in Cæsar, which I distinctly recollected had caused me considerable corporal and mental anguish as a child of eight. . . . I must admit that I neither knew nor cared for Greek until I learnt it a few years ago as I would have learnt a modern language, during the odd moments of my spare time : though now its study has become that portion of my day’s recreation to which I look forward with the greatest pleasure.’

He had travelled largely and wisely, in the most intelligent fashion, keenly observant of all sorts and conditions of men. He had associated freely, and on equal terms, with all the best intellects of the day both in politics and literature. He had, in a word, acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the world. Moreover, his position as an Irish landlord had given him a practical insight into business, and had always kept his mind busy on the most intricate question of the day, land legislation in Ireland. His special study of this subject, the main interest, as he once described it, of his life, while it made him at times uneasy in his Liberal allegiance, was of the utmost service to him in stimulating his powers of thought and expression, and was in itself a notable education.

Whether or not Lord Dufferin was suited to write the impartial history of Ireland can never be accurately ascertained. In spite of Mr. Gladstone’s deep sympathy with the idea of exchanging politics for literature, the work remained unattempted. The earldom was granted ‘in ‘honourable commendation of his early advocacy of changes ‘in the land laws of Ireland,’ but nothing more was heard of the proposal to retire from public life. Six months later he was anxious to obtain the Viceroyalty of India; but Lord Northbrook was appointed. Immediately afterwards, how-

ever, in 1872, Lord Dufferin was offered, and accepted, the Governor-Generalship of Canada. It was the turning-point of his career.

Lord Lisgar, the retiring Governor-General, had declared in his farewell speech that he left no serious difficulties to his successor, and (ominous phrase) that there were no clouds on the political horizon of Canada. As a matter of fact it was a very critical period in the history of the Dominion itself, and even more so in the history of the relations between the mother country and her greatest colony. By his judicious handling of the difficult controversies that came before him in the ordinary routine, and by his far-seeing and imaginative treatment of the larger Imperial problem, Lord Dufferin proved himself to be a statesman of the first order, and rendered services both to Canada and the Empire, which are his best title to lasting fame. The Dominion of Canada, consisting of the four provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, had been constituted by the British North America Act of 1867. But in Nova Scotia there had been a good deal of soreness on the subject, and the Act had not been able to come into work without some further trouble. In 1869 Manitoba, purchased from the Hudson Bay Company, had been constituted a province, but the insurrection of Louis Riel had had to be put down before it could be brought into the Union. In 1871 British Columbia and Vancouver Island had joined on conditions, the proper interpretation of which was to form a subject of acrimonious debate a little later. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island still stood aloof, though Prince Edward Island came in in 1873. Lord Dufferin was the first Governor-General to assume office in a united Dominion stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but things were very far from having settled down into proper working order. The first enthusiasm for union had died away, and the various parties to it were more inclined for the moment to count their losses than their gains. The new Governor-General had his work cut out for him to tide over this inevitable period of reaction. Most of the incidents with which he had to deal have now passed into oblivion ; but, had he been less tactful and less energetic, they might have remained unpleasantly notorious as the beginning of greater evils. The dispute between British Columbia and the Dominion Government was the most important of these incidents, and illustrates the work done by the Governor-General, and his methods. The construc

tion of the Pacific Railway had been the condition on which British Columbia had come in to the Union, and the Dominion Government had agreed to begin the work in two years, and finish it in ten. But the task was really beyond their powers, and when Mr. Mackenzie became Prime Minister he proposed an alternative scheme, which by no means satisfied the Columbians. A great deal of friction arose, and there was much talk in Columbia of withdrawing from the Confederation. Lord Carnarvon, then Colonial Secretary, had tried to act as arbitrator in the dispute, and in the *mêlée* the Canadian Ministry thought they perceived an opportunity of diverting criticism from themselves by abusing the Colonial Office. Lord Dufferin, who had been endeavouring to calm the strife by soothing methods, now showed that he could also administer an authoritative and dignified rebuke. He reminded Mr. Mackenzie on this occasion, that Lord Carnarvon was 'the official representative' and spokesman of the Power upon whom Canada is dependent 'for her nationality, her autonomy, and her protection by sea and land, and for whose sake, though this view of the case seems seldom to be considered on this side of the Atlantic, England is content to run perpetual risks, and to submit to what many consider humiliating, and all admit to be mortifying, sacrifices.' The battle continued to rage, and public opinion in British Columbia appeared to be growing in favour of separation. Lord Dufferin determined to visit that country to see what could be done by personal inquiry into the subject on the spot, and by meeting and talking with the local leaders.

The result was most successful. 'For a week,' wrote Lord Dufferin, 'I was occupied in receiving visits from every soul in the place. I began at nine o'clock in the morning, and never left my room till seven in the evening.' 'Receptions and "at homes," dinner-parties and regattas, garden-parties and balls, afforded ample opportunities of meeting all grades of society, and proffering to each its appropriate meed of recognition.' Then, after a week spent on board ship in exploring the coast, he delivered at Victoria what was known as 'The great Columbian Speech,' elaborately summing up all the points of the dispute. Just as he had formerly warned the Canadian Government of the dangers of driving to separation a province which bid fair to be the jewel of the Dominion, so now he defended the Canadian Government, and warned the Columbians that if they insisted upon impracticable claims they might find

themselves left out of the railway system altogether. As a result of all these efforts the fear of any open rupture passed away, and the way was smoothed for reasonable compromise. The Columbians did not get their railway through to Vancouver City for several years to come, but they had no longer any reason to feel that they were being jockeyed out of their just rights. The dexterous tact of the Governor-General had done much to cement the loose structure of the young confederation.

Now that the Dominion has so successfully overcome all the perils of infancy, the friction and the struggles of those early days are more or less forgotten. A more permanent interest attaches to the question of the relations between Great Britain and her self-governing colonies. It is a question which sometimes slumbers, but never dies. It can never be finally settled. The natural developement of both the mother country and her daughter States inevitably brings into it new conditions, and thrusts into prominence new aspects of their relationship, which have to be harmonised with the old conceptions. There is no final or complete prescription which can be applied to remedy all the difficulties which may arise. Sympathetic consideration on both sides is always of the first importance. The constitution of an empire, if it is to endure, must grow gradually. When Lord Dufferin came to Canada the question was by no means asleep. He relates that soon after his appointment 'Bob Lowe came up to me in a club and said, "Now you ought to make it your business to get rid of the Dominion"; to which I replied that I certainly did not intend to be handed down to history as the Governor-General who had lost Canada.' The feelings which this speech represented were by no means confined to Lowe. There was undoubtedly a feeling that the colonies were useless encumbrances, which did not compensate us for the trouble, anxiety, and expense to which we were put on their behalf. In the case of Canada few people realised the splendid possibilities of the country, and fewer still realised the real loyalty of the Canadian people. These and similar views naturally chilled the attachment of the colonials to the mother country, and might have led to more serious consequences. On the other hand, the Canadians themselves had not yet come to the full consciousness of their own powers; there were still many who doubted whether the interests of all would not be better served by annexation to the United States. The main question to be settled was, 'Is self-government merely

‘a step on the way to complete separation, and, if not, of what nature are the ties which can prevent such a consummation?’ Lord Dufferin was in no manner of doubt as to the answer to these questions. From first to last he lost no opportunity of proclaiming in resonant and vibrant tones his belief in the loyalty of the Canadians and their warm attachment to the mother country. ‘If,’ he said in the course of a speech made at the Canada Club during a short visit to England in 1875, ‘there is one special message which a person in my situation is bound to transmit from the Canadian to the English people, it is this—that they desire to maintain intact and unimpaired their connexion with this country, that they cherish an ineradicable conviction of the value of the political system under which they live.’ And again in one of his farewell speeches he said, ‘I found you a loyal people, and I leave you the truest-hearted subjects of Her Majesty’s dominions. I found you proud of your descent and anxious to maintain your connexion with the mother country; I leave you more convinced than ever of the solicitude of Great Britain to reciprocate your affection, of her dependence upon your fidelity in every emergency.’ Such glowing sentiments expressed by the representative of England could not but have an inspiring effect upon those to whom they were primarily addressed, but their author had also always in mind the object of awakening home opinion to the facts. He could not, and did not, claim any share in the creation of a loyal spirit in the Dominion; it was there already: his task was to foster it by sympathy after the neglect of the past, and to proclaim it to the world. It is possible, as Sir Alfred Lyall suggests, that these speeches may now seem too exuberant and rhetorical to critical ears, but in those days such words as ‘loyalty’ and ‘empire’ had not been bandied about by party politicians for their own purposes, as they have been in later days, Lord Dufferin was speaking to the multitude, and not to the House of Commons or to a few intellectuals. When he spoke of Canada ‘like a virgin goddess in a primeval world, still walking in unconscious beauty among her golden woods and by the margin of her trackless streams, catching but broken glances of her radiant majesty as mirrored by their surface, and scarcely recking as yet of the glories awaiting her in the Olympus of the nations’; or when, in the Toronto speech, he said, ‘Memory itself scarcely suffices to reflect the shifting vision of mountain, wood and water, inland seas and silver rolling

‘rivers, golden cornlands and busy prosperous towns, ‘through which we have held our way,’ he knew exactly the character of the two audiences to which he had to appeal: the Canadian, whom he wished to arouse to a full consciousness of the glories of the new confederation, and the British, on whom he wished to impress the height of their good fortune in possessing so magnificent and so loyal a colony.

Among the gifts which go to the equipment of the ideal constitutional governor, none is so useful as that of ready and sympathetic oratory. As a boy at Eton Lord Dufferin’s tutor had nicknamed him ‘the orator,’ and an orator in the true sense he was throughout his life. Not only had he an abundant gift of forcible and picturesque language, but his tact and discretion never forsook him. He could deal better with the difficulties of a subject when making a speech on it than at any other time. It seemed as though all his mental faculties were then strung up to their highest point, just as some soldiers are always at their best in the stress of conflict, and it appeared as if then he could reach by a flash of instinct and intuition into the heart of the matter, at which other men, not less able, could only arrive by the hard and laborious process of logical thinking.

In the Toronto speech to which allusion has been made, and which made a very great sensation at the time, Lord Dufferin laid special stress on the great principle which rules the relations between the two countries:

‘The interference,’ he said, ‘of the Home Government with the domestic affairs of the Dominion has ceased. Yet, so far from this gift of autonomy having brought about any divergence of aim or aspiration on either side, every reader of our annals must be aware that the sentiments of Canada towards Great Britain are infinitely more friendly now than in those earlier days when the political intercourse of the two countries was disturbed and complicated by an excessive and untoward tutelage; that never was Canada more united than at present in sympathy of purpose and unity of interest with the mother country, more at one with her in social habits and tones of thought, more proud of her claim to share in the heritage of England’s past, more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed upon her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the Empire.’

The same idea is further developed in a letter to Lord Carnarvon:

‘You may depend upon my doing my best both to weld this Dominion into an Imperium solid enough to defy all attraction from its powerful neighbour across the line, and to perpetuate its innate loyalty to the mother country. It was only upon the understanding that this

should be a principal part of our programme that I consented to come here, and thus far I have no cause to complain of the result. . . .

'All active desire for annexation seems to be annihilated . . . the whole current of popular sympathy seems in an opposite direction. But I cannot help suspecting that there is a growing desire amongst the young generation to regard "Independence" as their ultimate destiny. Nor do I think this novel mode of thought will be devoid of benefit, provided it remain for the next twenty or thirty years a vague aspiration, and is not prematurely converted into a practical project. . . . The consolidation of the provinces, the expansion of their maritime interests, and above all, the reduction to their sway of the great Northwest have stimulated their imagination and evoked the prospect of a national career far grander than . . . they would have dreamed of a few years ago. . . .'

'If then this growing consciousness of power . . . should sometimes render them jealous of any interference on the part of England with their parliamentary autonomy, I do not think we shall have any cause of complaint. . . . The rise of a high-spirited, proud, national feeling amongst them . . . would neither be antagonistic to our interests nor inimical to the maintenance of the tie which now exists between us. . . . Nothing has more stimulated the passionate affection with which Canada now clings to England than the consciousness that the maintenance of the connexion depends on her own free will.'

The constitutional principle that the Governor-General must act on the advice of ministers commanding a majority in the Legislature, an essential part of the freedom thus described, was firmly held by Lord Dufferin. In the storm that arose over the Pacific Railway scandal, and which eventually led to the overthrow of Sir John Macdonald's Government in 1873, he absolutely refused to act contrary to the advice of his ministers in the face of popular opinion, with as much courage as Lord Elgin had shown on a similar occasion twenty-five years earlier. In is in fact a curious reversal of what might have been expected, that the worst dangers to the establishment of the principle of freedom have usually arisen, not from the representatives of Imperial authority, but from the Colonials themselves, who, impatient of the slower working of the constitution, have tried to invoke the interference of the Crown contrary to their own permanent interests. Later, when a Supreme Court of Judicature for Canada was being established, it was proposed to annul the right of appeal to any English court from its decisions, and Sir John Macdonald argued that to do so would be the first step towards the separation of the Dominion from the mother country. But Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Carnarvon :

‘I do not myself attach weight to this consideration. The ties between the Dominion and Great Britain are of a very different nature, and the more freely and independently the machinery of our government here can be made to act, the less danger of friction or collision. The intervention of the Privy Council in the Guibord case has had a tendency rather to exasperate the French population against England than to cement the connexion, and many contingencies can be conceived of a similar nature.’

It would be an unprofitable exercise to consider what Lord Dufferin’s opinions on the subject of commercial treaties with the colonies on the basis of mutual preferences would have been, though it is easy to guess. He was not the man to allow his mind to crystallise, as he put it, on any subject, till it became practically ripe for solution. Sir Alfred Lyall, unfortunately, is not very illuminating in his account of the negotiations for a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States, which were carried on without success during Lord Dufferin’s tenure of office, but it is remarkable that a large part of American hostility to the treaty, which was rejected by the Senate, was based on the ground that free trade between the two countries would benefit Canada to such a degree that all hope of her absorption into the United States would have to be abandoned, whereas in these days we are frequently told that a reciprocity treaty with the United States would be only a preliminary to the complete severance of imperial ties. That view was indeed put forward by some of the English newspapers of the day, and Lord Dufferin vehemently protested against it. Such a construction was, he said, entirely distasteful to the Canadians, and no ministry suspected of a leaning towards American annexation could live a day.

His great object was to build up a free and prosperous Dominion, with a real national existence of its own, friendly indeed with its great neighbours, but strong enough not to fear aggression. He clearly saw that artificial links of empire might turn too easily into galling fetters. He was unalterably opposed to anything that would limit the perfect freedom of the Canadian Government in all matters that did not affect the interests of the Empire at large. The policy which he advocated so warmly has been pursued for thirty years since then with signal success, and Canada, with ever-increasing prosperity and with national aspirations of her own ever more and more clearly defined, insists with unabated fervour on her loyalty to the Crown. Some timorous politicians may doubt the strength of the natural ties which

connect us with our colonies; others may wish to reap a more direct and immediate profit in return for all our exertions on their behalf. It may be granted that at present we derive little material, however great the moral, advantage from the self-governing colonies which we should not also receive from them if they were colonies of some foreign nation. But it would be a short-sighted policy that would seek to gather unripe fruit. Even at her present rate of progress it must be very many years before Canada can take the place among the nations of the world that all Englishmen hope may one day be hers. If she has prospered, so have the great Powers increased both their ambitions and their material resources. The road to be traversed is much longer than it seemed in the seventies; new nations are not created in a day, or in one generation. If this is true of Canada, much more is it true of other parts of the Empire. The new Australian Confederation is yet an infant; South Africa has not thrashed out even the preliminary difficulties of Union, though we may hope that the goal is in sight. To protect these growing States by our naval supremacy, to build them up with our best blood, and to develop their resources with our capital is our task; but it is one which cannot be accomplished unless our own country is maintained at the highest pitch of prosperity and efficiency. Even sacrifices on their behalf must in the end react injuriously upon them, for we must remain for a long period the source of their strength. If in the end they attain to such a position as to warrant their complete independence, we may be certain that they will not easily separate from us after so long and prosperous an association based on the principle of freedom. In any case, to have created so great a sisterhood of nations will be the fulfilment of a destiny of which we may well be proud.

In 1878 Lord Dufferin left Canada, after six successful years, with an immensely enhanced reputation. It was not likely that he would be allowed to be idle, and within three months he left England once more, as Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg. 'It is at this moment,' said Lord Beaconsfield, 'the most important Court, and I require a 'first-rate man.' Many years later, in a speech in Paris just before his final retirement from the service, Lord Dufferin gave a graphic description of the duties of ambassadors. After describing the passion for military expansion by which the Great Powers were animated, and which had spread to the remotest East, he went on:

'Thanks to the telegraph, the globe itself has become a mere bundle of nerves, and the slightest disturbance at any one point of the system sends a portentous tremor through its morbidly sensitive surfaces. . . . To-day it would suffice for any one of half a dozen august personages to speak above his breath, or unwittingly to raise his little finger, and, like heaven overcharged with electricity, the existing condition of unstable equilibrium, which sustains the European political system, would be upset. . . . Well, it is to prevent catastrophes of this kind that we meek, civil-spoken, and mild-mannered persons have been invented. Looking at us, you will perhaps say that we are but a poor and feeble folk, and our calling a sorry preservative against such dangers; but, such as it is, it is the best device that human ingenuity has been able to discover. After all, a very thin wire proves a perfectly effective lightning-conductor, and for over fifty years, thanks to this unpretending agency, an unbroken peace has been maintained between your native land and this country.'

The simile of the lightning-conductor was a most apt one: the principal business of the diplomatist consists in preventing occurrences which would give his tenure of office a fatal notoriety. At the time of Lord Dufferin's appointment our war with Afghanistan and the advance of Skobelev in Turkestan made the political atmosphere peculiarly electrical, and there were many complications connected with the performance of the stipulations of the Berlin Treaty which naturally caused a great deal of discontent and irritation in Russia. Despite these adverse circumstances, Lord Dufferin succeeded in making his embassy most brilliant and popular in the social world, and in establishing the most cordial personal relations between himself and the government to which he was accredited, as well as his diplomatic colleagues. All this tended very greatly to ease official relations, and to maintain a good understanding in graver matters. But everything was overshadowed by the grim presence of the Nihilist terror. Conspiracy followed conspiracy, and finally the Emperor was assassinated. Soon after, in June 1881, Lord Dufferin was transferred to Constantinople; it was a move from one storm centre to another.

His Syrian mission, twenty years earlier, had given him an intimate knowledge of the conditions of the Ottoman Empire, and he could not have regarded his first task with any great anticipation of success; it was to attempt to extract from the Sultan the reforms which he was pledged to introduce into his administration of Asia Minor. No other Power than England was seriously interested in the fate of the Armenians, and the passive resistance of the Sultan, then as now quick to perceive and take advantage of international jealousies,

easily defeated all efforts. The question smouldered on, but it was soon thrown into the background by the threatening aspect of affairs in Egypt.

After the deposition of Ismail in 1879, his son, Tewfik, had been established as Khedive in his place, but his authority was extremely precarious, and military insubordination soon appeared. By September 1881 the mutinous officers under the leadership of Arabi had thoroughly frightened the Khedive, and obtained complete mastery. The greatest uneasiness prevailed, and it was feared that the so-called National party would take advantage of their success to indulge in pillage and massacre at the expense of the Europeans. The Sultan discerned an admirable opportunity for once more re-establishing his own authority in Egypt: he was anxious to despatch troops thither and, as he pretended, introduce administrative reforms. But a free hand for the Turk in Egypt was agreeable neither to England nor France. Lord Dufferin hinted that the Sultan might very well begin reforms nearer home; and the French, in view of their position in Tunis and Algiers, were by no means willing to see a revival of Turkish influence in North Africa. At last, in January 1882, a crisis was precipitated by the issue of an Identical Note by the two Powers, in which they declared their intention to guard by their united efforts against all complications which might threaten to upset the existing state of things in Egypt. Arabi's position was, however, immediately afterwards strengthened by the fall of Gambetta, and the abandonment by his successor of the policy of joint intervention by England and France. His attitude became more and more alarming, and when in May he was dismissed from his office of Under-Secretary for War at the demand of the English and French agents, he was immediately restored under the pressure of a threatening demonstration by the mutineers. It was obvious that serious disturbances were imminent, and a Conference of European Powers, represented by their ambassadors, was assembled at Constantinople to deliberate upon the measures to be taken.

The one thing the British Government was anxious to avoid was a military occupation of Egypt; Lord Dufferin's instructions were therefore to persuade the Powers and the Sultan that the only remedy for the situation was that the task of restoring order in Egypt should be undertaken by Turkish troops, but that their sphere of operations should be strictly limited, and their doings closely supervised by the European Powers. The difficulties were innumerable.

The Sultan was anxious to take the opportunity of reasserting his authority in Egypt; but he could not bear the idea of submitting his troops to foreign control. On the one hand he felt that the success of Arabi might sweep away the last vestiges of his sovereignty in Egypt, and possibly endanger his hold upon the sacred cities of Arabia (the notion of a second Mehemet Ali was enough to make any Sultan tremble); on the other hand, Arabi was for the moment regarded as the champion of Islam against the infidel, and any action against him might be very unfavourably looked on in the Mohammedan world. As for the Powers, France regarded the British plan with grave misgivings, and none of the rest were at all warm in its favour. Throughout all the weary course of the negotiations which followed, Lord Dufferin proved himself a diplomatist of the first order, always conciliatory in the face of a thousand tender susceptibilities, but always firm, and always straightforward, no matter how many intrigues were in process against him. No man could have been more successful than he was, and yet the upshot of the whole business was the exact opposite of that which was contemplated by his instructions. The British Government honestly desired to carry out the policy they had laid down, and never did ambassador push the policy of his chiefs with greater zeal and ability, but the strong tide of facts swept them rapidly into the opposite direction. Events in Egypt would not wait for the slow processes of European diplomacy. In July the British fleet, compelled by the hostile preparations of Arabi, bombarded Alexandria, and the Khedive took refuge under the protection of the British flag. Military intervention became inevitable; the Sultan still procrastinated; France and Italy refused their co-operation; and in September British troops, led by Sir Garnet Wolseley, utterly defeated the rebel army and occupied Cairo. Sir Alfred Lyall admirably sums up the result:—

‘Obstacles that looked formidable in the misty distance yielded so easily to decisive action at close quarters that the whole business seemed to have been deliberately prearranged. Nor is it strange that the cautious, tentative, reluctant procedure of a divided Cabinet was at the time interpreted in France, and among foreign nations generally, as the consistent and wily policy by which England accomplished a deep-laid design of establishing her sole protectorate in Egypt.’

Englishmen, of course, know their own politicians too well to suspect them of Machiavellianism; and as for Lord Dufferin, all those who had followed the course of the

negotiations at Constantinople absolutely recognised his rigid adherence to honourable and straightforward dealing. Yet in after years, when international jealousies became more acute, he was consistently regarded by the French as the unscrupulous author of a nefarious plot to oust them from Egypt, and this belief was responsible for a good deal of ill feeling when he was ambassador at Paris.

Once in Egypt, the British Government still flattered themselves with the hope of being able to leave it in a very short time, but they felt that before doing so, they must reconstruct the administration on a basis 'which will afford 'satisfactory guarantees for the maintenance of peace, order, 'and prosperity in Egypt, for the stability of the Khedive's 'authority, for the judicious developement of self-government, 'and for the fulfilment of obligations towards foreign Powers.' In November 1882 Lord Dufferin was instructed to proceed to Egypt for the purpose of this reorganisation. Probably he never worked harder, or more brilliantly, than during the three or four months which followed. In a country where the whole fabric of government had broken down, there were innumerable details which needed immediate attention, and on which his advice must necessarily be sought; yet, in spite of this, he finished and sent home within three months his famous Report on the condition of the country, and the measures of reorganisation that had to be undertaken. It may be that Lord Dufferin came to his task with some misconceptions in his mind, and he seems to have started with an exaggerated conception of the 'national' character of the movement which had so nearly produced complete anarchy in Egypt. But no one has ever disputed the extraordinary insight and mastery of his subject which he displayed. In Lord Milner's words, the report showed 'a manly grasp of facts, 'and a clear appreciation of the essential needs of Egypt, 'and of the true remedies for her distress.' The main point of the criticism directed against him has been that his attempt to set up representative institution was ill-judged, and that in so doing he was trying to apply conceptions founded on Western politics to circumstances radically different. It must be remembered, however, that the organisation of representative institutions formed part of the instructions he received; it was not Lord Dufferin, but the politicians at home, who looked upon self-government as a panacea for all the ills of life under all conceivable circumstances. Finding themselves in possession of Egypt, in spite of all their protests against war and territorial expan-

sion, they naturally wished to cover the breakdown of their professed policy by introducing the blessings of constitutional government. Further, it was a part of the programme that British troops should be immediately withdrawn from Egypt. Lord Dufferin perceived very clearly that this meant the downfall of the Khedive's power; after being established by British bayonets, he could not stand if that support was removed, and with him would have gone all attempts at reform in any direction. The sole hope—a forlorn one, possibly, but still a hope—was to gain the support of popular approval for those reforms, and in the short time available, that could only be effected by introducing some system of self-government. No one could have pointed out more forcibly than he did the obstacles that lay in the path. People accustomed to millenniums of slavery are lost if the master's hand is removed; it takes more than one or two generations to change the character of a nation, and fit it for habits of freedom. If Lord Dufferin had had longer experience in Egypt, he would probably never have penned the famous passage about the metamorphic spirit of the age working upon the fellah. Still his institutions, if they have not exactly developed—for, as Lord Cromer has said, the metamorphic spirit of the age works very slowly—at least survive, which is more than can be said for many other constitutional schemes less hastily devised, and, though they play a humbler part than he intended, that part is still a useful one, and may yet prove of great importance. For, though the restoration of the material prosperity of the country must come first, the moral regeneration, incomparably more difficult, is still an essential feature of our policy in Egypt under Lord Cromer's wise and patient administration.

Lord Dufferin was far too broad-minded a man to be a fanatic on the subject of parliamentary government. In Canada he had been the strongest advocate of its freest and most unlimited application, but he had too much experience of the East to wish to transplant such a mature growth to alien soil. He had observed the fate of Midhat Pasha, the constitutional reformer at Constantinople, and in Egypt he never proposed that his representative assembly should be more than a deliberative and consultative body with very limited powers of veto on new taxation. Later, in India, his attention was very much taken up by similar problems. The leaders of the National Congress were loudly demanding for all India a government on the lines of the British

Constitution. He sympathised very deeply with the sentiments which underlay those somewhat crude manifestations. He felt that 'the time was passing when the British Government could afford to disparage the claims and aspirations of a party that the British system of education had deliberately created'; and that 'the edifice of a great empire over a miscellaneous population could not be constantly added to without distributing the pressure of administrative responsibilities.' In spite of all the difficulties in the way, and not least the enormous numbers of the population, he thought 'that their desire to take a larger part in the management of their domestic affairs seems to be a legitimate and reasonable aspiration.' He therefore supported proposals for popularising the provincial Legislative Councils, and for admitting natives of India more freely to the Civil Service. At the same time he declared that,

'having regard to the relations in numbers, in condition, in status, and in qualifications for government, of what may be called the Europeanised or educated section of the Indian people, as compared with the masses that constitute the bulk of the nation, I am convinced that we should be falling into a grave error if, miscalculating the force and value of the Congress movement, and the influence of its supporters and advocates, whether in the press or elsewhere, we were to relax in the slightest degree our grasp of the supreme administration of the country.'

Again in his last speech in India, after enumerating all the steps which had been taken, by the Law Codes, by the institution of Legislative Councils, by Municipal Acts, and by widening the access of natives to civil offices, to admit natives of India as far as possible to a share in the management of their own affairs, he emphasised the impossibility of conferring electoral representation upon a population of nearly three hundred millions.

'Some intelligent, loyal, patriotic, and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown—by the application to India of democratic methods of government, and the adoption of a parliamentary system, which England herself has only reached by slow degrees, and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation.'

But however firmly he put down his foot upon the extravagances of the National Congress, he did not lose his faith in the stimulating and educative effects of freedom and responsibility. Had it been his fate to return to Canada after India, there can be no doubt that he would have

supported as firmly as ever the principle of free and unfettered self-government.

Lord Dufferin returned to Constantinople to take up the standing duty of British ambassadors to the Porte, namely, the application of pressure on the Sultan to introduce reforms in various parts of his dominions. This time it was the Armenian question, and, as many times before and since, the Sultan, sheltering his own weakness behind the mutual jealousies of Europe, succeeded in completely baffling every effort to make him redeem his pledges. In August 1884 Lord Dufferin was offered and accepted the Viceroyalty of India in succession to Lord Ripon. On at least three previous occasions in his life he had had hopes of attaining this 'grand climacteric of honour and power,' as Sir Alfred Lyall rightly calls it. He had been a candidate as a comparatively young man, and had been only beaten by Lord Lawrence, and again when Lord Northbrook was appointed in 1871. Finally he had felt considerable disappointment when the Liberals, on returning to power in 1880, had left him at St. Petersburg. Now it took him very much by surprise, as he wrote from Constantinople to Lord Granville :

'I had settled down so completely to my happy existence here that my mind never returned to the idea. I am very sensible of the confidence shown me by the Government; but no one accepts such a heavy charge with a light heart, and it entails many severe domestic sacrifices.'

To a friend he wrote :

'The universal approbation with which my nomination has been received rather appals me, for I well know how impossible it will be to fulfil such high expectations, particularly in the discharge of a task which has become terribly difficult.'

But there was no real shrinking from the ordeal. Twelve years' experience of high office in the most varying circumstances must have given him a confidence in himself much more solid than that engendered by the ambitions of youth : they had also given him a far greater knowledge of the kind of difficulties he would have to face. He was now fifty-nine years old, the oldest Viceroy that ever went to India in point of age ; but in bodily and mental vigour, in freshness and youthfulness of spirit, he was hardly less fit for arduous undertakings than twenty years earlier, and he possessed in addition the untold advantages of experience. Eight weeks after leaving Constantinople he left England for India.

Four years later, when on the point of leaving India at the end of 1888, he was able to write to Lord Cross :

‘I think I can say that I shall have handed the country over to Lansdowne in a satisfactory condition. There is not a cloud on the horizon, and we have succeeded in all our undertakings. Even our financial position Sir David Barbour considers as free from anxiety ; the Princes of India are certainly friendly to us ; and as for our domestic politicians, they will be easily dealt with, as their machinations are after all but a storm in a tea-cup, and will be dissipated by a little wise and sympathetic management. When I consider the many dangers we have run, and the innumerable mischances which might have overtaken us, even without any fault of our own, I am only grateful to be able to escape out of India under these tolerable conditions.’

Considering how threatening some of these dangers had been, Lord Dufferin was fully entitled to congratulate himself. If he did not strike out any original lines of policy, the circumstances of the time hardly required a new departure, and he cannot be denied the credit of a highly successful Viceroy. The two main sources of anxiety were the affairs of Afghanistan and the affairs of Burmah. When he came to India, a joint Russian and English Commission were engaged in the demarcation of the Afghan frontier, and a dispute had arisen about the Pandjeh Valley, which the Russians claimed, although it lay within the territory which the Afghans regarded as their own. Both sides were preparing to take forcible possession of it, and what complicated the situation was the proximity of Herat, very insufficiently fortified. The Indian Government had been instructed from home to hold an army corps in readiness to march across Afghanistan to the relief of that place, in case of a rupture with Russia. We were bound to support the Afghans against a violation of the frontier, and the air was filled with rumours of war. Lord Dufferin’s first act was to invite the Amir Abdurrahman to meet him in India and discuss the situation. The meeting took place at Rawul Pindi in April 1885, and discussions had not been proceeding for more than a day or two when news arrived of the collision between Russian and Afghan troops at Pandjeh, and the defeat of the Afghans. While all the Courts of Europe were in full anticipation of war as the result of this incident, Lord Dufferin soon perceived that the Amir attached but little importance to it, treating it as no more than an ordinary border fray. He further very soon found out that what the Amir really wished was to keep his

country free from all interference both by Russia and England. He did not want help from us in the shape of a British army, but only arms and money. The fact that the Amir was in Lord Dufferin's camp at the time of the incident was one of the main causes why war was successfully avoided. Beyond this a permanent agreement between England and Afghanistan was immensely strengthened by the personal ascendancy which Lord Dufferin gained over the Amir. The Amir admired him immensely, and, what was far more important, trusted him implicitly. Never were Lord Dufferin's tact and insight more clearly proved, nor his knowledge of men more thoroughly vindicated, than by the result of these dealings with the Amir. The policy was not his originally, but that it has proved successful for more than twenty years is very largely due to his judicious management.

The other great event for which his Viceroyalty will always be remembered was the annexation and organisation of Upper Burmah. It was easier to conquer than to pacify the country, and it was some years before a final settlement was effected, but there can be little doubt that the policy of annexation was far preferable to that of setting up a semi-independent Sovereign, whose position would always have been doubtful. But beyond these greater questions, innumerable subjects, as in the case of every Governor-General of India, pressed themselves upon his attention. He graphically described his sense of the number and importance of the difficulties to be faced. 'I felt,' he wrote soon after first landing, 'like a man who has been suddenly pitched head foremost into a caldron of hot water, who has risen to the top, choking and sputtering, and who finds it very difficult to keep his head above the rising inundation of business that pours in upon him from every side.' Again, 'India is a kettle out of which the bottom is perpetually tumbling. You no sooner patch it up in one direction than the mess breaks out in another.' Later, after being two and a half years in the country, he wrote to Lord Granville, 'I feel now and have always felt like a man engaged in riding a very dangerous steeplechase over a course interspersed with horribly stiff fences and exceedingly wide brooks. So far I have scraped through and over a certain number of them, but I never feel sure that I shall not have a cropper at one or other of those that lie before me.' Among the subjects with which he had to deal were the fortification of the north-west frontier, and of the seaports, land legislation in Bengal and in Oudh,

improvements in sanitation and technical education, and troubles caused by the depreciation of silver. The qualities which had assisted him so much in Canada, his active love of travel, and his great personal fascination in dealing with all sorts and conditions of men, stood him in good stead here also. He had besides that peculiar dignity, and appreciation of ceremonial, which is so valued by the Oriental. When he left in December 1888 to take up his appointment as ambassador at Rome, a year before the completion of his full term of office, it was to the deep regret of all, including the Amir of Afghanistan. For his services he was now created a marquis. It is significant that he wished to take a title from some place in Canada, preferably Quebec, though eventually he took it from Burmah. Great as were his achievements in India, it is probable that he regarded his career in Canada as his best title to distinction.

During the final stages of his public career he had many important questions to deal with, but none of the absorbing interest which had marked the preceding years. Many a man might have felt a good many pangs at stepping down from the high administrative duties of a Viceroy to the lesser rôle of an ambassador. But Lord Dufferin enjoyed to the full the opportunities which Italy afforded for the indulgence of his artistic and social tastes. Italy was the land of his birthplace. He felt strongly sympathetic towards the Italian people, and he had no difficulty in establishing himself as a general favourite in Rome. Contrary to what might have been expected, it was otherwise in Paris, whither he was removed on the death of Lord Lytton towards the end of 1891. Although by the time he left in 1896, when he had attained the age limit of seventy years, he had been able to live down a great deal of his early unpopularity, he never wholly succeeded. He had a good many anxious negotiations to carry on concerning the relations of England and France in various parts of the world, notably in the case of Siam, and, though he was always dexterous and conciliatory in all he did, he never managed to gain the hearty goodwill of the people with whom he had to deal. It was not due to any fault of his. It was a time of great unrest in France. The Panama revelations were arousing increased distrust and suspicion. The Egyptian question was still a bitter source of acrimony. Lord Dufferin personified to many a Frenchman the grievances of his country in that quarter. He was regarded as the author of the perfidious policy which had established Great Britain in

Egypt and excluded France. His share in the annexation of Burmah was also looked upon as due to hostility to the French. Further, the very fact that he had been popular in Rome—the capital of a country whose policy, as directed by Crispi, was believed to be due to the influence of Bismarck, and with whom a disastrous tariff war had been lately in progress—militated against him. But worst of all was the influence of the Russian embassy, which could ill brook the competition in the race for popularity of a rival so famous and so socially distinguished. The enthusiasm for the Dual Alliance was then at its height. The rumour spread that England had sent her most skilful diplomatist to do his best to counteract the prevailing sentiment for Russia, and this was soon embellished with a sinister embroidery. It was commonly said, and widely believed, that Lord Dufferin was entrusted with vast sums of money to be employed in the corruption of high personages in public life in order to undermine the new alliance. In the explosive state of the political atmosphere, even rumours so extravagantly absurd found ready credence. It became impossible to pass them over in silence. Lord Dufferin, who was never wanting in courage, determined to fling aside the ordinary traditions of diplomacy, and take the bull by the horns by making a speech on the subject. ‘I am going,’ he wrote in February 1893, ‘to do a very risky thing. In my speech at the banquet of the British Chamber of Commerce I am going to allude to the calumnies which have been propagated about my trying to corrupt the French Press and French public men by the distribution of enormous sums of money. But nobody would believe to what an extent this abominable lie has been credited even in good society.’ The speech was an extraordinary success, and produced a very good effect in France. The occasion was one which demanded the highest combination of tactfulness and serious purpose. The least blunder in expression or the least suspicion of insincerity might have produced a ruinous failure. As a very young man Lord Dufferin had offended a neighbour by his description in a speech of an Irish landlord as ‘a well-dressed gentleman who may be shot with impunity, the legitimate target of the immediate neighbourhood,’ but since then, often as he had spoken on thorny topics, he had never been guilty of oratorical indiscretion. Nor was he now. He was emphatic, but thoroughly good-humoured; he was spirited, but also conciliatory; and also, a quality which particularly appealed to the French,

he was extremely amusing. 'The fact is,' he said, 'that since I arrived in Paris I have not spent a sixpence that has not gone into the pocket of my butcher and baker, or of that harmful but necessary lady, the avenger of the sin of Adam, whose bills every householder who values his domestic peace pays with alacrity and without examination—I mean the family *couturière*.' The campaign of invective died away, but up till his retirement he never quite occupied the position which he had held in other capitals, and which he would have been so well fitted to hold in Paris itself in happier times.

In 1896 Lord Dufferin reached the age of seventy years, and finally retired from the public service. 'In my feelings and habits of thought and ways of looking out upon the world, I am pretty much what I was at five-and-twenty.' In spite of growing deafness, he was still possessed of the same irresistible personal charm which had been so remarkable throughout his career. His brilliant and delightful social qualities, and his tact and versatility, shone all the more brightly because they were combined with others of a very different nature—high courage in all manner of difficult situations, and rare sagacity of judgment. 'It is better,' says the Koran, 'to be polite than to be clever'; but to be both clever and polite in the best sense, as he was, is given to few. Perhaps his own 'Letters from High Latitudes' give the best impression of him as he was in the prime of his manhood. Rarely has a more fascinating and witty book of travel been written, and the admirable descriptions of people and scenery display to the full his great powers of observation and expression. But best of all is his picture of his delight in the dangers of the sea, as he beats round the Spitzbergen coast amid fogs and storm and ice. At last he finds the long wished-for opening in the ice-barrier. 'You can imagine my excitement . . . I could have carried sail to sink a man-of-war—and away the little ship went, playing leapfrog over the heavy seas, and staggering under her canvas, as if giddy with the same joyful excitement which made my own heart thump so loudly.' Five-and-thirty years later he describes the joys of yachting in the Mediterranean:

'The wind began to blow, which added greatly to my enjoyment. Indeed in two or three days it blew almost a gale with a heavy sea, and I had some fine battling with the waves, my little boat being the only one which dare show her nose out of port. . . . There you are, utterly detached from your ordinary existence, with hills and cliffs

and shores already distant, enveloped in clouds and storm, and seeming to belong to a separate world from the tumbling, raging tumult in the midst of which you are contending, while from time to time the struggle becomes so fierce that you know it is only your own skill, experience, and presence of mind, in conjunction with the mechanical skill and deftness of the ship itself, that stand between you and eternity. The exultation one experiences on such occasions is almost maddening. . . . Add to this the inexpressible beauty of the moving labyrinth of billows, with their steep blue walls and fringes of roaring foam, which encompass you for miles in every direction.'

Right till the very end of his life he retained this passionate love of the sea, a heritage derived from a line of seafaring Blackwood ancestors. The same spirit made him a keen sportsman in other directions. He writes from Rome in 1890: 'I have taken to hunting again. I have not ridden 'to hounds for thirty years until the other day.' Later he says:

'At last we have had something like a run. . . . The fox and hounds went straight away, and one had to jump the staccionatas or be left behind. . . . One of the posts-and-rails was a very high one, with a drop on the other side, but I was determined to do my duty to my Queen and country, and my horse cleared it beautifully, though it stopped most of the field. . . . The master, however, greatly startled me by the way he passed a compliment. He said, "You were an example to all of them; there were dozens and dozens of young men behind you." As I always feel five-and-twenty when I am on horseback, to hear the "young men" placed in one category and myself in another was an unexpected blow.'

And yet a man of sixty-four, who had just served the arduous office of Governor-General of India, might well have felt entitled to shirk high fences.

The last few years of his life were clouded by one of those great calamities which the Greeks would have attributed to the jealousy of Heaven, excited by too great prosperity. One of the most remarkable of Lord Dufferin's qualities as a high official had been an unerring judgement of men. His quick intuition had never failed him, and it was now his confidence in it that wrought the mischief. Young as he was in mind, his physical powers, especially his eyesight and his hearing, were somewhat failing, and this doubtless accounted for his deception, and led him to put implicit trust in the man who brought him to disaster. All through his life he had been accustomed to somewhat lavish expenditure; as Governor-General in Canada and in other high posts he had always spent much more than his official salaries, and

his generous open-handed disposition had contributed to impoverish him. Accordingly, in an evil day, partly with the object of improving his finances and partly with a dislike for idleness, he embarked on City business, for which he was not naturally well fitted. The history of the London and Globe companies is too well known. Their failure and the disclosure of the deceptions practised by the man whom he had trusted were more than a severe blow to Lord Dufferin. Always deeply sensitive and punctilious as to his personal honour, he was most deeply affected; at the same time the recent death of his eldest son at Ladysmith, and later the severe wound of another, added greatly to his affliction and anxiety. He faced the situation with all his old courage and spirit, he stood to his post to the last, and privately did all he could to relieve some of those shareholders who had suffered; he spared himself nothing in fulfilling his other public duties. But at his advanced age, and with his increasing illness, the shock was too much for him. Before the final scene of this financial tragedy was played out, he was relieved of his troubles and responsibilities by the all-healing hand of death.

‘A great book,’ says Fuller, ‘is a great evil,’ and one trembles to think what a voluminous work Lord Dufferin’s biography might have become in hands less skilful than those of Sir Alfred Lyall. It is a compliment to any author to wish his book to be longer, and therefore we have the less scruple in lamenting that he has not found it possible to give more details of a personal character. That the Life is in the main an official record is due, no doubt, to the difficulty of publishing extracts from private correspondence of so recent a date. The glimpses which we do get from time to time of the personal attraction of the man in social and private life make us long for more. Our one criticism upon an admirable work is that, while Lord Dufferin’s personality was an immense factor in his official success, we do not get enough of the personal note. But as a record of a great man’s services to the State in spheres of bewildering variety and the highest importance the book could hardly be surpassed. It is both concise and lucid, and, needless to remark when Sir Alfred Lyall is the author, written in most admirable English. It is no small feat to have written a successful biography of a man who during a great part of his career was engaged in work of a conciliatory and preventive rather than of a constructive character. No one has ever called attention to the work of a lightning-conductor

except when it failed to conduct. But Lord Dufferin was much more than a successful diplomatist; he was also a statesman of a very high order, who possessed not only sound judgement, but the far rarer gift of imagination, and this is well brought out in the biography. There can be no higher tribute to Lord Dufferin's title to lasting fame than the fact that, were he alive to-day in the prime of his powers, as he was in the seventies and eighties, he would be universally acclaimed as the right man to send to either Australia or South Africa, to repeat the services which he rendered to the Empire so brilliantly and so effectively in the case of the Dominion of Canada.

ART. X.—CHATHAM THE REFORMER.

1. *Chatham*. By FREDERIC HARRISON. 'Twelve English Statesmen.' London: Macmillan. 1905.
2. *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and the Growth and Division of the British Empire*. By WALFORD DAVIS GREEN, M.P. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1901.
3. *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*. By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. *Edinburgh Review*, January 1834.
4. *The Earl of Chatham*. By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. *Edinburgh Review*, January 1834.
5. *William Pitt, Graf von Chatham*. Von ALBERT VON RUVILLE. 3 vols. Stuttgart and Berlin: F. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1905.
6. *The Border Elliots and the Family of Minto*. By the HON. GEORGE F. S. ELLIOT. (Privately printed.) Edinburgh. David Douglas. 1897.

IN the monograph that he published soon after the death of that great statesman, Godwin said that Chatham had first thought of acquiring immortal honour by counter-acting the venality and corruption of his time, and that afterwards he turned to foreign victories as a path that led to more certain, more immediate, and more undivided applause. It would, perhaps, be truer to say that Chatham lived for both of these great objects, and that he hoped his success in attaining the second would arm him with the power of achieving the first. The two were intimately associated in his mind, as they were in the mind of the masculine reformers who succeeded to his larger aims. England's weakness abroad was in Chatham's eyes the result of this internal mischief, the poison of insincerity, instability, incoherence, and indecision which vitiated and corrupted her energies. She was weak at the extremities because she was weak at the heart. Chatham meant to put an end at once to misrule at home and misadventure abroad, and he thought that his dazzling successes as a War Minister would enable him to emancipate her government at home from the abuses and tyrannies that had overgrown it. This great hope was defeated, and its failure was one of the most dramatic tragedies of history. Because Chatham was foiled as a reformer, he died when the wilful follies of

the Court that he had failed to subdue threatened to leave of his victories nothing but a splendid legend.

Chatham's life may be divided into three periods. In 1735 he went into Parliament. For the next twenty years he was gathering reputation and power. From 1756 to the accession of George III. he inspired England; he ruled England; he was England. From 1761 to his death in 1778 his authority was waning; his purposes were baffled; his hopes at last destroyed. The second period represented the success of his foreign policy; the third, the demoralisation of his reform policy.

The most significant fact about Chatham's rise is that it was effected by means that to most men would have been fatal. Few men have believed as implicitly as did Chatham that they were sent into the world to save their country. Few men have persuaded their countrymen that that mission was so wisely and so certainly committed to them that anything was justified which gave them the opportunity of discharging it. Chatham won his power by shifts and stratagems, by violences and inconsistencies which few of his biographers attempt to defend. Mr. Harrison, his latest biographer, does not attempt a defence, though he points out that Chatham has been charged with acts for which there is no sufficient evidence. Macaulay, relying on Coxe's '*Life of Walpole*,' treated it as settled that Chatham and his friends offered to screen Walpole from prosecution if Walpole would use his influence with the King in their favour. If this were true, the vehement and indeed vindictive energy with which Chatham pursued the fallen Walpole would be as base as it was savage. But the evidence, as Mr. Harrison remarks, is far too slight to justify a charge which is entirely out of character with Chatham's many and grave faults, and there is no reason to add this to the disfigurements of his early career. It must be admitted frankly that few men can be charged with greater inconsistencies than Chatham. It was Chatham who had thundered that he would not consent to spare a man, no, not half a man, to maintain a Continental quarrel in the fields of Germany. It was Chatham who left a sick-bed, when he was in office a year later, to support Pelham in that policy. He had sworn that he would never admit Spain's right of search, and he accepted the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was silent about that right. He had hunted Walpole out of public life, yet he took office with Walpole's successors to carry out Walpole's policy. He changed his

mind in a few months on the subject of a standing army. Indeed during the first twenty years of his career it might be said that the necessity of a strong navy was almost the only constant article in his politics. His treatment of Pelham and Newcastle was fickle and undignified. He said that he would never join Fox or Newcastle, and his famous government included them both.

His motive in all these changes of temper and policy was a firm belief in his capacity to save his country, and a growing recognition of the conditions under which alone power was to be gained. If he was obliged to accept colleagues whom he neither liked nor trusted, to acquiesce in policies that he thought doubtful and had once thought fatal, he was ready to put up with these inconveniences and to submit to the appearance of insincerity rather than remain excluded from influence and office. Some of his acts seemed more inconsistent than they were. His views on the subject of a standing army, for example, were certainly modified by the Jacobite invasion of 1745. But Chatham retained the public confidence, although he did many things which other statesmen could not have done without forfeiting it. It is one of the proofs of his power that the nation still believed in him to the end. Not that everyone forgave these inconsistencies, or divined the patriotism that reconciled and explained them. Smollett published in 1769 a ruthless satire on English politics and politicians called 'The History and 'Adventures of an Atom,' in which one view of these transactions finds bitter expression. Smollett was wise enough to leave the country before this work appeared, but it was reissued four times in the following seven years, which shows that it achieved some popularity. Mr. Thomas Seccombe's recent edition of the satire is particularly valuable from the pains he has taken to identify the allusions. It is interesting to quote a passage bearing on Chatham's abandonment of his opposition of the Continental subsidies:

In the morning Taycho the Great [Pitt] repaired to the palace of the Cuboy (P.M.) where he . . . sung a solemn palinodia on the subject of political system, repeated and signed the Buponian creed, embraced the religion of Fakku-basi [Hanoverian policy] and adored the White Horse with marks of unfeigned piety and contrition. Then he was conducted to the antechamber of the Emperor, who could not without great difficulty so far master his personal dislike as to appear before him with any degree of composure. He was brought forth by Fika-kaka [Newcastle] like a tame bear at the stake, if that epithet of "tame" can be given with any propriety to an animal which nobody

but his keeper dares approach. The orator, perceiving him advance, made a low obeisance, according to the custom of Japan, that is, by bending the body averse from the Dairo [King] . . . and pronounced with an audible voice, "Behold, invincible Got-hama-baba [George II.], a sincere penitent come to make atonement for his virulent opposition to your government, for his atrocious insolence to your sacred person. I have calumniated your favourite farm [Hanover], I have questioned your integrity, I have vilified your character, ridiculed your understanding, and despised your authority." This recapitulation was so disagreeable to the Dairo that he suddenly flew off at a tangent and retreated growling to his den; from whence he could by no means be lugged again by the Cuboy until Taycho, exalting his voice, uttered these words, "But I will exalt your authority more than ever it was debased; I will exalt your wisdom and expatiate on your generosity; I will glorify the White Horse and sacrifice all the treasures of Japan, if needful, for the protection of the farm of Yesso [Hanover]." By these cabalistical sounds the wrath of Got-hama-baba was entirely appeased. He now returned with an air of gaiety, strutting, sideling, circling, fluttering and cobbling like a turkey cock in his pride when he displays his feathers to the sun.'

The nation's obstinate confidence in Chatham was no doubt largely due to a conviction of his financial disinterestedness. A slight delicacy in this respect would have gone a long way in the days of Henry Fox, who made even more money out of his office than his brilliant son contrived to spend on his pleasures. But Chatham was not merely scrupulous; he was, judged by the standard of his day, quixotic. He was made Paymaster of the Forces in 1746. It was the practice for the Paymaster-General to obtain 400,000*l.* in advance, and to appropriate the interest on it for his own use. Chatham refused to accept a farthing beyond his salary, and that although, as Mr. Harrison says, he was a poor man who long lived on the bounty of others, and was extravagant and ostentatious to the point of ridicule. He also refused to accept the commission which his predecessors had taken from the foreign recipients of subsidies voted by Parliament.

'His conduct,' says Macaulay, 'surprised and amused politicians. It excited the warmest admiration throughout the body of the people. The motives which may lead a politician to change his connexions or his general line of conduct are often obscure, but disinterestedness in pecuniary matters everybody can understand. Pitt was, therefore, considered as a man who was proof to all sordid temptations. If he acted ill it might be from an error of judgment; it might be from resentment; it might be from ambition. But, poor as he was, he had vindicated himself from all suspicion of covetousness.'

Mr. Harrison, in speaking of this incident, allows his enthusiasm for Chatham's magnanimity to lead him into an historical exaggeration. 'It stands recorded,' he says, 'that Chatham was the first great statesman to extinguish that curse of corruption which had afflicted English politics since the Restoration.' Mr. Harrison cannot mean that corruption ceased in 1746, and it is therefore difficult to understand how it was extinguished in that year. There was probably no election at which corruption was more active than the election of 1780, and it was seven years after Chatham's act that Henry Fox, who made the office notorious, became Paymaster-General. But it is difficult to praise Chatham's conduct too highly, or to overrate the impression it made on the popular mind, and it certainly stood him in good stead in days in which the public confidence was all he had to rely upon. When Pelham's death in 1754 was followed by the choice of Sir Thomas Robinson for the post to which Chatham aspired, of Leader of the House of Commons, Chatham made no secret of his chagrin, or of his determination to force himself into the Government. He succeeded just because the nation could forgive or admire ambition, although its shifts were often sorry and undignified, in a statesman who was known to be capable, disinterested, and a patriot. It may be said quite justly of Chatham that at several crises in his life he fought directly for his own advancement, indirectly for the causes he meant to serve in power. It must be added that the nation never doubted his motives in his eager and savage pursuit of leadership.

That leadership came to him when the disasters of his country by land and sea obliged the King, and the busy managers of intrigue and failure who surrounded him, to take a master from the people. It came to him at the worst hour of his country's fate, and it made him the first man in Europe. The country believed in him, his soldiers and sailors believed in him, his enemies believed in him. Armed with this confidence, resolute, quicksighted, fearless, he carried his nation in triumph through one of the decisive crises of its history. He could breathe, as could nobody else, his own magical spirit into the men who did his bidding and died for his sudden plans.

'The ardour of his soul,' says Macaulay, 'had set the whole kingdom on fire. It inflamed every soldier who dragged the cannon up the heights of Quebec, and every sailor who boarded the French ships among the rocks of Brittany. The Minister, before he had been long in office, had imparted to the commanders whom he employed his own

impetuous, adventurous, and defying character. They, like him, were disposed to risk everything, to play double or quits to the last, to think nothing done while anything remained undone, to fail rather than not attempt. For the errors of rashness there might be indulgence. For over-caution, for faults like those of Sir George Sackville, there was no mercy. In other times, and against other enemies, this mode of warfare might have failed. But the state of the French Government and of the French nation gave every advantage to Pitt. The fops and intriguers of Versailles were appalled and bewildered by his vigour. A panic spread through all ranks of society. Our enemies soon considered it as a settled thing that they were always to be beaten. Thus victory begot victory; till at last, wherever the forces of the two nations met, they met with disdainful confidence on one side, and with a craven fear on the other.'

The nation that had long been doubtful, uneasy, diffident of its resources and its power, was turned by a few months of vigorous leadership into a self-confident and elated people, following with admiration and delight the victorious strokes of its idolised and trusted statesman. All that was at issue in those furious years of struggle was but dimly realised at the time by those who watched the pageant of conquest. Mr. Harrison does not exaggerate their significance in his summary.

'If Frederick had been crushed in the Seven Years' War, Central Europe would have become the prey of Russia, Austria, and France. And Frederick well knew what he owed to Pitt. As the King of Prussia wrote: "C'était la meilleure tête de l'Angleterre." Had Dupleix been able to extend and consolidate the empire he was so near founding in Madras, France, and not England, might have become the suzerain of Hindustan. If Montcalm had succeeded in establishing the French control of the St. Lawrence, the Lakes, and the Mississippi valley, France, not Britain, would have been the mother country of America. How different would the aspect of the world be to-day! In 1755 all these three possible results were far from improbable. In 1761 they had become utterly impossible.'

One further remark must be made about the popular confidence in Chatham. He won and kept that confidence, as we have seen, in spite of inconsistencies that other men would not have been forgiven; he won and kept it, it must be added, in spite of acts of splendid candour and courage on which most men would not have ventured. Chatham tried to save Byng. That effort was made at a time when Chatham had the best reason to be anxious to keep his popularity. He was for the first time Secretary of State. He was surrounded by intriguers, and the King was only

waiting his chance to overthrow the Ministry. But no thought of his precarious power and his watchful enemies prevented the threatened Minister, possessed for the first time of what had been the prize of his life, from speaking on the side of unpopular mercy. He showed himself then, as he showed himself in the American War, too great a man to bend to public clamour when the nation wanted what he thought was wrong, whether it was conquest, or blood, or victory won by savage aid.

When George III. came to the throne, Chatham had won the nation's confidence; he had used it to bring the nation in return victories and tribute greater than any recorded in her history. His position, according to Macaulay, was the most enviable ever occupied by any public man in English history. 'He had conciliated the King; he domineered over the House of Commons; he was adored by the people; he was admired by all Europe.' If any man, this man, who had humbled the enemies of his country and silenced its quarrels, ought to have been able to defend the nation from the boy who had been taught by Bute that he was to be not its king only, but its ruler. What had George III. to match against his eloquence, his popularity, his long years of experience, his wide and victorious renown? He was a youth brought up at the feet of Bute and his mother, with no gifts of mind or fascinations of character. It might have looked an unequal contest. Yet in five years the stripling had defeated the veteran, the dull and little-known Sovereign the enlightened and idolised statesman. Nor is this all; Chatham was not only vanquished: he was himself an unconscious instrument in the King's hands. The overthrow of Chatham the Reformer is more dramatic than the triumph of Chatham the Minister of War, for it was accomplished by means of Chatham's own glory.

Chatham was like the King in one important respect. He was not a party man. He and the King both wanted to break up existing parties, and to divert elsewhere their great power and influence. Chatham wanted to transfer it to a Minister, trusted by the nation, advising and guiding his Sovereign; George wanted to transfer it to the Sovereign, who was to choose his own Ministers, and find in them the agents of his own will and ideas. Chatham did not want to see George III. working his ignorant will on the destinies of the great empire his Ministry had won; George III. did not want to see Chatham ruling England, receiving its homage, directing its expansion, overshadowing its Sovereign in the

eyes of the world. - Chatham could never make a partnership with the Crown, such as his famous partnership with Newcastle, under which Newcastle managed the majorities and Chatham managed the empire, for George III. meant to be all that Chatham himself had been. But however discrepant their ultimate designs, George III. and Chatham were both impatient of party government and rebels against the traditions of the English oligarchy.

That common aim had at one time definitely united Bute and Chatham, an alliance of which the best account is to be found in 'The Border Elliots and the Family of Minto,' privately printed by Mr. George Elliot. In April 1755, Bute wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot a letter in which he said, 'Next session brings the Prince to age; I think 'tis likely a 'strong party will be formed that will set both Fox and the 'Cardinal [Duke of Newcastle] at defiance, if Pitt can be 'induced to join, a point I have much at heart; the prospect 'will be pleasing, though I cannot say in the midst of such 'corruption my hopes can be ever sanguine' (p. 342). There is a memorandum in Sir Gilbert Elliot's handwriting which shows what was the sequel. 'At an accidental conversation 'at Sir R. Lyttleton's, Lord Bute discovered Mr. Pitt and 'his friends were not entangled with the D. of Cumberland. 'A meeting soon ensued; as both sides were well disposed, a 'treaty was soon concluded. Mr. Pitt saw the P—ss at 'Lord Bute's house: the support of Leic^r house, and the 'opposition to the two treatys, with other particulars, agreed 'to.' The treaties were treaties making subsidies to Hesse and Russia, and Pitt, who was Paymaster, opposed them in the House, and was dismissed from his office. The next year, when Chatham came into power, Bute became Groom of the Stole, and Elliot, writing to his wife, says: 'Having 'mentioned the Doctor [Pitt] you'll be pleased to hear that 'there is the greatest harmony in the world between his 'family and Mr. Boeland's [Lord Bute's], who has indeed 'behaved in the prettiest manner' (p. 352). But these cordial relations did not last, and it fell to Elliot, as their common friend, to try to reconcile Bute and Chatham. Bute sent him to Chatham in 1760, and apparently suggested that he himself should have the Treasury. Chatham was uncompromising, and Elliot has left on record a note of his determined language,

'Pitt had much to say against Lord Bute. He speaks of his high imperious tone, the singling all confidence into one hand to the exclusion of all mankind, the flippant use of the Prince's name, talking tauntingly

of his [Pitt's] progress at Court. He recalls the terms of their union, and Lord Bute's warm expressions of friendship, yet everyone now is more at home at Leicester House than Pitt himself. Then, speaking of himself, he says he has acted on the concerted plan, armed the country, has not shown the want of confidence complained of, though he has not communicated paltry details, but seized the moment to secure his measures, etc. He goes on : " I will not be rid with a check rein, nor postpone measures or delay business till I hear from [the] King. Such being the case, I know it is impossible to act in a responsible ministerial office with L.B. ; he has all confidence, all latitude ; gives hourly indications of an imperious nature. I can't bear a touch of command ; my sentiments on politics, like my religion, are my own. I can't change them, I'll controvert them with any Minister, and the Sovereign must judge between us. The rights of my office are not enough to me ; if I am to be in a responsible situation, I can not be dictated, prescribed to, etc. ; neither acting as a friend can I then contend for the closet, or drive measures by national weight, as I do at present, where I pretend not friendship to the Ministers with whom I act. My age, infirmities, turn of mind, make it impossible for me to undertake new oppositions ; the heats and colds of the House of Commons are too much for me ; neither will I retire peevish or discontented, but recur to the P. and Lord B.'s friendship to put me in some honourable by-standing office, where I have no responsibility, but aid counsels if called upon. Let me conclude with saying, by distrusting his friends he'll become dependent on his enemies. I will even make way for his greatness, assist it, only I cannot make part of it' (pp. 363-4).

On the evening of George II.'s death Bute called on Chatham, told him he had renounced the idea of being First Lord of the Treasury, that he approved of the war, and offered Chatham his sincere friendship. Chatham replied that if the war were to undergo the least shadow of change, he could no longer be of service. It is clear from Bute's conduct, in intimating to Newcastle, without consulting Chatham, that he was to be at the head of the Ministry, that he had grasped the first opportunity of dividing a Government too formidable for the King's taste. Elliot saw Chatham again after his resignation, and has left an account of the meeting :

' He entered at large into the occasion of his resigning the Seals at that juncture, alluded to the combination of great Lords he saw formed against him, avowed his determination of [not] acting at all unless he directed, painted in strong colours the inability of the Council, most of whom, he added, now for the first time began to think for themselves. He owned he felt in his breast a superiority and right to lead. Show me the man, said he, that I ought to follow and I am ready to do it. The noble Dukes and great Lords of the Cabinet he passed slightly over, but insisted their influence and authority were so widely spread

and so artificially woven that they had only to chuse the time to overpower Lord Bute and fetter their Sovereign' (p. 368).

These extracts are interesting and significant for various reasons. They show how Chatham hated the restraints of common action with men who were strong enough, from their family connexions or other reasons, to dispute his supremacy, and they show, too, how difficult a colleague he was. He wanted to be free of Newcastles and Carterets and Bedfords, but he wanted also to be sure that nobody else had a greater influence with his Sovereign. That was his quarrel with Bute, and it ought to have opened his eyes to the necessity of forming a new party which should destroy not only the old family supremacies, but the new system of occult influences at Court as well. Chatham's experience in 1761 ought to have made him the leader of the Rockinghams; it seems to have done nothing except sharpen his rancour against all parties.

Chatham was not a party man. A party man, to a Newcastle or a Bedford, meant a man who did his duty by a system of vested interests. Chatham was never likely to degenerate into a party man of that kind. But he knew as well as any man that there was something wrong in the government of his country, and he ought to have seen that it could only be put right if the first Englishman formed a party—not of the Newcastle kind—to do it. That is precisely what the Rockinghams did, when Burke converted them from a party of the old fashion into a set of public-spirited men, genuinely alive to pity and shame for their country, and inspired by an ideal of just and merciful if cautious and aristocratic government. Chatham never organised a party to prepare or carry out a policy. All that he put before the nation was a loyal discipleship under his flag, a policy that answered well enough during the excitements and emergencies of the war, but could hardly be accepted as a remedy for the evils that the war had pushed into the background. He forgot that, as Godwin said, he had either to serve his country in the way prescribed to him, or not to serve her at all. His own way was to create a part which nobody could fill unless the King, Prime Minister, and Parliament were all moulded by Chatham himself. And it may not unjustly be said of him that he was apt to substitute, for the standards of party, standards of personal loyalties and dislikes which were scarcely less untrustworthy. When, in 1763, he was

approached by the King, at Bute's suggestion, his chief stipulation was that Temple should have the Treasury, and in 1765 he refused office to please Temple, who wanted to have a purely family Ministry, and did not like to see Chatham take office with the Whig noblemen. His loyalty to Temple was, like his hostility to Newcastle, a reasonable and proper state of mind, but out of place when elevated into a permanent political principle. Chatham had been twice ill-used by Newcastle, but he had once found it worth while to take office with him after his betrayal, and his resentment was allowed to play too large a part in governing his conduct.

The two crucial years for a discussion of Chatham's conduct as a political reformer were the years 1765, 1766. Four years had passed since his resignation. They had been years of disaster to every cause that he cherished. There had been the peace in 1763; the unconstitutional dismissal of placemen and even Lords-Lieutenant for opposing that peace. The great struggle with Wilkes had begun, and the Stamp Act had been passed. The King's power was growing. The necessity of strong and immediate action was unmistakable. Yet in 1765 Chatham refused to lead, to join, or to aid the Rockingham Government, which was formed in July, a Government most uncongenial to the King, and only accepted by him as the less hateful alternative to Grenville.

Mr. Lecky has said of this refusal that, 'if not the worst, it was certainly the most disastrous incident of Pitt's career.' Mr. Harrison is more cautious. 'We do not know enough to condemn him for refusing to join a Ministry in which were to be retained some of the worst elements that he most abhorred, and wherein he had good reason to fear that the creatures of the King would continue to hold a secret and malign influence.'

To understand exactly Chatham's position, and to do justice to all the persons whose reputations are at stake, it is necessary to follow far more closely than Mr. Harrison has done the conduct of Chatham and the Rockinghams in these two years. The material is ample; the Chatham correspondence, the Grenville papers, the Bedford papers, Albemarle's letters, Grafton's autobiography. Perhaps the strongest statement of the case for Chatham's unfriendly isolation occurs in Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Shelburne.' Chatham had various reasons for hesitating to commit himself to the Rockingham Government. They

shall be liberally stated. That Government was to contain Newcastle, who, though he had been Chatham's benefactor in early days, and had forced him into the Government, had treated him ill on two occasions. In 1754, on Pelham's death, he had made Sir Thomas Robinson leader of the House of Commons, provoking Chatham, who had strong claims on the leadership, to remark, 'He might as well send 'his jack-boot to lead us'; secondly, in 1761, he had acquiesced in forcing Chatham out of office. He was a man powerful both from his connexions and his supremacy in the arts of political corruption. Secondly, the Rockingham Government did a mischievous and ominous thing in bringing back Lord George Sackville to office. For his conduct at Minden Lord George Sackville had been dismissed the service in 1760, and his name removed from the Privy Council. The Rockingham Government restored him to the Privy Council and made him Vice-Treasurer of Ireland. Shelburne left a paper on Lord George Sackville's inglorious but eventful career in which he described this act of the Rockingham Government as characteristically wanting in penetration and fortitude. There is not much to put to the credit of the Government that succeeded the Rockinghams, but at any rate it dismissed Lord George Sackville from his Vice-Treasurership. How strongly Chatham felt the rehabilitation of Lord George Sackville is shown by his language to Grafton and Rockingham in January 1766, quoted by Grafton in his autobiography. Thirdly, the Government was not united on the repeal of the Stamp Act. Indeed, on Burke's confession it did not mean to repeal that Act until the trouble in America began. Further, it was supported by the Duke of Cumberland, who was opposed to repeal, and who fortunately died in October, three months after the Government took office. Fourthly, the Government was odious to George III., who only accepted it because of the plight in which he had been placed by his quarrel with the Grenville Ministry. Fifthly, there was still a suspicion in his mind that the Bute influence had not ceased.

This is a full statement of Chatham's reasons as they appear from his letters and the letters of others. He began by refusing the overtures of the Duke of Cumberland, who was commissioned by the King in May to negotiate with him and the old Whig families for the construction of a Government. That refusal, there seems little reason to doubt, was really inspired by Temple, who had now made

up his quarrel with his brother, George Grenville. Rockingham formed his Government in July, and he made at once the first of three applications to Chatham for his alliance. Everything was done to tempt him. He was at one time offered the leadership of the Government. Grafton, his follower, was made Secretary of State. His brother-in-law, James Grenville, was offered one of the Vice-Treasurerships of Ireland. His friend, Nuthall, was made Solicitor of the Treasury. Measures that he especially demanded were quickly taken. The Duke of Cumberland mentions in his statement, among the stipulations Chatham made as a condition of his taking office, the restoration of all the officers of the army who had been displaced on account of their votes in Parliament, ample justice and favour to Chief Justice Pratt, condemnation of general warrants, and a modification of the cider-tax. All these things were done by the Rockinghams. They repealed the Stamp Act, in spite of the hostility of the King, the Tories, the Grenvilles, and the Bedfords. They acted, in fine, as consistently in accordance with Chatham's opinions as his own Government acted afterwards in opposition to them. Lastly, although it contained Newcastle, who was indeed by this time the pale shadow of his old power, it governed without corruption. There was one important measure in its history which Chatham profoundly and wisely disliked—the Declaratory Act. That Act was passed to make the repeal of the Stamp Act a less bitter penance to the country. If the strongest man in the country had been in the Government that Act would not have been needed.

Chatham not only refused to lead this Government. He did nothing to help it. He dissuaded his friends from helping it. He wrote an acrid letter to one of his followers, George Cooke, in December, who had consulted him about the answer he should give to an invitation to second the Address. He made no secret of his abhorrence of a Government which contained Newcastle. On one occasion he was not only unfriendly, but disingenuous. Rockingham consulted him about the repeal of the Stamp Act, and yet, when speaking of it in the House of Lords, he said that he was 'unconnected' and 'unconsulted.' Chatham's conduct to the Rockinghams in office must be considered in connexion with his conduct when he took office. His Government was formed in July 1766. Its nominal head was the Duke of Grafton, whose resignation of his office in the Rockingham Government, coming after a series of con-

spiracies against that Government by the King and his friends, had determined its fate. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was Charles Townshend, who had opposed the repeal of the Stamp Act. The Lord President was Lord Northington, a personal friend of the King, and sharing the King's views on American taxation and general war-rants. Lord North had already begun to make himself famous as a champion of the Court policy of war on America and Wilkes. The Government contained, it is true, distinguished politicians of Chatham's own views in Shelburne and Camden, but every single objection that had been urged against its predecessors could be urged against this Government, with one exception. The new Government contained Chatham. Its composition showed that it was not the opinions of its members, or even the danger of clandestine influences, that determined Chatham's views of a Government. The attractions of the new Government were that it was drawn from all parties, and that the fall of the Rockinghams had left no dangerous competitor, whose terms might have to be met.

Chatham had acted quite consistently, as Mr. Green points out, in deprecating Governments drawn from one party only, for in the summer of 1763, when the King had made overtures to him, he had insisted very strongly that the Whig leaders must not be excluded. 'It cannot go on without the great families who have supported the Revolution Government, and other great persons of whose abilities and integrities the public have had experience, and who have weight and credit in the nation.'* But a glance at his Government shows how little he had regarded his own dictum, 'Connexions as to men are mean, but as to measures commendable.' The Government that was formed in 1766 had not been a year in office before it had passed an Act to tax American imports, and it had not been in office three years before it had decided that it could exclude Wilkes and make Colonel Luttrell member for Middlesex. It attacked Chatham's ideas as vigorously as the Rockinghams had attacked the King's prejudices. Mr. Harrison, strangely enough, continues to call it a 'Ministry of Measures.' There was no real unity of measures; and therefore, as soon as Chatham fell ill, the real unity of control was the King's.

It was indeed a Coalition Ministry, and how little

* Chatham Correspondence, ii. 240.

Chatham thought of opinions as the principle of discrimination is seen in his overtures to the Duke of Bedford in October 1766. Those overtures broke down, not from disagreement over measures, but because Bedford made what the King called extravagant demands for his followers. Bedford has left an account of his interviews, first with Northington, and afterwards with Chatham.

‘That evening I called on the Earl of Northington at his lodgings in Milsom Street. After a very short previous discourse, he began a political one, wishing to see myself and friends in administration, it being necessary to get people of property and credit to give it weight and permanency. He said this was the wish of all the Ministers. He said Lord Chatham’s plan was to preserve the present tranquillity of Europe, to give no subsidies in time of peace, to act with vigour, to support the superiority of Great Britain over her colonies, and to restore authority to Government at home.’

‘October 24, Earl of Chatham made me a visit. . . . He then proceeded to express his desire that I and my friends would take hands with administration, and recapitulated with regard to measures all that Lord Northington had said, but in a fuller manner. He declared his wish to continue the present pacific situation of affairs in Europe, that he would not advise to pay for or even court foreign alliances, but that there was a great cloud of power in the north which should not be neglected. That he was for economical measures as much as anyone, but that the fleet must not be neglected. That measures for the proper subordination of America must be taken. That the militia must be sustained.’*

Chatham can scarcely have been unaware of the risks he was running in taking the Bedfords into his Government, with their strong hostility to the Americans. Another illustration of the same tactics was afforded in his conduct when Charles Townshend began to be troublesome and mutinous. Grafton tells us Chatham spoke to North about taking his place. Yet North was only known as a powerful champion of the King’s policy of coercion.

It is not surprising that an indifference to party, which ended in perverting Chatham’s power to ends that were odious to him, seemed to his critics an affectation to disguise his ambition. Burke never did justice to Chatham. His opinion of Chatham’s conduct is given in a letter to Mr. Richard Shackleton in 1779 :

‘As to parties, there is much discussion about them in political morality ; but whatever their merits may be, they have always existed, and always will ; and, as far as my own observation has

* Bedford Correspondence, iii. 348, 349.

gone, I have observed but three kinds of men that have kept out of them :—Those who profess nothing but a pursuit of their own interest, and who avow their resolution of attaching themselves to the present possession of power, in whose-ever hands it is, or however it may be used. The other sort are ambitious men, of light or no principles, who, in their turns, make use of all parties; and therefore avoid entering into what may be construed an engagement with any. Such was, in a great measure, the late Earl of Chatham, who expected a very blind submission of men to him, without considering himself as having any reciprocal obligation to them. It is true that he very often rewarded such submission in a very splendid manner, but with very little marks of respect or regard to the objects of his favour; and as he put confidence in no man, he had very few feelings of resentment against those who the most bitterly opposed or most basely betrayed him. The third sort is hardly worth mentioning, being composed only of four or five country gentlemen of little efficiency in public business. It is but a few days ago that a very wise and a very good man (the Duke of Portland) said to me, in a conversation on this subject, that he never knew any man disclaim party, who was not of a party that he was ashamed of.*

We do not think Chatham's views of party government were the result of conscious ambition, but they certainly ignored the realities of the crisis created by the King's policy. A miscellaneous Government meant a King's Government; a party Government might be made a national Government.

Chatham's views about the necessity of dissolving parties were fortified by a sentimental regard for the King. George III. always had before him a vision of the predicament of his predecessors, whom he pitied as the captives of the Whig families. Chatham shared that sympathy. This comes out in his talk with Elliot after his resignation, and in his letters to Shelburne on his reasons for holding aloof from the Rockinghams. Writing to Shelburne in February 1766, he says :

'In a word, my Lord, I shall never set my foot in the Closet but in the hope of rendering the King's personal situation not unhappy, as well as his business not unprosperous, nor will I owe my coming thither to any Court cabal or ministerial connexion. The King's pleasure and gracious commands alone shall be a call to me; I am deaf to every other thing.'

In a similar spirit he sent a message to Rockingham, in which he stated that he would be glad to confer with Rockingham, Grafton and Conway, 'if respect and duty to

* Burke's Correspondence, ii. 276.

‘the King did not indispensably forbid him, without his Majesty’s commands, so to do.’ He never enjoyed his struggles with the Court as other great Liberal statesmen of his day enjoyed them. He was probably quite sincere in what he said to Thomas Walpole in 1762. ‘With regard to himself he had felt inexpressible anxieties at holding office against the goodwill of the Crown: that he would never again put himself in that situation, nor accept of any employment whilst His Majesty had that opinion of him which he was acquainted with.’* When the Duke of Cumberland wrote to Albemarle to tell him that the negotiations with Chatham had broken down, because Temple had stood out, he made it clear that Chatham had considerable sympathy with the King.

‘. . . I found the King already entrenching himself with Pitt’s promises of mercy in so many particulars. By what I can pick up, Pitt is completely mortified, and I am heartily sorry for it, as he had entered more sincerely and cordially in the King’s service, nay, and went farther almost than the King’s views.’† His letters when he accepted a peerage for his wife, after he had been edged out of office by the King and Bute, are an example of his readiness to forgive the King.

‘I have not words to express the sentiments of veneration and gratitude with which I receive the unbounded effects of beneficence and grace, which the most benign of sovereigns has condescended to bestow on me, and on those most dear to me.

‘Your lordship will not wonder if the sensations which possess my whole breast refuse me the power of describing their extent, and leave me only to beg your lordship will be so good as to lay me and Lady Hester at the King’s feet, and to offer for us to His Majesty the genuine tribute of the truly feeling heart; which, I will dare to hope, the same royal benevolence which showers on the unmeritorious such unlimited benefits may deign to accept with equal condescension and goodness.’‡

Mr. Harrison speaks of these expressions as common form, but we doubt whether any other statesmen were as prodigal with them. No doubt there was something in Chatham’s nature, with its sense for drama, we might even say for melodrama, its weakness for effect, its love of splendour and display, that invested monarchy with a romance, even when it was personified in such unromantic figures as George II. and George III.

* Albemarle, i. 151.

† Albemarle, i. 214.

‡ Correspondence, ii. 149.

It was said of Clement V., the first of the Avignon Popes, that he made up for his humility towards the King of France by his arrogance towards the Empire. Chatham's colleagues had good reason to know that he could be as overbearing to his fellow-subjects as he was meek and submissive to his Sovereign. 'His language,' said Conway, 'is such as is not 'usually heard west of Constantinople.' Conway was a Rockingham Whig, who went into Chatham's Government. More bitter was the language used by Chatham's follower, Shelburne. In the most interesting fragment of his autobiography he says:

'He passed his time studying words and expressions, always with a view to throw the responsibility of every measure upon some other, while he held a high, pompous, unmeaning language. What took much from his character was that he was always acting, always made up, and never natural, in a perpetual state of exertion, incapable of friendship, or of any act which tended to it, and constantly upon the watch, and never unbent.'*

Shelburne's expressions about Chatham are generally regarded as throwing at least as much light on Shelburne's character as on that of Chatham, and as explaining the curious atmosphere of suspicion which always hung around that brilliant and unpopular statesman. But it is not possible to dismiss, as mere jealousy or malice, a verdict which agreed with the impression most people formed of Chatham's temperament. He was a passionately sincere man, but he had something of the actor in his character. And he was certainly a difficult, exacting, and uncertain colleague. Such a man is not well adapted to lead a miscellaneous party in times of peace. Personal magnetism could alone have held such a company together. Chatham had more magnetism for the nation watching his career than for individuals, working at its details with him. His two most intimate followers were Shelburne and Camden. How Shelburne could write of him we have seen. Camden heard of his death with composure.

There were two other causes that contributed to disable Chatham as an opponent of the King. One was his health. Mr. Harrison quotes Sir Andrew Clark's opinion (p. 190): 'Suppressed gout disordered the whole nervous system, and 'drove him into a state of mental depression, varying with 'excitement and equivalent to insanity. But there was no 'specific brain disease.' This terrible affliction paralysed Chatham, but even before it befell him he had weakened his

* Life of Shelburne, i. 76.

position by taking a peerage. There was a great difference between William Pitt and the Earl of Chatham, and the disappointment and outcry which had followed Pitt's acceptance of a pension in 1763 ought to have warned him from taking a peerage in 1766. His motives were reasonable enough. He was sincerely afraid of the strain of the House of Commons; but he ought to have been still more afraid of the isolating splendour of the House of Lords.

These reasons explain Chatham's failure. That failure was complete. A comparison of the years 1757-1760 with those of 1767-1770 shows how the King's system, fatal to everything Chatham wanted, had entrenched and secured itself in six years. Chatham had failed, because he had attempted what was impossible. Justly and rightly he despised the conventions and superstitions of family government, but he allowed his suspicion of the machinery of that government to make him forget that no resistance or movement was possible without organisation on some common principle of conduct. The result was that it was the King, and not Chatham, who got his way. Chatham had, indeed, all the qualities that were essential to defeat. He was careless of the dignity or the susceptibilities of those with whom it was fatal to him to quarrel; the only men whom he treated with uniform consideration were men too selfish to be his friends, and towards them his patience was excessive. If he had been less powerful, the party, respectable but not stimulating, that did his work and carried out his policy might have survived his unfriendly indifference. If his influence had reposed on anything else than the nation's confidence, his peerage would not have hurt it. Illness might have made him still more an object of love and admiration; in the form in which it attacked him, it annihilated his authority, made him inscrutable without making him interesting, and left the waning glory of his name to the alien purposes of his successors. Disabled by disease, paralysed by a fatal incapacity for concerted leadership, the greatest Englishman of his times, his days of power crowded with triumphs, the magnanimous impulses of his mind and his large and splendid ambitions scarcely obscured, though often defeated, by his imperious manners and the artificial surface of his life, he succumbed slowly but certainly to the petty intrigues, the elaborate flatteries, and the mean dexterities of the King.

A different explanation of Chatham's conduct is given in the elaborate and learned work lately published by Herr von Ruville. These three volumes represent the enlarged form

of Herr von Ruville's earlier study of the relations of Chatham and Bute. They are particularly interesting because Herr von Ruville never flinches from his own opinions. It takes a daring historian to defend Bute's letter to Choiseul in 1762, but Herr von Ruville's courage does not fail him. Similarly in treating Chatham's career he is never afraid of advancing explanations which strike the reader as less happy than eccentric. The result is that, though the writer is in one sense singularly qualified to appreciate Chatham—in the sense, that is to say, that he is, like Chatham, a Royalist—he contrives to leave a more disagreeable impression of Chatham's character as a domestic politician than a frankly hostile interpreter would have ventured to suggest. We do not find much to dissent from in Herr von Ruville's account of Chatham's constitutional wishes. Herr von Ruville thinks that Chatham wanted to be the mediator between Parliament and King: a Prime Minister who was not to be the Executive Minister of Parliamentary authority, but a leader of the whole body politic, a real ruler, with the King and Parliament standing in relation to him as limiting factors. It followed that Chatham and Bute were often in agreement, and Herr von Ruville makes much of the fact that when Bute retired in 1763 the new Ministers made the King more hostile to Chatham, and he contrasts the Rockinghams' behaviour to Bute and his friends with Chatham's praise of Bute in the House of Commons in March, 1761.

Up to this point Herr von Ruville's account does not differ from that of most historians, except that he is far more friendly to the King and to Bute than any Whig historian could be, and that he is less alive to the strength of the Whig case against the Court than any English historian could be. But he goes on to attribute Chatham's conduct in detail throughout to one of two passions: the passion for power and the passion for money. Thus Chatham retired in 1761 because he thought his successors would make a bad peace and thereby make him popular. His objections to a corrupt Parliament, governed by a king or by a group of nobles, arose not from the dislike of corruption but from its effect in destroying the influence that his oratory gave him. His zeal for Parliamentary reform was strictly limited to a consideration of the sort of Parliament in which he would be strong. He did not want serious Parliamentary reform, or an enlarged electorate, or a popular press, because all of these things might threaten his power. He wanted the

King's right to choose his Ministers to remain intact, because he thought the King would choose him, and he only approached the oligarchy when he thought the King's power was become so great as to be a danger to his ambitions. In all this Herr von Ruville seems to us to err as much on one side as Mr. Harrison errs on another in representing Chatham as a far more convinced and thorough reformer than Charles Fox.

But this part of Herr von Ruville's analysis is at any rate more plausible than his extraordinary use of his second explanation. Chatham's legacies seem to obsess his mind. He explains Chatham's strange conduct from his retirement in 1761 to 1765 as due to a dread of offending the King, who, he hoped, would restore him to power, or Sir William Pynsent, who, he thought, would leave him a legacy. As Chatham had never seen Pynsent, the legacy has generally been regarded as an unexpected tribute to his public services, but Herr von Ruville is convinced that Chatham knew of it beforehand, and that the reason he disliked Wilkes was that Pynsent had sometimes thought of making him his heir instead. Chatham, in fact, was trying to preserve an uneasy equilibrium, expecting favours at once from the Court and from an old politician who admired him for his disinterested resistance to the Court, a difficult pose which Chatham could only maintain by means of periods of silence and inaction. Pynsent's death in 1765 relieved Chatham from the intolerable strain, and he could openly return to his old idea of destroying all parties. This use, though it is the most fantastic, is not the only use that Herr von Ruville makes of his discovery that Chatham was governed by avarice.

Before he died Chatham knew himself beaten, and he knew the cause. In the last days the breach with the Rockinghams was healed. The events of 1765-6 had left wounds on both sides. It is significant that Chatham, speaking to Grafton in 1767, said that if a junction was necessary it would be better to choose the Bedfords than the Rockinghams, though the Bedfords were the most violent opponents of the American claims. The same year, when there were negotiations going on between various sections, and Bedford and Rockingham met, it was noticed that 'Rockingham was more against Lord Chatham than any other.' But in 1770 the breach was healed. The Duke of Portland wrote to Rockingham on December 3, 1767, an account of a conversation Chatham had had with somebody whose name he does not give :

‘He says that he united body and soul with Lord Rockingham and Sir George Savile *in their measures* (meaning, I suppose, the Middlesex election); that he thinks Sir George the most virtuous character in this country, and bows to his *constitutional and private integrity*; that he will go hand in hand with Lord Rockingham and his friends, who are, and have proved themselves to be, the only true Whigs in this country. “*Former little differences must be forgotten when the contest is pro aris et focis.*”’*’

In a speech he made on January 22, 1770, seconding a motion of Rockingham’s, he announced a union which, if it had come five years earlier, would have saved the country from some of its worst calamities :

‘My lords, besides my warm approbation of the motion made by the noble lord, I have a natural and personal pleasure in rising up to second it. I consider my seconding his lordship’s motion, and I would wish it to be considered by others, as a public demonstration of that cordial union which, I am happy to affirm, subsists between us—of my attachment to those principles which he has so well defended, and of my respect for his person. There has been a time, my lords, when those who wished well to neither of us, who wished to see us separated for ever, found a sufficient gratification for their malignity against us both. But that time is happily at an end. The friends of this country will, I doubt not, hear with pleasure that the noble lord and his friends are now united with me and mine, upon a principle which, I trust, will make our union indissoluble. It is not to possess, or divide, the emoluments of government; but, if possible, to save the State. Upon this ground we met, upon this ground we stand, firm and inseparable. No ministerial artifices, no private offers, no secret seduction, can divide us. United as we are, we can set the profoundest policy of the present ministry, their grand, their only arcanum of government, their *divide et impera*, at defiance.’

Chatham from this time adopted that fierce tone, in speaking of the Crown and its powers, which George III. often heard from his greatest subjects. He had learnt by this time that all the fine phrases and formulas about confounding and dissolving parties had been the disguise of the King’s ambitions. Misled by this illusion, he had made war on the only set of men who had a definite public ground for uniting against the prerogatives of the Crown, and objects ampler and more respectable than the prizes or the pillage of governments.

In his first essay on Chatham’s career Macaulay talks of his melancholy yet not inglorious close. Chatham died amidst disasters not less terrible than those that surrounded the death of his son. The forces that he dreaded

* Albemarle, ii. 143.

were stronger than ever. Unreason, anarchy, and passion were at the helm. There was as much hope that the schism in the Empire would be ended by the wisdom of an infatuated king and his obedient ministers as there had been that the great schism in the Church would be ended by the famous combination of the mad King, Charles VI., and the drunken Wenzel, King of the Romans. But the close of Chatham's career, however melancholy, was very far from inglorious. It was ennobled not only by the dramatic scene of his last speech in the Lords, but by seven years' brave and devoted championship of the great causes that his mistakes had injured. Before he died there had grown up and developed a party alive, if not yet adequate, to the necessities of the nation. It was weakened by the caution of Burke, and the respectable fears and prejudices of amiable mediocrities like Portland. Yet it had in it the spirit which was the secret of Chatham's power, and it was soon to be led and transformed by a Liberal with sympathies as wide and democratic as those of Chatham himself.

Chatham was a democrat. Rockingham and Burke had a superstitious faith in government by the Revolution families. During the days of their alliance, Chatham's was always the vigorous, incisive policy; Burke preferred moderate courses, and a reverent eye for custom and chartered privilege. The great characteristics of Chatham's politics were, first a real belief in the rights and power of the nation as against Crown or aristocracy; secondly, a stern refusal to put the interests or the pride of any class or set of men above what he conceived to be justice. He had not, like the Rockinghams, a consistent philosophy; he attacked each problem as it arose, with a savage zeal and integrity of mind and purpose. He defended against Burke the right of the British Parliament to control the excesses of the India Company. He defended against Rockingham the right of the Irish Parliament to tax its absentee landlords. He supported parliamentary reform: indeed he became a convert to triennial Parliaments, and more than any of his contemporaries he hoped and helped to acclimatise the idea of popular rule. His mad noisy City friends, as Newcastle called them, were often rhetoricians, but at least they reminded the Bedfords and the Portlands that government could not always remain the subject of bargains and diplomacy between one great house and another. The ardour and courage with which he had directed and inspired the conquering fleets and armies of his country was not greater

than the ardour with which he resisted his country's follies and the courage with which he blamed her crimes.

With Chatham there died the last hope of preventing the dissolution of the Empire ; but those days of beaten resistance to tyranny had left traditions and inheritances as lasting as the legacies of his days of victorious power. His splendid patrimony was divided. The Rockinghams accepted and developed his policy of just dealing with India and Ireland. His son inherited his care for scrupulous honour in public offices. Even mistakes of which he had repented were repeated by his disciple Shelburne, whose services to the King were to find no greater gratitude than those of his master. His generous and democratic sympathies were resumed by Fox. Leslie Stephen said of Swift that the prejudices from which he freed himself were chiefly the prejudices of other people. Fox freed himself from the prejudices of the Rockinghams the more easily because they had never been his own. He applied throughout his life Burke's central principle of a Government formed to control the King, but he supplemented it with Chatham's doctrine of a people able to control Parliament. When the last of these men died the King was still in power, arresting all the liberal and enlightened influences of his time. Chatham might at one time have disarmed him. It must be counted a noble compensation for that disastrous failure that, after his disabling humours and vanities were forgotten, the echoes of his defiant eloquence remained, and in the coming tribulations of English freedom men were found who had not unlearned the lessons of his splendid anger.

ART. XI.—THE COUNTRY AND THE GOVERNMENT.

Speech of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M.P., at the Albert Hall. Times, July 8, 1905.

IN June 1885, when Mr. Gladstone's Government was defeated on the Spirit Duties, few men would have predicted that during the succeeding twenty years, with but two short breaks, his political opponents would remain in power. True, in several respects, Mr. Gladstone's Administration had been very unfortunate; but his personality still towered high above his rivals. The Opposition in the House of Commons was singularly weak and ineffective; and for the time being its leaders suffered from the hardly disguised distrust and dislike manifested towards them by the bellicose young Tories below the gangway. The arts of deliberate obstruction had been brought to a high pitch by the members of the so-called 'Fourth Party'; and Sir Stafford Northcote's disposition to check the recklessness of Opposition out of respect to the dignities of the House and the higher interests of the country received little consideration at their hands. If these were the coming men of the Conservative Party in 1885, where was the country to look for that sense of responsibility which it expects from the statesmen who are to govern it? The majority on the Spirit Duties was obtained by the alliance with the Conservatives of Irish Nationalists exasperated by the measures which Mr. Gladstone was taking to enforce law and order in Ireland and to destroy the tyranny of the Land League. The alliance had been skilfully engineered by Lord Randolph Churchill, and the remarkable scene within the House, when the numbers of the fatal division were announced at the table, showed clearly enough to whom the victory of the moment really belonged. What hope was there for a party which would bid so high for a triumph evidently destined to prove as short-lived as it was discreditable?

So, many men on both sides, and the great majority of those who belonged to the Liberal Party, reasoned, and reasoned wrongly, in 1885. They saw the strained relations, perhaps even the personal jealousies and animosities, that existed amongst those who sat on the Speaker's left hand. They failed to recognize the wide differences (kept as long as possible and as much as possible below the surface) that prevailed within their own party. Very well grounded suspicion was general at the time that the

defeat in June was partly due to a calculation that the fall of the Liberal Administration on the Spirit Duties was the best method of avoiding a complete and open rupture in the Liberal Party on deeper issues. Liberals did not and could not, at that time, foresee that Mr. Gladstone would take a new departure in Irish policy which would draw a fresh division between political parties. But the greatest mistake of Ministerial prophets twenty years ago was the assumption that a reckless and irresponsible Opposition, when it accedes to power, will be reckless and irresponsible still. Orthodox Ministerialists, especially if they have been long in power, always genuinely believe that a general overturn must accompany their own fall. It is impossible in their eyes that the country should be well governed by other men. The longer an Opposition is out of office the less responsible its language and action tend to become. It is no doubt very unsatisfactory, to men of judicial temperament, that partisans on the one side and the other should not think and speak with greater calmness. But the country thoroughly understands it all, and discounts the language of politicians in Parliament, on the platform, and in the press, paying due regard to the position of the politicians who address them. The electorate does not for a moment question Mr. Balfour's sincerity in holding that his Administration alone stands between them and national disaster. But being essentially and for the most part intelligent and experienced men, electors take their own view of the situation, intend that the country shall be rationally governed, whoever is in office, and regard no statesman, not even Mr. Balfour, as absolutely essential to that end.

The Prime Minister indeed would at the present time carry far greater weight with the country if he would remember that it is not only his own partisans whom he addresses, and upon whom the prolongation of his power depends. In the recent discussions on the alleged scandals in connection with the sales of stores in South Africa, Mr. Balfour urged, with much party hardihood, that even had the Administration served the country badly and made serious errors, it was perfectly certain that his political opponents, had they been in office, would have done much worse! An observation of this kind always draws hearty cheers from his own benches. But how flat and foolish language of the sort sounds to the ordinary citizen! Of course, if we believe that all patriotism, all political wisdom, and all administrative skill are the monopoly of Mr. Balfour and his friends in

office, there is no more to be said. But this is precisely what the country, irrespective of party, does *not* believe; and the Prime Minister should be on his guard against manifesting a complacency of attitude in circumstances which the generality of the public cannot but regard as proving deplorable mismanagement of the national business.

When Mr. Chamberlain, with much encouragement from the Prime Minister, embarked on his Fiscal Crusade, a deep division amongst Unionists was inevitable. Mr. Balfour entirely failed to measure the importance of what had happened. Mr. Chamberlain cannot be accused of any want of explicitness in the policy which from the beginning he has urged upon the country. Free Trade was ruinous to British labour. Free imports were causing us to lose ground to Protectionist rivals. Corn and other articles of food reaching our shores from foreign lands must be taxed. Duties must be put on imported manufactures to give our home producers a chance. The Colonies would fall away from us if, instead of giving them a preference, we persisted in keeping British markets open freely to the whole world. The commercial and industrial condition was so alarming that an immediate remedy must be found. The case was one of the greatest urgency. There was no time for the delay of a Royal Commission. Complete cure of all our ills was at hand, if we would only rid ourselves of 'Cobdenism,' and imitate the commercial systems of the United States, of Germany, and of Russia. To induce the country to enter upon this Fiscal Revolution, all the old fallacies of Protectionism, all the exploded fiscal doctrines of past generations, have been paraded before us, as if they were the discoveries of an enlightened age. Protection would restore a prosperous peasantry to our deserted fields. It would heighten wages. It would increase the employment of labour, and render the demand for labour constant. It would ensure the British manufacturers the command of British markets. It would enable them to triumph over foreign rivals in the neutral markets of the world. All this we were offered if we would follow the guidance of Mr. Chamberlain.

To us it seems that not theory only, but the past and present experience of our own and other countries, show the disastrous folly of the policy Mr. Chamberlain wishes to revive. We do not, however, wish to reargue the great controversy of Free Trade *versus* Protection; but we would point out that the Protectionist leader has as yet apparently made no way whatever with the electorate, and has not obtained

in his campaign the assistance of any English statesman of high standing. He has succeeded in evading the discussion on the merits of his policy in the House of Commons. On the other hand, he has achieved considerable success with electoral organizations, and he has been widely supported by the newspaper press. In short, he has gone far to identify the Conservative Party with his policy, and in so doing has brought about results little less than disastrous to the influence of that party in the country. Such changes in the balance of power are never fully realized at first by the public. For the most part politicians are party men whose wishes colour their beliefs. A Government has always great influence with those who interpret public opinion. In their eyes criticism of the Administration *never* means more than an impatient desire of political opponents to enter upon office. Their public meetings are always declared to be 'enthusiastic.' Till rupture has actually occurred, differences of opinion, however deep, between members of the same Administration, or within the party ranks, are officially and vigorously denied. Party caucuses send to headquarters the most loyal promises of the heartiest support. Bye-elections are said to offer no indication of the general feeling of the country, though from one end of it to the other they seem to tell the same tale of no confidence in the Government. And so men are persuaded to dwell in a veritable fool's paradise till comes the grand crash of a general election, and a great party falls—possibly for a generation.

In 1886 Mr. Gladstone carried with him the great majority of his party; but, though he little knew it at the time, he had lost for ever the support of a majority of British constituencies. The cause on which he had embarked was declared to be the great end and object of the Liberal Party. But the country would have none of it, even when it was brought forward by a statesman it revered, and made the first plank in the policy of a party which had hardly yet known defeat to any of the great causes it had espoused. And why? Because Home Rule—the system of governing the United Kingdom by the instrumentality of two national Parliaments—was in flagrant opposition, not merely to political feeling in Great Britain, but to the existing conditions of the country and the age. As a working system it was hopelessly out of date; but not more so than would be the revival of Protection—the adoption of the commercial and industrial systems of our own past, and of the United

States and Germany of to-day by the industrial and commercial England of the twentieth century. There is but one fate for a party blind to the conditions of the country and the time. Should the Conservative Party adopt as its own the policy of Mr. Chamberlain—the policy hitherto known at home, in the United States, and in our Colonies, as the policy of Protection—its ruin is certain; and at last, after nearly two years of controversy, the Prime Minister is beginning fully to recognize the danger, for which it must be confessed he is himself very largely responsible. The Unionist Party and the country have indeed just reason to be dissatisfied with the shrinking, timid attitude of too many Unionist statesmen in the face of a great peril. Mr. Balfour and Lord Lansdowne have either been in agreement with Mr. Chamberlain or they have not. Many of their friends urge to-day that they look upon his policy as a whole with the strongest disapproval. Yet the former allows himself, without public remonstrance, to be made use of by Mr. Chamberlain and the Tariff Reform League to promote their policy, and the latter approves the reconstitution of the Liberal Unionist Association and takes a chief place in its management, though it is known to him and to all men that that Association has been reconstructed for the express purpose, which it is now fulfilling, of providing to the hand of Mr. Chamberlain an instrument to promote Tariff Reform—a policy in very little favour, be it said, with Liberal Unionists as such outside the Birmingham area. Never was a political association constructed for one purpose more cynically converted to another. It would have been more frank and honest to have changed the name as well as the object of that organization. The country, however, understands all this perfectly. When the Duke of Devonshire left the Liberal Unionist Association, which he had been mainly instrumental in founding, and Mr. Chamberlain took his place, Liberal Unionists who accepted the change in *personnel* were of course ready to accept the changes in political object, and they have naturally continued to give active or tacit support to the Chamberlain policy.

Mr. Balfour's action during the last two troubled years is regarded by some of those who assert their own disapproval of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, as establishing the far-sighted prudence of his statesmanship. From the beginning, it is asserted, the Prime Minister disbelieved in the policy of the 'crusade.' Time alone was wanted to expose the fallacies of the Tariff Reformers and to

disclose the difficulties in the way of adopting their projects. He saw, we are told, from the first that his late colleague had not thought his subject out. Public discussion would bring to him enlightenment; and the people would soon learn that, though here and there some commercial benefit might be obtained by means of negotiation with foreign Powers, any general revolution of our fiscal system was out of the question. These 'Fabian' tactics had saved the State from the Hannibal of Tariff Reform. It would have been madness to risk a pitched battle with his opponent. To wear him down and to harass his forces was a wiser strategy. 'Once again in history,' says Mr. Wilfrid Ward, 'a single man has restored the fortunes of the republic, and has done so by a policy of delay. *Cunctando restituit rem.*'*

Can any one feel sure that Mr. Ward's elaborate diagnosis accurately discloses Mr. Balfour's state of mind on the fiscal question either at the commencement of 'the crusade' or to-day? To us it would seem that the British public was left at a difficult moment entirely without definite leadership by the Prime Minister. More than that, his conduct was such as to cheer Mr. Chamberlain on the path which he had chosen. The two statesmen might differ as to tactics, but their objects we were told by Mr. Chamberlain, and allowed to believe by Mr. Balfour, were the same. Mr. Balfour's speeches, and even more the action taken on his behalf in the constituencies, and by his party organs in the press, showed a working alliance between 'Fabius' and 'Hannibal' for a common purpose. That they were in truth fighting against each other is a discovery perhaps due to the altered conditions of a later day. How Mr. Balfour would *like* to have acted may possibly be discerned in his behaviour with regard to the Wharton amendment and on one or two other occasions. That, and how he might *like* to act to-day, are doubtless topics upon which subtle minds may wish to dwell. Mr. Ward's elaborate analysis of the character, mind, and disposition of the Prime Minister is a very interesting study, and in itself is excellent reading. How he *did* act, and how he *is* acting, are questions of prosaic fact, and are really beyond dispute. His conduct has, as a matter of fact, enabled Mr. Chamberlain to

* See an able and ingenious article by Mr. Wilfrid Ward in the 'Nineteenth Century' for June, 1905, entitled 'A Political Fabius Maximus.'

win the support of a very large part of the Conservative Party. In the early summer of 1903, a few firm words from Mr. Balfour would have saved the situation. There need have been no breach in the party if the Prime Minister really held the Free Trade opinions which many of his friends now declare that he then held and still holds. If he thought Mr. Chamberlain's policy impracticable, should he not have given some sort of warning to the people? There were happily other statesmen who felt it was their duty to speak out, and they have spoken not in vain. The clearer and better informed mind with which the public, after a prolonged controversy, now contemplates the fiscal problem is a matter of rejoicing; but what share has the Prime Minister had in bringing this about? To-day it is the simple truth that a large amount of the parliamentary support which keeps the Prime Minister in power is due to the belief that he is in substance agreed with Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal proposals; whilst, on the other hand, an equally necessary support is continued to him on the ground that he is entirely opposed to Mr. Chamberlain's projects. Such an attitude with regard to the most momentous question of the day is hardly worthy of the Prime Minister. That his policy should be a parliamentary puzzle may in the play of parties in the House of Commons operate so as to prolong for a few months the existence of his Administration; but it is at the cost of the untold weakening of his party in the country. How can there be zeal, how can there be unity where there is not even the semblance of conviction? Mr. Chamberlain is at least in earnest. He really believes that the country is going to be ruined by 'free imports,' and that the Empire is about to break up because we will not subsidize certain great colonies to deal in our markets whilst they heavily tax our entrance into theirs! Mr. Balfour very likely may himself disbelieve all this; but he allows Mr. Chamberlain to claim him as a political ally who is working for the same great end.

It would be unjust not to recognize the enormous difficulties in which the Tariff Reform leader has from the beginning plunged the Prime Minister and his followers. Everyone knows the high-mindedness and patriotic motives of the Conservative leader; and no one supposes that he is actuated by a mere selfish desire to cling to office. Any course which he might have taken was full of danger; but would not the boldest have also been the safest, and, in the long run, the best even for the Conservative Party?

The statesmanship of delay so loudly praised in some quarters has exposed Mr. Balfour to much misconstruction. Has his policy really been elaborate strategy to rid himself and the country of the Tariff Reform League and its projects? Has it been merely the policy of drift—of evading the risks which decision on his part would have entailed? Has it been due to his deep sympathy with the main objects of Mr. Chamberlain? Opposite interpretations of it are given; and Mr. Balfour only has authority to give us the true one. It is certain that Mr. Chamberlain has not abated by a single jot his projects of Tariff Reform, whilst his assurances that his policy and the Prime Minister's are identical are reiterated on every occasion.

Whatever may have been the real object of Mr. Balfour's statesmanship, a mighty change has been effected in the character of the Conservative Party. Whether or not the policy of Tariff Reform is officially adopted as part of the Conservative creed, Mr. Chamberlain has succeeded in imbuing a large and powerful section of the party with Protectionist principles. On all fiscal subjects the centre of gravity of the party has been changed. It is true there have always been Protectionists within its bounds. Mr. Chaplin represented undoubtedly the opinions of not a few farmers, and Sir Howard Vincent that of a certain number of manufacturers and working men who feared the competition of the foreigner. When the alliance between Conservative and Liberal Unionists was still young, Lord Hartington specially pointed to Protection as one of the dangers against which his followers would have to safeguard the Unionist Party. But the statesmen to whom Conservatives looked for guidance were then firm believers in Free Trade, and Protectionists seemed so few and so insignificant that fears of their ever gaining a predominance in the counsels of the party were dismissed. Now that Lord Salisbury is no more, and that Mr. Chamberlain's efforts with electoral organizations have been so successful, the public have to reckon with a Conservatism which is largely, if not yet officially, Protectionist. This renders the position of Free Traders within the ranks of the party a difficult one. How long they can continue there depends, of course, upon the action which the Conservative leader will ultimately take. It is quite certain that Free Traders will not find an abiding resting-place in the midst of an actively Protectionist Party.

Deep as has been the general dissatisfaction with the fiscal attitude of the Ministry, there are many other matters

that have of late claimed public attention, in regard to which the Administration has failed to win the increased confidence of the people. The Ministry and the House of Commons alike stand towards the country in a false position. We pointed out six months ago the great undesirability of prolonging the existence of the present House of Commons. The record of the current Session confirms us in regretting the determination of the Prime Minister to postpone as long as possible the appeal to the people. The matter cannot be looked at solely from the point of view of a ministry and party who feel sure that a dissolution will drive them from power. But even from that rather narrow standpoint it may well be doubted whether the retention of office, in spite of public sentiment, does not serve to accumulate upon a ministry which has outstayed its welcome, an amount of popular dislike which ultimately will have disastrous consequences for the party. An administration which has become thoroughly unpopular need not expect to be fairly judged. Every mistake will be magnified, every action will be harshly interpreted, the importance of every failure will be exaggerated. Few Governments have been more unpopular than was Mr. Gladstone's great Administration of 1868, in the last year of its existence. And no Government of modern times, be it said, deserved better of the country. The unfavourable character of the bye-elections, Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Queen in January 1874, was placing the Government in a thoroughly false position. Had he kept alive that House of Commons for another year, can anyone suppose it would have bettered the ultimate position of himself and his party? The Prime Minister, then as always sanguine, anticipated a victory at the polls; but the bye-elections had told the truth, and probably Mr. Gladstone never regretted that the crash, which was bound to come, came at once.

It seems a truism to say that the authority of the House of Commons depends upon its representative character. If from a complete change of circumstances since the General Election, or from a change almost as complete in the *personnel* of a Cabinet, or from both causes combined, the relation of a Ministry to the people is no longer what it was, the support rendered to it by such party majority as still survives a prolonged course of bye-elections cannot give it real strength. We must look beyond the letter to the spirit of the Constitution. No House of Commons can possibly work well, and satisfy the expectations of the people, when Ministers,

members, and the public are all aware that the majority has lost its representative character. Whether this has happened or not, it is one of the functions of the Prime Minister to decide. We have seen the advice which Mr. Gladstone gave to Queen Victoria. No one would of course contend that three or four bye-elections, or some passing phase of public opinion, ought always to be made the ground of a dissolution; but if there is a steady, clear, and persistent antagonism of the popular will to the Ministry of the day, surely a constitutional Prime Minister should recognize that he stands 'in a false position,' and should advise the Crown to have recourse to the people, even though the Septennial Act may still have a year or two to run!

In matter of legislation the present Session is likely to prove the most barren of recent years. There is perhaps little reason to deplore the absence of showy measures from the Ministerial programme. But several useful and much wanted bills were laid before Parliament. And these will have to be sacrificed. The Aliens Bill, from which some of the objectionable features of last year's measure have been removed, will doubtless become law, by means of the employment—the necessary employment it may be—of the modern drastic procedure known as the guillotine. Gigantic estimates, administrative mismanagement, repeated votes of censure, the evasion of debate on the fiscal policy of Mr. Chamberlain, which so deeply occupies the mind of the public, are the principal characteristics of the Session. Many Departments have been on their defence. The War Office, the Irish Office, the India Office, the Colonial Office, have all had their troubles, which have provided ample material for parliamentary and public criticism. Neither administratively nor legislatively can the Government look with pride upon the work of the Session. And at the very end of it we are promised the opening act of a great redistribution drama, which will not end till the parliamentary representation of the three kingdoms has been recast.

The period immediately preceding a General Election is always rather trying to the credit of a Ministry and a House of Commons. Measures are at such a time too apt to be regarded solely from the electioneering standpoint. And for a long time past the present Government and Parliament have been working with the fear of an early dissolution before their eyes. It would be difficult to justify the dropping of a practical and useful measure like the Scotch

Education Bill, in order to make room for Resolutions bearing on the Redistribution of Seats—a reform which it is highly improbable that the existing Parliament will accomplish. It is doubtless thought to be of advantage to the party that there should be much parliamentary talk about redistribution. It may call away the attention of electors from more dangerous subjects. Let, then, the education of Scotland take its chance!

Mr. Chamberlain, in a vigorous speech at the Albert Hall,* has stated some indisputable truths which the leader of the Conservative Party would do well to mark. The fiscal question, he says in effect, is the only one about which the country deeply cares; and from his policy he will not go back one step till all the essential attributes of it have been successfully accomplished. It is nonsense to pretend that the late Secretary for the Colonies speaks only as a private individual. He has placed himself at the head of a great political league—its branches spread throughout the country—which rivals in authority and power the official organizations of the Conservative Party. At the Albert Hall he was speaking to, and expressing the sentiments of, a gathering representative of a very large portion of that Party. True, Mr. Chamberlain declares that he would wish his propaganda to have nothing to do with party politics; but what can he do, he asks, if benighted Liberals persist in believing in Free Trade? Just as it may be remembered, in the early days of 1886, Mr. Gladstone was surprised and distressed that Conservatives would take no step to assist him towards Home Rule! Mr. Chamberlain rightly claims that he has quite consistently adhered in principle and detail to the policy with which he began his crusade. There has been no shadow of retreat on his part. What is new is the much greater authority with which he now finds himself able to speak on behalf of the Conservative Party. It is not so much to-day ‘my policy,’ but the policy of all true Unionists, and of all who are not ‘Little Englanders,’ that he lays before the country. For Mr. Balfour’s ambiguous utterances, the leader of Tariff Reform has little respect. ‘Retaliation is an excellent text, so is ‘Mesopotamia.’ In Mr. Chamberlain’s understanding of the word it means the imposition of a general tariff, under which foreign imports are to be taxed, a large revenue raised, and money provided in order amongst other things

* Times, July 8, 1905.

greatly to diminish the rates on land. 'This general tariff 'may be turned at a moment into a penal tariff in the case 'of those nations who will not meet us on equal terms.' That is to say, import duties are to be put up and down at the will of the Executive, and that Parliament is to be asked to abandon its control over the taxes! Certainly 'retaliation' in this sense means a good deal more than a little threatening or negotiation here and there with the object of opening more freely than ever foreign as well as our own markets to the competition of the whole world. It is not as a step to freer trade that Mr. Chamberlain accepts 'retaliation.'

The Albert Hall meeting marks another stage in Mr. Chamberlain's progress. Mr. Balfour may or may not approve of Mr. Chamberlain's policy. Some day perhaps he will speak out on this point for himself. In the meantime that policy is rapturously accepted by great meetings of the Conservative Party, by almost the whole Conservative press, by very large numbers of life-long Conservatives in the two Houses of Parliament. For all of these Tariff Reform is the great question of the day and Mr. Chamberlain is their leader. It is well to recognize facts. The Government could not survive for a day, were Mr. Chamberlain to withdraw from it the support of his followers inside and outside the Ministry. He will choose his own time, doubtless, to raise his own standard. He has succeeded in casting behind him much of the enlightened Conservatism of recent times. If Mr. Balfour will not go with him, he will go on without Mr. Balfour, feeling confident, as well he may, that the latter will not venture to oppose him. What is immediately before us is the virtual reconstruction of the Conservative Party on a new basis. For the achievement of this result, Mr. Balfour's so-called Fabian policy, which we have suggested has been little more than a policy of drift, has played into the hands of Mr. Chamberlain. Tariff Reform is to be the main plank in the platform of the new Conservative Party. So be it! But what will the country say? In winning Conservatives to the support of his policy Mr. Chamberlain has done much; but his success has entailed on Conservatism the loss of the country. As Mr. Chamberlain has made way with Conservatism, so has Conservatism lost ground with the constituencies. All the signs point to a crushing defeat of the great party which has guided the country, on the whole well, for the greater portion of the last twenty years. The Unionist Party pre-

vailed because its leaders respected the essential conditions of their age, and refused to return to a constitutional system which circumstances had rendered entirely out of date. Mr. Chamberlain has gone far to make Conservatism impossible by uniting it with a fiscal policy unsuited to our country and time, and heartily disliked by the great majority of the people.

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N^o. CCCCXIV.

ART. I.—LORD GRANVILLE.

1. *The Life of Granville George Leveson-Gower, second Earl Granville, 1815–1891.* By LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE. With Portraits. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1905.
2. *Bygone Years.* Recollections by the Hon. F. LEVESON-GOWER. With a Portrait. London: John Murray, 1905.

IT is seldom that two books are published, almost simultaneously, relating to two brothers, and furnishing so many points of comparison and contrast as those whose titles we have placed at the head of this article. The first, the life of the elder brother, is the elaborate record of a man who led the House of Lords for an unusually long period and who filled, with distinction, some of the highest offices of State. The other contains the genial recollections of a younger brother, who, at the close of an exceptionally long life, during which he has known almost everyone worth knowing, has given us his reminiscences of the men and women with whom he has mingled. In every page of Mr. Leveson-Gower's book we see the same love of the best society, the same appreciation of anecdote, the same kindness and courtesy, the same liberal opinions which characterised Lord Granville. Yet, in other respects, there is a wide difference between the two brothers. Lord Granville was attached to his father's mission at Paris before he left Oxford; he entered Parliament almost as soon as he was of age; * he

* Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice says in the last year of the first Parliament elected under the Reform Act. But this is an obvious mistake. The first Parliament elected under the Reform Act met

was introduced to important office a year or two later; and for the next fifty years, when his friends were in power—and the days of Lord Granville were days of Liberal rule—he was almost continuously employed. His younger brother, on the contrary, though he served in Parliament, and was twice offered high office, has lived a life of cultured leisure. His sensitive diffident nature has shrunk from the responsibilities attaching to power; and he has given to society and friends the qualities which Lord Granville gave to country and party. Thus, while Mr. Leveson-Gower's book is a delightful record of society abroad and at home, Lord Edmond's pages contain matter of importance for the historian. We can commend Mr. Leveson-Gower's reminiscences to all classes of our readers; but we turn to Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's volumes as a better subject for an article.

It must not, indeed, be inferred that Lord Edmond's pages do not contain much that will interest the general reader. Lord Granville had a happy knack of describing in a few sentences the character of a colleague or of an agent, and of preserving some humorous anecdote. Here is his opinion, written during the Crimean War, of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe:

'We have an ambassador at Constantinople, an able man, a cat whom no one cares to bell, whom some think a principal cause of the war, others the cause of some of the calamities which have attended the conduct of the war, and whom we know to have thwarted or neglected the orders of the Government.'

Against this severe judgment we may set his good-humoured account of Lord Palmerston's conversation with Lady Theresa Lewis on her husband's appointment to the War Office:

'G. Lewis does not much object, but his family and the public think he is a square man in a round hole. Pam argued the matter with Lady Theresa. He said his business would be chiefly civil. "He would have to look after the accounts." "He never can make up his own." "He will look after the commissariat." "He cannot order his own dinner." "He will control the Clothing Department." "If my daughters did not give the orders to his tailor he would be without a coat."'

Or we may match the foregoing with Lady Palmerston's account of the nurses in the Crimea:

'Lady Pam thinks the Nightingale Fund great humbug. The nurses are very good now; perhaps they do drink a little, but so do the ladies' monthly nurses, and nothing can be better than them;

in 1833 and was dissolved at the end of 1834. The second Parliament met in 1835. Lord Granville was returned for Morpeth at a by-election in 1836.

poor people, it must be so tiresome sitting up all night, and if they do drink a little too much, they are turned away and others got.'

Those who knew Lord Kimberley will delight in the following anecdote of him as Lord Wodehouse at Moscow :

'Gortschakoff has been very ill. The Russians pretend that he and Wodehouse talk each other into a fever. But, if it is so, Wodehouse looks all the better for it ; while the Prince is obliged to take to his bed.'

Lord Granville's character and career have always struck us as well worthy of analysis. The places which he held, the still higher place which he was twice invited to hold, the consummate tact which enabled him to lead a minority in the Lords over and over again to victory, the critical times in which he lived, the great services which he rendered—all these things rise up and bear witness to his capacity. His charm of manner, his loyalty to his friends, his readiness to sacrifice himself to others, proclaim his delightful and disinterested character. Yet we have sometimes thought that, notwithstanding the eminence he attained, and the services which he rendered, he just missed achieving greatness. His nature was hardly stern enough or hard enough for the troublous times in which his lot was cast ; the iron hand no doubt lay beneath the velvet glove, but the velvet in his case was so thick that it paralysed the grip of the iron.

He began life with many advantages. The son of the first Earl Granville, successively Minister at Brussels and Ambassador at Paris, the grandson of the first Marquis of Stafford, who, as Lord Gower, had filled many high offices in the eighteenth century, the nephew, on his mother's side, of the Duke of Devonshire, he was born in the purple. His close connection with some of the great ruling families, and the ample means to which his father had succeeded, made his entrance into political life easy, and he became member for Morpeth at a time when most men would have been still at college. In 1840 he was appointed Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, where he mentions that 'the clerks detest [Lord Palmerston] and have an absurd 'sort of fancy that he takes pleasure in bullying them.' He left office on the fall of Lord Melbourne's Government. But on the return of the Whigs to power in 1846 he was given the somewhat strange appointment of Master of the Buckhounds. Lord Maryborough, when he had received the same post a quarter of a century before, complained that he had been 'sent 'to the dogs.' Lord Granville, comforted by Lord Lansdowne's dictum that he had never known it go against a man's political

career to have something to give up, dissembled his disappointment and accepted the Mastership. The wisdom of Lord Lansdowne's advice was soon evident. In 1847 Lord Granville became Paymaster-General, in 1848 Vice-President of the Board of Trade, in 1851—on Lord Palmerston's removal from office—Foreign Minister. In history Lord Granville will be remembered mainly on account of his services in the Foreign Office. Yet, on his first appointment to it, he only held it for a few weeks, and he did not return to it for more than nineteen years.

In these nineteen years, indeed, Lord Granville had been constantly in office. But the places which he held had been chosen with less regard for his own wishes than for the requirements of his colleagues. Thus, in the Aberdeen Administration he surrendered the Presidency of the Council, to which he had been appointed, to Lord John Russell, and took in its place the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the first of Lord Palmerston's Ministries he was again made President of the Council, and on the formation of Lord Palmerston's second Ministry in 1859 he was content to return to this position. In Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry of 1868 Lord Granville was sent to the Colonial Office, and it was only on Lord Clarendon's death in 1870 that he returned in an anxious hour to the Foreign Office. He held the Foreign Office during Mr. Gladstone's second Administration of 1880. But on the formation of his third Government Lord Granville gave way to Lord Rosebery and returned to his work at the Colonial Office. Thus, throughout his long official career, it is not too much to say that Lord Granville, with the easy good-nature which distinguished him, was content to accept the arrangements which were most convenient to his colleagues, instead of insisting on those which were most agreeable to himself.

The man, who was uniformly actuated by this spirit of self-sacrifice, occupied, it should be recollected, a unique position. From the formation of Lord Palmerston's Ministry in 1855—with one brief interval—he led the Liberal party in the House of Lords. In 1859, and again in 1880, in conjunction with Lord Hartington, the task of forming an Administration was entrusted to him. Other honours, which were showered on him both by his colleagues and other bodies, showed the estimation in which he was almost universally held. He received the Garter in 1857; he succeeded Lord Palmerston as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1865; he was even entrusted temporarily with the Great Seal on Lord Campbell's death in 1861; he was made Chancellor of the University of London in 1856; and he received an honorary degree at his old university (Oxford) in 1865. The

esteem with which he was universally regarded extended to his political opponents. And Mr. Disraeli actually proposed to Lord Granville in 1868, through a common friend, that he should join his Ministry, and eventually lead the Conservative party in the House of Lords!

In relating the story of a life whose leading incidents we have thus briefly set out, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice has brought exceptional qualifications to his task. By his biography of Lord Shelburne, published some thirty years ago, he has already proved himself a skilful and competent historian. As he served under Lord Granville at the Foreign Office during the Ministry of 1880, he has special and exceptional knowledge of affairs with which Lord Granville was closely associated. Thus Lord Granville could have hardly fallen into the hands of a more capable or honest biographer. We are disposed, indeed, occasionally to wish that Lord Edmond were a little less earnest. For a man like Lord Granville, whose touch was as happy as his sense of humour was keen, would perhaps have been more truly represented in a briefer sketch and a lighter style. We think, too, that Lord Edmond occasionally overlooks that quality of proportion which is the first essential in any work of art. Tempted by the interest of the material at his disposal, he has devoted a disproportionate space to certain incidents or passages in Lord Granville's career. His embassy to Russia, for example, on the Emperor Alexander's accession, occupies no less than thirty-seven pages of his work, while the three years 1856 to 1858—which are certainly among the least important portions of Lord Granville's career—take up some two hundred pages, or very nearly a fifth of the whole book.

Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, indeed, at this stage of his work, was exposed to a great temptation. Lord Canning—who was sent to India at the end of 1855—was, 'next to Lord Ailesbury' [Lord Granville's], most intimate personal and political ally.' And the two friends on parting agreed 'to maintain a continuous 'correspondence by means of a letter journal which each was 'religiously to keep up and post to the other.' Lord Granville even obtained the authority of the Queen and of the Prime Minister to keep Lord Canning informed of the discussions in the Cabinet.* The correspondence which thus began appears to have been carefully preserved; and Lord Edmond, therefore,

* As far as we know, this is the only instance in which this authority has been given. Mr. Gladstone considered that no member of the Cabinet, except the Prime Minister, was entitled even to make a note of the proceedings. Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' vol. iii., p. 114.

when he reached this part of his narrative, was confronted with an unusual wealth of material. The matter is of such essential importance that it thoroughly deserved publication. Our doubt is not whether it should have been published, but whether it should have been published in Lord Granville's biography. It is much more largely concerned with the crisis of Mutiny in India than with domestic politics at home; and, from a biographical standpoint, it would appear more suitably in a life of Lord Canning than in Lord Edmond's work. Thus, while we have read the letters with unflagging interest, while we have seen with pleasure the convincing testimony they afford of Lord Canning's worth and of the value of his services, we cannot help thinking that the correspondence, or the greater portion of it, is irrelevant to Lord Edmond's pages, and ought to have been excluded from them.

We must now, however, turn to the character of Lord Granville and his achievements as a Minister and a party leader. In the course of his career he occupied three great offices of the State—the Council Office, the Colonial Office, and the Foreign Office. In the first of these offices he undoubtedly did much to promote the cause of education. He decided in 1858, immediately before the fall of Lord Palmerston's Ministry, on the appointment of the Commission—over which the Duke of Newcastle presided—whose report led directly to the Revised Code.* It fell to his lot in 1861–2 to give effect to the recommendations of the Commissioners whose appointment he had been instrumental in securing four years before. In framing the Revised Code, Lord Granville had the assistance—perhaps it should be more truly said followed the lead—of Mr. Robert Lowe, who, as Vice-President of the Council, was arrogating to himself the functions of Minister of Education; and Mr. Lowe—determined, according to his own saying, that if education could not be efficient, it should at any rate be cheap—decided on a system under which the grants made by the Government were to depend on the proficiency of each child attending the school; and such proficiency was to be tested by the child's ability to read, write, and cypher, and was not in any way to be concerned with its religious knowledge or moral conduct.

The publication of the New Code in the late summer of 1861 roused a storm. Religious people saw that the effects of the new system would be to emphasise the importance of secular

* It ought to be added that, in 1864, Lord Granville appointed the Commission, over which Lord Taunton presided, to deal with the question of Secondary Education.

knowledge, about which they cared little, and to minimise the attention paid to religious and dogmatic teaching, about which they cared much; and they complained that the new method of making the grants dependent on the examination of each child would inevitably reduce their resources and cripple their efforts. The attitude of the religious world was strengthened because Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who ranks in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' as 'the Founder of Popular Education,' regarded the New Code as subversive of the principles which he had laid down, and on which, in his judgement, the efficiency of any national system of education depended. Deputations besieged the Council Office, proving for once that Lord Palmerston was wrong in thinking that a deputation was a noun of multitude, signifying many and not signifying much. 'Here they come,' said Mr. Lowe himself of one of them, 'in numbers about five thousand.' Lord Granville, if he had been alone, might have turned aside the wrath of the angry clergymen who thronged his office. But Lord Granville was not alone. The most conciliatory member of the Cabinet was linked by a strange fortune with the most uncompromising of Ministers; and the tact of the one man could not atone for the manners of the other. The struggle, thus commenced in the autumn of 1861, was renewed in the Session of 1862; and, though in the result the new system was carried, it was only adopted after amendments had been conceded which materially altered the conditions which the Revised Code had laid down.

In the controversy which Mr. Lowe had thus provoked he found himself opposed to the traditions and the views of his Department; and the inspectors of schools availed themselves of the opportunity, which the publication of their periodical reports afforded, to state their objections to the Minister's policy. Mr. Lowe, very properly, declined to allow official documents to be made a vehicle for controversy, and called on the inspectors to suppress or modify the objectionable passages. He was accused, in consequence, of mutilating the reports, and a motion was carried in the House of Commons censuring the action of the Council Office. On the passage of this motion Lord Granville and Mr. Lowe both tendered their resignations. Lord Granville consented, at Lord Palmerston's request, to remain in office on condition that Lord Palmerston induced the House of Commons to withdraw the stigma which the adverse vote had imprinted on him. Mr. Lowe, who had been the more immediate object of attack, persisted in resigning; and we confess that Mr. Lowe, on this occasion, displayed the truer dignity. The House of Commons, indeed, at the end of the

Session, after inquiry by a committee, rescinded the censure which it had cast on the Privy Council Office in the previous May. But in the intervening weeks—while the vote was still hanging over them—Lord Granville consented, while Mr. Lowe refused, to remain a member of the Ministry. No doubt Mr. Lowe had been much more directly implicated than Lord Granville. But Lord Granville was the head of the Department; he was technically answerable for everything that took place in it; and, as he could not shake off the responsibility for what Mr. Lowe had done, we think that he would have acted more wisely if he had persisted in sharing Mr. Lowe's fate. It is due to Lord Granville, indeed, to add that he did his best in the following year—on the reconstruction of the Cabinet under Lord Russell—to repair the injustice that had been done by urging the claims of Mr. Lowe for high office. But Mr. Lowe's antagonism to Reform induced a Cabinet already intent on introducing a new Reform Bill to reject his claims, and Mr. Lowe remained in a position of independence from which he was able to assail the Government with great and decisive success.

In his short administration of the Colonial Office in 1869-70, and again in 1886, Lord Granville did little to impress his name on the history of the Colonies. In the former of these periods, however, he was the Minister directly responsible for the withdrawal of our scattered garrisons from our vast autonomous possessions, a policy which was freely criticised at the time, but which has been amply justified by the results. He succeeded, moreover, in inducing the Hudson's Bay Company and the Government of Canada to agree upon the terms on which the Company's possessions in Manitoba and the Red River Territory were thrown open to colonisation; and perhaps by this arrangement, due to his personal intervention, he was instrumental in effecting a greater increase in the capacity of the world to produce corn than all his predecessors. It is, however, as Foreign Minister that Lord Granville will be chiefly recollected; and we desire to criticise his conduct of the Foreign Office with some freedom.

In 1851, when Lord Granville, on Lord Palmerston's retirement, first received the seals of the Foreign Office, his tenure of office was so short that he had neither the time nor the opportunity to make his mark. The Queen, indeed, who on his appointment had taken the unusual course of asking the Foreign Minister to prepare 'a programme' for her consideration and approval, gave him, on his leaving office, an assurance of the confidence which she had learned to feel in him, while the Prime Minister expressed his regret 'that the country will lose one of

‘the best Foreign Secretaries it ever had.’ And it is no doubt true that, in the few weeks in which he had the management of foreign affairs, he dealt with one subject—the complaints of Austria on our treatment of foreign refugees—with tact and firmness. But a tenure of office which had not lasted for three months hardly justified so unqualified a testimony.

Though more than nineteen years passed before Lord Granville returned to the office in which he thus served a brief apprenticeship, he exerted in the interval a considerable and, in some cases, decisive influence on Foreign Policy. On two occasions, indeed, in 1859 and in 1864, the Court appealed from the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary to Lord Granville. On the first of these occasions the Queen, who did not share the views which Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Gladstone held on the Italian question, employed the Prince Consort to impress upon Lord Granville the necessity of the Cabinet exercising ‘an efficacious control.’ On the second of them the Queen herself wrote to Lord Granville asking him to urge the Cabinet to be firm and support her against her Prime Minister. We are not concerned with the merits of the policy which her Majesty favoured in 1859 and 1864. As a matter of fact, most well-informed persons now deplore the encouragement which Lord Palmerston gave to the Danes in the latter year, just as they approve the steps which Lord John Russell and he took to support the cause of Italy in 1859 and 1860.* But, whatever grounds there may have been for her Majesty’s remonstrances, we cannot help recording an opinion that her appeal to Lord Granville was inconvenient and unusual. No Cabinet could endure if the Sovereign were in the habit of appealing from the Prime Minister, and the Minister primarily responsible, to one of her other servants engaged on some other business in some other office. Lord Granville seems himself to have felt this :

‘I feel deeply grateful [so he wrote to the Prince Consort on July 13, 1859] for the confidence the Queen and your Royal Highness

* Lord John Russell’s Italian despatches—some of the most interesting and even amusing documents in diplomatic literature—must have been extremely distasteful to a Sovereign who disliked the support which her Ministers were rendering to revolution in Italy. Lord E. Fitzmaurice is mistaken in saying that Baron Brunnow described this series of despatches as not diplomacy, but black-guardism (vol. i., p. 368). Baron Brunnow applied this phrase to one despatch alone—that of October 27, 1860. See Vitzthum, ‘St. Petersburg and London,’ vol. ii., p. 130, note.

show me. It, however, places me in this dilemma. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell are the Ministers to whom it is natural that the Queen should look for information respecting discussions in the Cabinet respecting foreign affairs. They would resent such information being afforded through any other channel. They would consider it as a want of confidence on the part of her Majesty, and an improper interference on the part of a colleague.'

Admirably put. But, unfortunately, Lord Granville, after laying down sound doctrine in clear language, went on—

'On the other hand, the importance of the crisis, the peculiar views and position of Lords Palmerston and John Russell, the extremely difficult duty now imposed upon her Majesty of watching the foreign policy of her Ministry, on which the most important results to England and to Europe may depend, make me more than usually anxious to obey her Majesty's commands; but it is desirable that no one should know that I make any written communications to your Royal Highness on this subject.'

Lord Granville was loyal to the backbone. But if any other man had written this paragraph we should have thought him guilty of disloyalty to his colleagues. For the argument amounts to this—that the sound doctrine that the Queen should look to the Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister for information on foreign affairs does not apply to important crises, involving large results to England and Europe, when the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary hold peculiar views. In such crises any other Minister may be 'more than usually anxious' to assist the Crown to thwart its direct advisers; and the Crown should take care that these proceedings should be kept absolutely secret.

It is not surprising that the excellent principle which Lord Granville laid down in the first of the paragraphs which we have quoted, when it had been explained away by the reservations in the second of them, did not deter the Queen from continuing to lean on him; and throughout the succeeding months—when, in Lord Palmerston's phrase, there was often 'breezy weather at 'Osborne'—she constantly turned to him and begged his help in resisting the policy of her Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary. The course which she thus took in 1859 and 1860, with the Prince Consort at her side, she resumed after the Prince Consort's death in 1864. The Queen, at that time, was in a position of great difficulty. She had strong objections to Lord Palmerston's Danish policy, and she thought him, conjointly with the Emperor Nicholas, 'the cause of all the present trouble by framing that 'wretched Treaty of 1852.*' Since the Prince Consort's death,

* The Treaty of London, regulating the future of Denmark, though signed during Lord Derby's Administration in 1852, had

moreover, she had been deprived of an adviser at her side to whom she could appeal. She said herself :

‘The Queen suffers much, and her nerves are more and more totally shattered and her rest broken. If Lord Granville only reflects he will understand how terrible her position is. But, though all this anxiety is wearing her out, it will not shake her in her firm purpose of resisting any attempt to involve this country in a mad and useless combat.’

We are grateful to Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice for giving us the series of letters from one of which the preceding sentences are taken. They reflect credit on her Majesty’s understanding. They appeal to the head, as well as to the heart of the reader. But, though Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice adds that ‘Lord Granville was careful, as in 1859, to avoid appearing to trench in any way on the rights of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary ‘in his communications with the Queen,’ there is no doubt that she depended on him to defeat Lord Palmerston’s policy. Lord Edmond, indeed, himself sums up the whole matter in these words :

‘Amid the personal sorrow and the political disappointment caused by these events, the Queen was, at least, able to remember with pride that, owing to the determined stand which she had made against her two principal Ministers, she had saved the country from an unnecessary war. In this stand Lord Granville was her mainstay in the Cabinet. On him the Queen relied, and, as this narrative will have shown, she did not rely in vain.’

Lord Granville, during Lord Palmerston’s Administration, rendered one other great service to his country. In September 1862, Lord Palmerston suggested, and Lord Russell agreed, that the time had come when France and England might usefully address the contending parties [in America], ‘and recommend an arrangement upon the basis of separation.’ Lord Granville appears to have received his first intimation of Lord Palmerston’s views at Gotha, where he was in attendance on the Queen, and he at once wrote a long and able letter to Lord Russell on September 27, objecting to the proposal. Lord Edmond prints this letter, and adds : ‘So ended this unwise attempt at mediation.’ But Lord Edmond’s comment hardly expresses with sufficient accuracy what did occur. At the time at which Lord Palmerston’s proposal was made, the Confederate armies had won a succession of victories, and the Federal troops had actually retired behind the lines of Washington. At the

been practically settled by Lord Palmerston before he left the Foreign Office in 1851.

time at which Lord Granville's protest was received, the Federals, reorganised under McClellan, had again assumed the offensive, had fought the battle of Antietam Creek, while Lincoln had issued the famous proclamation conferring freedom on the slaves in the Confederacy. The circumstances which had made Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell favour mediation in September did not exist in October; and Lord Russell himself thought it wiser to watch the course of events before arriving at any decision. When the Cabinet finally met towards the end of October, Lord Granville found that his own views were shared by many of his colleagues; the question was again adjourned, and it was only in November that a definite decision was reached, and that the Cabinet finally refused to join in the offer of mediation, which France, in consequence, was left to make alone.*

The leading part which Lord Granville had taken in all these great questions might have paved the way for his return to the Foreign Office on the formation of a new Liberal Ministry in December 1868. But, just as in 1859 he had given way to the claims of Lord Russell, so in 1868 Lord Clarendon was preferred to him. It was only, in fact, in 1870, after Lord Clarendon's death, that he returned to the office which he had left nineteen years before. The political horizon seemed exceptionally free from clouds. On the day which preceded his formal appointment, Mr. Hammond, the Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, assured him that 'he had never, during his long experience, 'known so great a lull in foreign affairs.' Before twenty-four hours were over, however, the Duc de Gramont was making the speech in the French Chamber which led directly to the greatest war of the last half of the nineteenth century; and Lord Granville, who had reason to hope for a period of comparative repose, was at once brought face to face with the most serious of crises.

No Minister, however strenuously he had laboured, could have

* Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice says that there is 'reason to suppose' that in the course which Lord Granville took on this occasion he again acted with the approval of the Queen, and there is no doubt that his letter objecting to mediation was written from Gotha when he was in attendance on her Majesty. But, in the letter itself, there is no reference to the Queen's opinions, and we believe that we are right in saying that the Russell papers are similarly silent upon her Majesty's views. In September 1862, moreover, only nine months after the Prince Consort's death, we doubt whether the Queen was in a condition which would have enabled her to take a strong line on the question. All that can be said on the other side has been said by Mr. Adams, the President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See the 'Proceedings' of that Society, vol. xviii.

averted the Franco-German War. Lord Granville was under the disadvantage that his voice hardly carried the influence with the Imperial Court at Paris which a long and intimate acquaintance with the Emperor and the Empress had secured for his predecessor. He did his best, however, to avert the miseries of war, and, when war became inevitable, to preserve a strict neutrality. He succeeded so well that he drew upon himself the complaints of both combatants. The Germans declared that he might have stopped the war if he had boldly thrown in his lot against France. The French thought that he might have used the moral influence of England to avert the humiliation of a nation which for forty years had been in close alliance with this country. It is a tolerably good test of a man's impartiality in a quarrel when the disputants are equally agreed in condemning his conduct ; and the best testimony to England's neutrality in 1870 is to be found in the fact that she pleased neither side. We confess ourselves to a feeling, after a comparatively recent study of the diplomatic history of the war, that Lord Granville's conduct, while studiously correct, was sometimes unnecessarily cold. The most sympathetic of men became the least sympathetic of Ministers ; and if on reading, for example, the account of the famous interview between Lord Granville and M. Thiers, the head is with Lord Granville, the heart is unquestionably with M. Thiers.

It should also, in fairness, be recollected that the efforts, the wise efforts, which Lord Granville made to restrict the area of the war operated, on the whole, in favour of Prussia. It is all very well to draw a ring round two combatants contending on equal terms ; but, when one of the pugilists has been beaten to his knees, the maintenance of the ring enables the other to increase the punishment. When Napoleon III. embarked on his unhappy campaign, he had some reason for hoping that his first initial successes might bring him active help from Austria. It was not, perhaps, very probable that Austria would plunge after Sedan into a war in which she had hesitated to take part before that battle. But the possibility of her doing so was an element in favour of France. For the extension of the war might have led conceivably to consequences which a beaten France could have hardly hoped to secure alone. Though, then, we think Lord Granville was right in his efforts to limit the area of war, we are ready to admit that his action was liable to increase the unfavourable impression which his somewhat cold and unsympathetic attitude had produced in France. Even Mr. Gladstone had wished to express to Count von Bismarck

the dislike of the British Foreign Office 'to any cession of 'territory [to Germany] against the wishes of its inhabitants ; 'and it was only Lord Granville's persistence, "after the longest 'fight " he ever had in the Cabinet, which prevented the adoption 'of Mr. Gladstone's suggestion.'

So far as England was concerned, however, the most important consequences of the Franco-German War were the measures which it proved necessary to adopt to ensure the independence of Belgium, and the steps which were taken by Russia to tear up the treaties of 1856. On the first of these questions Lord Granville adopted a course which was as decisive as it was bold. He concluded separate treaties with both Prussia and France, under which, if either combatant failed to respect the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain undertook to co-operate with the other for its defence. These arrangements effectually secured the objects for which they were made ; and perhaps may, hereafter, be recollected as the boldest and most successful of Lord Granville's achievements at the Foreign Office.

We are not sure that we can accord similar praise to the manner in which Lord Granville dealt with 'the denunciation 'by Russia of the clauses of the Treaty of Paris relating to the 'Black Sea.' The position was, no doubt, full of difficulty ; and the difficulty was not of Lord Granville's making. It is said, indeed, that Lord Clarendon, who was largely responsible for the insertion of these clauses in the Treaty of Paris, attached no importance to them ; and that Lord Palmerston, who insisted on their insertion, predicted that the restriction would not be maintained for ten years. The men who insist on provisions which they foresee it is impossible to maintain are obviously more responsible for any humiliation which may result from their abandonment than their successors who hesitate to enforce them ; and, if this country was destined to suffer in 1870 for the policy of 1856, the blame should properly attach to Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, and not to Lord Granville.*

* Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice makes an odd mistake in this part of his narrative, which he may care to correct in a future edition. He quotes a letter of Mr. Gladstone to Lord Granville, dated December 10, 1870, stating an apprehension that 'this violent laceration and transfer [of French territory to Germany] is to lead us from bad to worse.' And Lord Edmond goes on : 'Mr. Gladstone was quickly justified by events. The denunciation by Russia of the clauses of the Treaty of Paris . . . soon came.' But, if Lord Edmond will examine the dates, he will find that Prince Gortschakoff's famous circular was written at the end of October, some weeks before the date of Mr. Gladstone's letter.

When Prince Gortschakoff's circular announcing Russia's determination to denounce the clauses relating to the Black Sea reached this country, the Cabinet was scattered through the provinces, and Lord Granville had to act alone. In a very able and temperate despatch, from which Lord Edmond might have quoted, he laid down the principle that 'the right of releasing a party to a treaty from any of its stipulations' belongs only to the Governments who have been parties to the original instrument. And he proceeded to argue that, while Russia had a perfect right to ask the Powers, parties to the Treaties of 1856, to consider whether any of their terms, from altered circumstances, pressed with undue severity upon her, she had no right to announce that she had emancipated herself from any stipulations which she happened to disapprove. But this despatch—which, Lord Rosebery declared, elicited the praise not only of England but of Europe—was only the first step which Lord Granville took in the matter. Recognising that the key to most political questions lay, for the moment, at the headquarters of the Prussian Army, he despatched Mr. Odo Russell on a special mission to Versailles, and decided, on Count von Bismarck's suggestion, to refer the matter in dispute to a Conference, which, it was ultimately decided, should be held in London.

Lord Granville naturally desired that the Conference should apparently meet with perfect freedom to settle the dispute in its own way. Sir C. Dilke, indeed, said afterwards in the House of Commons that the Foreign Office was so anxious on this point that the words 'no previous assumption,' 'no assumption,' or 'no foregone conclusion' occurred some twenty times in some sixteen despatches. 'We even made Prince Gortschakoff repeat the shibboleth, and accept the invitation to the Conference on the distinct understanding that it was not to meet on a foregone conclusion.' But it was, of course, true that, whatever Lord Granville might say himself, or induce others to say, the Conference did meet with the object and intention of releasing Russia from one of the restrictions which the Treaty of Paris had imposed on her. Even this rather inglorious arrangement might not have been reached if both Lord Granville's chief and his agent had not contemplated or suggested stronger measures than Lord Granville himself would have employed. Count von Bismarck might not have suggested the expedient of a Conference if Mr. Odo Russell had not made the bold but unauthorised statement that 'the Russian declaration was of a nature to compel the British Government, with or without allies, to go to war with Russia;' and Mr. Gladstone—as we know from Mr. John Morley

—declared that ‘her Majesty’s Government could enter into no conferences which should assume any portion of the treaty to ‘have been already abrogated by the discretion of a single Power.’ Indeed, after the conclusion of the whole matter, Lord Granville himself told Mr. Gladstone that ‘a sort of instinct that the bumps ‘of combativeness and destructiveness are to be found somewhere ‘in your head has helped us much during the last five months.’ * Other members of the Cabinet, however, were certainly in favour of stronger measures than those to which the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary were prepared to resort. For, years afterwards, Lord Halifax, writing to Mr. Childers, said: ‘Do you remember that you and I, having agreed upon some ‘sort of vigorous action upon the single-handed intervention of ‘Russia, found it impossible to rouse Gladstone and Granville ‘to a proper sense of the emergency?’ †

It is possible, however, to say a good deal for Lord Granville’s policy on this occasion. When such different men as Lord Derby and Lord Russell were saying: the one that he was in favour of modifying the Treaty; the other that he would not fight for the neutrality of the Black Sea, the time had probably passed for a policy of resistance. It was, however, Lord Granville’s misfortune that, while he was engaged in revising in London the treaties of 1856, Commissioners of his selection were securing the Treaty of Washington by a frank expression of regret at the ‘Alabama’s’ escape, and by an offer to allow the conduct of the country in 1862 to be tried by rules only formulated in 1871. Looking back over an interval of more than a generation, it is evident that few things have done so much to strengthen and consolidate the power of the Anglo-Saxon race as this famous treaty. But it is fair to recollect that the dose which restores to vigour is often unpalatable to the patient; and that the British public could not be expected to swallow readily in the spring of the same year concession to Russia in London and concession to the United States in Washington.

Unpopular as the Treaty of Washington was, its unpopularity was increased tenfold when it was found that the indirect claims, which Lord Granville had assured the House of Lords had ‘entirely disappeared,’ were revived with the American case. Public indignation was so great that Lord Russell announced his inten-

* Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice says that the letter from which this extract is taken was written to Mr. Odo Russell, vol. ii., p. 73. But we think it is clear from the context that Mr. Morley is right in saying that it was written to Mr. Gladstone. ‘Life of Gladstone,’ vol. ii., p. 355.

† See ‘Life of Childers,’ vol. ii., p. 89.

tion 'of blowing into the air both the treaty and the Government 'with it.' Mr. Gladstone himself declared that the American case was one 'which not even the last extremities of war and 'the lowest depths of misfortune would force a people with a 'spark of spirit to submit to.' Lord Granville either did not share Mr. Gladstone's feelings, or, at any rate, abstained from giving expression to them. He laboured through the succeeding months to save the treaty ; and, at the suggestion of Mr. Adams, the arbitrators themselves cut the knot which diplomacy had failed to untangle by declaring that they had individually and collectively arrived at the conclusion that the indirect claims which England was unprepared to admit, and the United States was unwilling to withdraw, were excluded from their consideration.

In all this protracted controversy Lord Granville had from first to last displayed 'the cool hand and good temper' which, Mr. Forster had declared, were required in the situation. But the complaint against him at the time which Lord Edmond, somehow or other, fails to notice, was that his hand was too cool, his temper too good. The knowledge that a bump of combativeness does exist, and that it occasionally leads to an unexpected explosion of wrath, is not wholly unserviceable ; and, though we have no special love for the methods which Lord Palmerston too frequently employed, we do not wish our statesmen to make unlimited concessions, and still less when they are forced to yield, to keep on repeating, with Dr. Pangloss, that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. Lord Granville, at any rate, when he left the Foreign Office in 1874, had the reputation of possessing more tact than backbone. He had given this country the greatest boon which it had ever received from any Foreign Minister : the assurance of peace with the United States. But, at the time, the people were disposed to resent the gift, and to condemn the giver. The circumstances in which he resumed his labours in 1880 required perhaps sterner stuff than that which entered into his composition. Whatever merits or demerits may have attached to Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy, he had left a peck of troubles behind him for his successor to deal with.

'I really believe,' so Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Granville, 'that if the late Government had remained in office another year, we should have been in dispute, if not at war, with all the world.'

Difficulties in Turkey, in Egypt, in the Transvaal, and in Afghanistan, all confronted the new Ministry. So far as Turkey was concerned, there was some difference between Lord Gran-

ville and his chief. As he himself expressed it, in a note to Mr. Gladstone: 'Our difference is this, that you are more afraid 'of Austria and I of Russia.' Mr. Gladstone's attitude towards Austria raised a serious difficulty. He had said of her in the Midlothian campaign: 'There is not an instance, there is not 'a spot upon the whole map, where you can lay your finger 'and say: "There Austria did good."' It was not unnatural that Austrian statesmen should resent such a declaration from a man who was about to become Prime Minister. The Austrian Ambassador in London threatened 'to cut Gladstone' whenever he met him; and, though after a long correspondence peace was restored, Mr. Gladstone's language had not tended to smooth the difficulties which the Foreign Office had to deal with.

Some of the difficulties which awaited solution by the new Ministry were successfully disposed of. The war which had been commenced in Afghanistan under Lord Beaconsfield was brought to a successful conclusion, and the Porte—after a protracted struggle—was prevailed upon to accept the arrangements made at Berlin, by ceding, in 1880, Dulcigno to Montenegro, and, in 1881, Thessaly to Greece. But the gravest embarrassments which awaited Mr. Gladstone's Government were in Africa; and Lord Edmond rightly devotes four long chapters in his second volume to African questions. On one grave incident, indeed, he touches very lightly. Lord Kimberley, we suppose, as Colonial Minister, and not Lord Granville, was directly responsible for our treatment of the Transvaal. Perhaps it is for this reason that our relations with the Transvaal in 1880 hardly occupy a page of Lord Edmond's narrative, while the unhappy loss of Majuba Hill is not even mentioned in it. Lord Edmond tells us, however, that Lord Granville was 'one of the members of the Cabinet who most 'strongly supported Mr. Gladstone in his wish not to push 'matters to extremes, notwithstanding the disaster to the British 'forces at Laing's Nek;' and he quotes a letter in which Lord Spencer states that he recollects the very turn going up Constitution Hill on horseback where Lord Granville converted him to the same view.

Lord Granville's third Administration of the Foreign Office will, however, chiefly be associated with the affairs of Egypt. Ever since the purchase of the Suez Canal shares in 1875, the grip of England on Egypt had been gradually tightening. Egypt, in Lord Edmond's language, 'had become the assignee in bankruptcy of Europe, with Great Britain and France as official 'trustees, and the Sultan as bailiff of the Court.' This state of things was not palatable to the Egyptian army; and in

September 1881 'Arabi Pasha and about 5,000 soldiers surrounded the Khedive's Palace, demanding an increase of pay, and deposed the Ministry.' The state of unrest which was the result of Arabi's insurrection, created a natural uneasiness both in Paris and London; and M. Gambetta, who had just become Prime Minister of France, concerted with Lord Granville a note in which the Khedive was 'solemnly assured of the joint support of the two Powers in the face of the discouraging position' in which he found himself. Apparently, Lord Granville did not, in the first instance, attach much importance to this note. He seems to have told the French Ambassador in London that he did not think that it 'would prove of any practical use.' But the fall of M. Gambetta's Ministry, and the dislike of his successor, M. Freycinet, to any system of joint intervention, to some extent forced Lord Granville's hands. He strove, indeed, in the first instance, to avoid the necessity of British intervention by inducing the Sultan to send 10,000 men to Egypt, and to restore the waning authority of the Khedive. But the proposal was disliked in Turkey, where Arabi was becoming a popular hero, it was coldly supported by France, and was regarded with disfavour by Germany. While Ambassadors were discussing the project at Constantinople, rebellion was breaking out in Egypt. 'Alexandria became a prey to riot and pillage; fifty Europeans were killed;' and the Cabinet met, and decided on the policy which led to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet, and, two months later, to the battle of Tel-el-Kebir.

These decisive events, which led to the withdrawal of Mr. Bright from the Cabinet,* imposed, or seemed to impose, a fresh burden on England. As Mr. Gladstone said in the House of Commons, eleven days after the bombardment of Alexandria, 'We should not fully discharge our duty if we did not endeavour to convert the present interior state of Egypt from anarchy and conflict to peace and order. We shall look during the time that remains to us to the co-operation of the Powers of civilised Europe, if it be in any case open to us. But, if every chance of obtaining co-operation is exhausted, the work will be undertaken by the single power of England.' In fact, the refusal of France to join in the military measures, which this country had adopted, threw upon Great Britain the responsi-

* Lord Granville, in writing to Lord Spencer on June 22, 1882, said: 'We have had several Cabinets, more or less formal, about Egypt—Bright, of course, the most peaceable, Chamberlain almost the greatest Jingo.' Vol. ii., p. 265.

bility of acting alone. The dual control was abandoned ; an Englishman was appointed financial adviser to the Egyptian Government ; and Lord Granville foreshadowed the possibility of the adoption of reforms which would enable the British Ministry to withdraw at the earliest possible moment from Egypt.

It was with a view to facilitating the withdrawal which Lord Granville earnestly desired that Lord Dufferin was instructed to go to Egypt and report on the reorganisation of the country ; and we know from Sir Alfred Lyall's biography of him that Lord Granville sent him despatch after despatch directing his immediate attention to almost every conceivable subject, and that Lord Dufferin, 'hurriedly pressed,' telegraphed for breathing time. But if Lord Dufferin had devoted as many months as he gave weeks to his inquiry, he would not have succeeded in discovering the bridge over which the British garrison might have withdrawn ; for, in the spring of 1883, Colonel Hicks Pacha was unwisely allowed to attempt the recovery of the Soudan for the Egyptian Government, and in the following autumn his whole force was cut to pieces, and the Mahdi, with his victorious Dervishes, were free to overrun the country.

The expedition of Hicks Pacha had been dictated by the desire of the Egyptian Government to regain a province which had been under Egyptian control for more than sixty years. Unfortunately, the British Cabinet did not feel it necessary to forbid an attempt which they had the sense to disapprove. They persuaded themselves that the responsibilities which they had undertaken in Egypt did not apply to the Soudan, and that, so far as this province was concerned, the Egyptian Government was free either to act or refrain from acting, as it chose. But government cannot be conducted on what Lord Milner called a principle of limited liability. The destruction of Hicks Pacha and his army altered and extended the responsibilities of England in Egypt. Two months before it occurred Sir Evelyn Wood had assured Lord Granville that the evacuation of Egypt might be commenced by the withdrawal of British troops from Cairo.

'Any such idea was now out of the question. . . . By the defeat of Hicks Pacha the garrison at Khartoum and in other fortified places in the Soudan were likely to become isolated amid the advancing hordes of a ferocious and fanatical barbarism. The British Government therefore decided to call on the Government of the Khedive to evacuate the country south of Wady Halfa.'

And in January 1884 four Cabinet Ministers, of whom Lord Granville was one, took the momentous step of sending General Gordon to Egypt to extricate the garrisons.

From first to last, throughout this lamentable history, there is no evidence that either the Cabinet as a body, or Lord Granville as the Minister chiefly responsible, ever sat down to consider calmly whither their policy was taking them. There is no doubt that they desired to withdraw from Egypt, and that Lord Granville's ever-sanguine nature persuaded him that withdrawal would be ultimately easy. But at no stage of the proceedings was any attempt made to devise or forecast the means by which retirement could be effected, or the measures which would be necessary if withdrawal proved impracticable. This inherent defect in the policy of the Cabinet was again illustrated by the mission of General Gordon. General Gordon, as Lord Edmond says, once arrived in Khartoum, 'either forgot or deliberately put 'aside his instructions.' But the four Ministers who sent out the General were perfectly well acquainted with his character. They knew that he was moved by the strong religious convictions and chivalrous courage which impressed the popular imagination, but they knew also that he was, in Mr. Morley's words, 'the creature, almost the sport, of impulse,' and that he was much more likely to be swayed by his momentary views than by anxiety to obey the instructions of his employers. A Ministry which chooses to employ a fanatic on a fantastic mission cannot be relieved from the responsibility attaching to its choice. It is no real excuse to say that, 'as soon as Lord Granville became convinced that [the General was disobeying his 'orders] he made a proposal to the Cabinet to recall him at once.'* Lord Edmond tells us that 'Lord Granville afterwards 'regretted that he had not pressed this proposal [for his recall] 'more strongly.' But the blunder was committed when General Gordon was sent out, and it was one of those blunders which, when once committed, it is impossible to repair.

Lord Granville, indeed, seems to have persuaded himself at one time that it was unnecessary to attempt anything to save General Gordon from his position.

'I cannot admit,' so he wrote to Mr. Gladstone, 'that either generals or statesmen, who have accepted the offer of a man to lead a forlorn hope, are in the least bound to risk the lives of thousands for the uncertain chance of saving the forlorn hope.'

But whatever force there may have been in this contention, public opinion, both in Parliament and out of doors, made it impossible to adopt it. No Ministry could have stood which

* On the day after the decision to send out Gordon, Lord Granville said to Lord Hartington: 'We were proud of ourselves yesterday. Are you sure that we did not commit a gigantic folly?'

had refused to move to General Gordon's assistance. Lord Wolseley's expedition of relief, however, and General Gordon's death need not detain us in this article. Lord Granville's direct responsibility ceased with the General's mission ; and, in the later incidents of an unhappy story, he only shares a divided responsibility with other members of the Cabinet.

In the earlier stages of our intervention in Egypt Lord Granville had gained much from the support which he received from Germany. Prince Bismarck was always inclined to favour a policy of vigour. He was not sorry to see that the presence of British troops on the Nile was creating difficulties between France and England ; and, believing that ' a gradual dismemberment of the Turkish Empire [was] the only pacific solution to ' the Oriental question,' he was in favour of the British occupation of Egypt. ' Take Egypt,' was the advice which he gave to the Government of 1880, just as he had given it to the Government of Lord Beaconsfield. There can be no doubt that Prince Bismarck's attitude added strength to the position of England. From the end of 1883, however, we forfeited this advantage, and thenceforward Lord Granville had to reckon with the enmity of the great Prussian Minister.

The change came from a radical alteration in the policy of Germany. An increasing party in the Reichstag were in favour of colonial enterprise ; and, in order to appease them, Prince Bismarck thought it expedient to reconsider the strong objections which he had previously expressed to colonial possessions. But a German policy of colonisation naturally brought Germany into contact with this country in every portion of the globe. German subjects had claims in Fiji, which we had annexed ; they had objects to promote on the West Coast of Africa, to which we were not perhaps too friendly ; they actually hoisted the German flag at Angra Pequena, in South-Western Africa, which was claimed by the Government of the Cape of Good Hope ; they had designs on New Guinea, which the Australians were disposed to resent ; and Prince Bismarck was already looking with covetous eyes on Heligoland, where he was persuading himself that a great harbour might be constructed commanding the passage to the Baltic. It would probably have been best if, at the time at which these questions were raised, Lord Granville had stated clearly the whole extent of this country's claims. When, in somewhat analogous circumstances, forty years before, an officer of the French Government asked Lord John Russell how much of Australia was claimed as the dominion of Great Britain, Lord John quietly replied, ' The whole ;' and with that answer the officer went away. But Lord Gran-

ville was too courteous to put off Germany with a straightforward answer of this character. Instead of replying to them himself, he referred the questions to the Colonial Office; the Colonial Office, in its turn, referred them to the Colonial Governments; and the Colonial Governments—the Government of the Cape, at any rate—decided to take possession of the territory which Germany was claiming. Prince Bismarck lost patience. ‘Our question,’ he wrote, in the summer of 1884, ‘could have been answered by England in a week, without referring it to the Cape.’ And Count Münster shortly afterwards was instructed to tell Lord Granville ‘that the German Government could not maintain a friendly attitude on Egyptian matters if Great Britain maintained an unfriendly attitude on Colonial questions.’

The tension between the two Governments became more acute in the summer of 1884, after the unfortunate death of Lord Ampthill, who for thirteen years had represented this country in Berlin, and who had gained the confidence of Prince Bismarck. The tension was the more serious because new questions were arising on the borders of Afghanistan which were bringing Russia and Great Britain to the verge of war. We have no space in this article, however, to dwell on the complicated history of Russian aggression and British suspicion on the Afghan frontier.* What we wish to point out is that, at the close of his five years’ tenure of the Foreign Office, Lord Granville found himself at cross purposes with the three greatest Powers on the Continent—with France in Egypt, with Germany in the Colonies, with Russia in the Far East. By a chain of circumstances, the most conciliatory of men had managed to estrange almost every Power whose goodwill was worth having; and the statesman whose tact and temper seemed, in everybody’s opinion, to qualify him for the Foreign Office, had deprived us of the friendship of every great European nation.

We are not prepared to say that Lord Granville was solely responsible for this unfortunate position of affairs when he left

* Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice says of the Penjdeh incident that, ‘Fortunately both nations shrank from war, and eventually the contest was closed by the agreement which Lord Granville made with the Russian Government that the disputed responsibility for the incident should be referred to an arbitrator.’ (Vol. ii., p. 440.) But this account, though accurate, is not complete. War was really averted by the reluctance of the Ameer Abdurrahman to see a British army in Afghanistan. The whole story has been admirably told by Sir Alfred Lyall in his ‘Life of Lord Dufferin,’ vol. ii., pp. 89–95.

the Foreign Office. He had succeeded to a situation of unusual difficulty, and the whole trend of events during his tenure of office tended to increase the embarrassment which he inherited; while the dissensions which distracted the Cabinet from 1880 to 1885 made it almost impossible to frame and maintain a consistent foreign policy. But, at the same time, we cannot help thinking that, if Lord Granville had been a little firmer in his tone and a little less conciliatory in his manner, if he had shown more decision in carrying out his own policy and less anxiety to bring everyone abroad and at home into agreement, if he had paid more regard to the permanent aspect of each question and less attention to the immediate requirements of the moment, he would have gained respect where he lost authority, and might have ensured success where he encountered failure.

The desire to conciliate, which perhaps disqualified Lord Granville from dealing with a man of blood and iron like Prince Bismarck, made him an almost perfect leader of a minority in the Lords. He led the Liberal party in that House for more than thirty years. He acted in that capacity as the lieutenant of such different men as Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. He was opposed to debaters of infinite capacity and resource like the fourteenth Lord Derby and the first Lord Cairns. He was never able to rely on the support of an assured majority, and at the close of his career his followers were so few that he was almost powerless in the Division Lobby. But, from first to last, he held his own against his opponents with dignity and success; and, by his never-failing tact and temper, he succeeded in carrying measures which, under any other guidance, would have been rejected with disdain. The Irish Church Act of 1869—to take one prominent example—is inseparably connected with Mr. Gladstone; yet the Irish Church Act would have had no chance of becoming law in that year if any other man than Lord Granville had been in charge of it in the Lords.

Lord Granville's success as the leader of a Liberal minority was due to his own qualities. Every Liberal had perfect confidence that the man was true to the creed which he professed; but every Conservative also recognised that the statesman who was asserting Liberal principles, and faithfully serving under the Liberal flag, was as good a representative of the upper classes as anyone they could find on their own benches. 'The most prejudiced Tory Peer, who might declare that "Granville the "polite" kept strange political company, could not deny that "he could ride to hounds, and knew how to bring down a pheasant." In a speech made in 1874, very soon after the Liberal rout, Lord Granville declared that 'he verily believed that his

‘colleagues had received many adverse votes because the sporting and athletic world adjudged them to be a pack of muffs. But he was ready to throw down the glove. “I am prepared to “challenge the present Ministry to pick their best men, and “pit them against a like number of the defunct Liberal Government for a ride across country.”’ Lord Palmerston himself could not have made a more telling appeal to a nation which likes its rulers to show some of its own sporting tastes. But, if Lord Granville on occasions knew how to appeal to the sporting proclivities of his fellow-countrymen, he could also turn, with admirable neatness, an attack on the aristocratic composition of a Cabinet. After the formation of Lord Palmerston’s Administration in 1855, Lord Ellenborough declared that the new Government was

‘After all but the old Whig party, a set of near relations, and one in which a particular family connection was specially prominent and powerful, and that family connection was represented by the leader of the House.’

This is the inimitable way in which Lord Granville met the charge :

‘My Lords, I am a Gower, and I believe I am the only one of that family who holds any official appointment whatever. I am also a Cavendish, but I think that the noble Duke at the head of that family has not shown himself slow to encourage genius wherever he has found it. . . . I am sorry to say that I am also related to some of the Howards. . . . But I have yet to learn that the member of of the Howard family who has been selected to represent her Majesty in Ireland has been found inimical to the interests of the people. My Lords, I had better make a clean breast of it at once ; and I am obliged to admit that some of those who went before me had such quivers full of daughters who did not die old maids, that I have relations upon this side of the House, relations upon the cross benches, relations upon the opposite side of the House, and I actually had the unparalleled misfortune to have no fewer than three cousins in the Protectionist Administration of my noble friend opposite.’

But perhaps a still better proof of the influence which results from tact and charm was given by Lord Granville at Brooks’s Club. In the heat which the Home Rule controversy generated, Gladstonian Liberals blackballed Unionists, and Unionists retaliated by blackballing Gladstonian Liberals.

‘Another election was coming round, fraught with a certain renewal of hostilities, and after that the deluge. The fatal day soon arrived. The room was crowded. . . . Then, just as the clock struck three, and the ballot was about to begin, Lord Granville

stepped forward. . . . In a few well-chosen words he alluded to the antiquity of the Club, and the previous divisions in the party which it had survived, and expressed a hope . . . that there should be at least one place left in London where a truce might be allowed to the divisions and animosities of mankind, and friends might still be allowed to meet one another on the same terms as of old. A murmur of suppressed applause ran round the room. All felt that a true note had been struck. The immediate result of the ballot proved the victory which had been gained. All the candidates, to whichever section of the party they belonged, were elected.'

Lord Edmond says somewhere that Lord Granville described himself as a Radical who happened to like good society. Society, at any rate, whether good or not, could not help having a liking for so genial, so good-humoured, so tactful a leader.

While Lord Palmerston lived, Lord Granville's task was comparatively easy. No one seriously wanted to disturb a Minister who was, at least, as acceptable to the Tories as he proved himself to his own friends. But when Mr. Gladstone succeeded to the lead of the Liberal party the case was very different. The measures which he introduced—the Irish Church Act, the Irish Land Act, compulsory education, the ballot, the abolition of purchase in the Army—were opposed to all the traditions of the Conservative party, and it required Lord Granville's tact and temper to secure their passage through the House of Lords. We do not ourselves think that adequate justice has ever been done to his strategy and his patience during these memorable years. The difficulties which he had to overcome during the Ministry of 1868 were increased tenfold during the Ministry of 1880; for Lord Granville had to reckon with an increasing distrust of Mr. Gladstone among his opponents, and at the same time to recognise that, with a compact and hostile majority in front of him, discontent and difference were making it difficult for him to depend on the minority behind him.

The difficulties which beset the Cabinet of 1880 from the beginning, and which continued with them till the end, have never been brought out more clearly than in Lord Edmond's pages. He writes:

'Lord Palmerston was said to have once pointed to a table drawer and said he reserved it exclusively for Mr. Gladstone's numerous letters of resignation. In 1884 Mr. Gladstone would have found more than one table drawer quite insufficient for the letters in which one or other of his colleagues was constantly conveying to him his intended retirement from public life or from office.'

The difficulties, in fact, began before the formation of the Ministry. Since Mr. Gladstone's retirement from the leadership

of the Liberal party, Lord Hartington had led the Liberals in the House of Commons. But Lord Hartington did not altogether agree with the treatment which Mr. Gladstone would have dealt to Turkey; and the Eastern Question was almost exclusively occupying Mr. Gladstone's attention. His oratory was rousing the country; it was raising the wave of enthusiasm which was to carry the Liberals to victory; and it was obvious that the electors were calling for Mr. Gladstone, and would not be contented with any nominal leader. Lord Hartington, as we think very wisely, desired in these circumstances to ask Mr. Gladstone to resume the leadership, and to make the proposal 'in such a way that he will not be able to refuse, or, if he does, that the responsibility of leaving the party again without a leader will rest on him.' For reasons which are not very clear Lord Granville threw cold water on this suggestion; and, when Lord Beaconsfield resigned after the General Election of 1880, Mr. Gladstone's position was still undetermined. It soon, indeed, became plain that, unless Mr. Gladstone was prepared to retire from public life, no other man could either hope or pretend to lead the Liberal party. But though the conclusion was plain to everyone, it was by no means acceptable to all men. Many of Mr. Gladstone's own colleagues would have preferred a different arrangement, and the new Ministry, in consequence, was composed of sections which found it difficult to unite. The Cabinet, in fact, from its first formation, was 'a coalition of that vexatious kind, when those who happened not to agree seemed sometimes to be almost as well pleased with contention as with harmony.'* The Irish Land Act deprived it of the Duke of Argyll, the Kilmainham treaty of Mr. Forster, intervention in Egypt of Mr. Bright. But these resignations, significant as they were, had less influence on the fortunes of the Cabinet than the dissensions over Parliamentary reform which threatened its existence at the end of 1883. For some days it was doubtful whether the differences would result in the retirement of Mr. Gladstone himself or the resignation of Lord Hartington. Mainly through Lord Granville's influence the difference was healed. But it is with Cabinets as it is with crockery. The pitcher may be mended, but it cannot be trusted again to hold water. In the following year Lord Hartington was declaring that he could not be responsible for the military policy of the Government, while, on the eve of its final fall, differences existed on Irish policy which threatened to shatter the Cabinet into fragments.

It is not too much to say that, if it had not been for Lord

* Morley's 'Life of Gladstone,' vol. iii., p. 3.

Granville's tact and patience, the unhappy Cabinet of 1880 would have been broken up on more than one of the occasions to which we have referred. He succeeded in arranging difficulties which it seemed impossible to smoothe, and in healing wounds which were apparently irremediable. Some men, indeed, thought that he carried conciliation too far. 'I have sometimes 'asked myself,' so the Duke of Argyll wrote to him after the fall of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, 'Is there any conceivable 'measure that Granville would *not* accept rather than split the 'party? And I have never been able to answer this question 'to my own satisfaction.' The loyalty which induced Lord Granville to adhere to his chief, through good report and ill report, was of the utmost importance to Mr. Gladstone. Lord Granville and he may have been cast in different moulds, but they were eminently fitted to serve together. As Lord Edmond says: the very dissimilarity of their respective characters and gifts seemed only to constitute an additional link between them; and each, with perfect truth, might say of the other

He was rich where I was poor,
And he supplied my wants the more
As his unlikeness fitted mine.

Unhappily, indeed, towards the end of his career a subject was slowly forcing itself to the front which was to shatter the Liberal party into pieces, and on which even Lord Granville's influence was to be powerless for union. But we cannot enter into the vexed subject of Home Rule at the close of an article already too long. Lord Granville was, of course, a party to the first Home Rule Bill. He did not live to see the revised measure of 1892.

In this article we have dealt almost exclusively with Lord Granville's public career, and we have tried to show that in some stages of it his character was neither hard enough nor stern enough to deal with the troublous circumstances in which his lot was cast. But his defects as a Foreign Minister, if defects they were, might have been reckoned as virtues in other men. He brought to the Foreign Office the feelings and the instincts of a gentleman; and he never realised that some of the contemporary statesmen with whom he was thrown into collision were made of baser metal, and actuated by more worldly motives than himself. In consequence he was occasionally overreached by diplomatists whose natures were either keener or sterner than his own. Thus, in his negotiations with the United States in 1871, he placed his hand on the table, and never realised that his adversary was reserving a trump card—the indirect claims—

for future use. While, in the controversy with Prince Bismarck in 1884, he was no match for a statesman who openly professed that, if he could not get his way in South Africa, he would not assist Lord Granville in furthering a policy which he approved in Egypt. It should not, moreover, be forgotten that the very qualities which occasionally interfered with the success of his foreign policy made him the most constant of colleagues and the most delightful of friends. Perhaps, indeed, a single anecdote will show more clearly than any language of our own the charm which was universally attributed to Lord Granville. In 1879, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, it was his duty to appoint a Captain of Deal Castle. He chose for the place, which Lord George Hamilton now fills, Lord Sydney, the Lord-Lieutenant of Kent. But, as the office was nominally a responsible post, he conceived it to be his duty to explain to the Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield, his reason for making it. Lord Beaconsfield replied to 'a rather laborious letter of considerable length in six words: "Happy Sydney! to be your neighbour."' "

We will not weaken the force of such a testimony by adding to it any tribute of our own.

ART. II.—THE BATTLE OF THE JAPAN SEA.

1. *The Japan Times* (Weekly Edition); June and July 1905. Yokohama.
2. *The Times*; June, July, and August, 1905. London.

‘BY the grace of Heaven and the help of the Gods, our combined fleet succeeded in nearly annihilating the Second and Third Squadrons of the enemy in the battle that took place in the Sea of Japan on May 27 and 28.’ With these words Admiral Togo begins his report of the most momentous sea-fight that has occurred since that of Trafalgar, the centenary of which we celebrate this very month and within a few days of the publication of the present number of this Review. A more decisive victory than that of the Japanese over the Russian fleet near Tsushima at the end of last May has never been won. For the first time—notwithstanding the frequent occasions, to take the present war alone, in which they had already been used—have modern naval weapons shown the full effect of which they are capable. As to many details of the memorable engagement we are as yet without information, the politic reticence of the Japanese Government being still maintained on a variety of points of interest. The knowledge of the successive phases of the battle which we do possess is principally, it would be no great exaggeration to say almost exclusively, derived from one side—that of the victors.* We know enough, however, to enable us to form a fairly accurate general view of the action, an account of which we purpose to lay before our readers.

There is no need to dwell on the early history of the so-called ‘Baltic Fleet,’ the great force under the orders of Admiral Rojdestvensky which met its fate in the Japan Sea. Most of it, known as the ‘Second Squadron,’ left Russia in October 1904. Before it had got as far on its voyage to the Far East as the Straits of Dover, its proceedings had occasioned the occurrence off the Dogger Bank which will be long remembered as ‘The North Sea Incident.’ This portion of the force was under Admiral Rojdestvensky’s immediate command. It spent a considerable time in French waters, and made its last start to

* A small amount of information—sometimes official—comes to us from the Russian side, and most of it seems trustworthy. Little if any credence, however, can be given to the alleged report of Admiral Rojdestvensky, published, as telegraphed from St. Petersburg, in the Paris newspaper ‘Liberté,’ and republished in London.

cross the Indian Ocean from Madagascar. On April 9, being then composed of twenty-six fighting vessels—from battleships to ‘auxiliary’ cruisers and destroyers—and nineteen colliers and other attendants, it passed Singapore. Though it was, in the circumstances, practically a peace operation, Admiral Rojdestvensky’s conduct of this large and very heterogeneous body of vessels throughout the long voyage without accident was a very creditable performance. It was all the more creditable because of the inexperience of most of the officers and men belonging to the ships, and the discontent of many. We may say of Rojdestvensky, what perhaps would be true of a great many officers in many navies, that in peace service, however arduous and perplexing, he had done well, and had established a right to be considered a man of exceptional capacity. Less fortunate than most of his contemporaries, he had to be subjected to the searching test imposed by high command in battle. In war, indeed, admirals are tried as by fire.

The Second Squadron of the Baltic Fleet made a prolonged stay on the coast of Annam, in the waters of French Indo-China, and was there reinforced by the ‘Third Squadron’ under Admiral Nebogatoff. The persistent use of neutral waters by a belligerent in the act of advancing to encounter his antagonist promised to raise, and but for the result of the great battle would almost certainly have raised, in menacing form, questions of international law of the utmost gravity. Never since the war began was the demeanour of the Japanese people more admirable. Knowing, as nearly every adult in Japan knew, that the whole course of the war might be altered and the future of their country imperilled by a Russian naval victory, the Japanese regarded the continued hospitality of a neutral to the Russian fleet with deep and natural resentment. Foreign tourists not specially observant could not help perceiving what the general feeling in Japan was. Yet the nation never lost its admirable composure, but gave to the world, in addition to many a one already given, another lesson in dignity. On May 14 the Russian fleet finally quitted neutral waters.

It passed south of Formosa through the Balintang* section of the Bashee Channel into the Pacific Ocean. Vladivostock, sooner or later, was known to be Admiral Rojdestvensky’s objective. There were four ways of getting there. Of these, that round the north of Yezo (Hokkaido), through the Laperouse or Soya Straits, was impracticable, if only on account of the greater

* This is stated on the authority of a Russian officer who was in the fleet.

length of the voyage necessary if it were taken, and the consequent serious increase in the consumption of the ships' coal. The second route, by the Tsugaru Straits, between Hokkaido and the main island of Japan, would have been only some 850 miles longer than that which was in fact taken, and, as the Russians were accompanied by colliers, from which, till in Formosan waters, they supplied themselves, their 'coal endurance' would most likely have allowed them to go by it, and it would have been free from some of the disadvantages which the Korean Straits route forced upon them. The last-named straits might have been approached either by the Formosa Channel west of the island which gives it its name, or by the waters east of that island. The difference in distance is not great: the distance by the latter of the two routes, the one which Rojdestvensky by passing through the Bashee Channel had chosen, being only about 100 miles greater than that by the former.

In nothing throughout the war have the Japanese shown more ingenuity than in watching their enemy and gaining information about his movements. A good deal has been written—by foreigners, of course—to show that the Japanese 'divined' Rojdestvensky's intention of trying to pass through the Korean Straits in his attempt to get to Vladivostock. If there is one thing that the Japanese have exhibited no predilection for doing, it is allowing the result of an important belligerent operation to depend on a happy guess. They have recourse to the more prosaic and much more trustworthy method of keeping an eye on their enemy, and sending in a stream of reports about his proceedings. As anyone who knew anything of their navy would have expected them to do, they took special steps to look out for Rojdestvensky and his fleet. 'A 'certain squadron,' as the Japanese themselves state, 'had been 'stationed in Formosan waters as the advanced guard of their 'fleet.' Having seen the Russians through the Bashee Channel, and carefully observed their movements, the commander of this squadron ascertained how they were proceeding. He accordingly steamed homewards, hanging on, apparently, to his enemy's rear as long as desirable, and no doubt communicating with the signal and telegraph stations on his way. Duly warned by its advance guard, the Japanese fleet in the Korean Channel 'sent out scouts in the direction from which the enemy 'was expected.'

The departure of the Russians from the coast of Annam was known at Hong Kong on May 17, and must have been known in Japan at least as early. On the 19th, having passed through the Bashee Channel, their fleet took advantage of calm weather

and coaled in the open sea. On the 20th and 21st it steered to the eastward; and on the 22nd, availing itself of another fine day, it coaled again.* The fleet then turned northward, and on the 24th or 25th was in the vicinity of Wusung, where transports destined for Shanghai were detached. The Japanese fleet, evidently by means of its scouts or lookout ships, 'came into direct contact with Rojdestvensky's fleet, for the first time after the latter's departure from the Annamese shore, somewhere in the eastern sea to the south of Kiushiu on May 26.' On the same, if not the previous, day a report was telegraphed from Shanghai that a Russian force of twenty-seven warships had been sighted at the Saddle Islands, north of the Chusan group, rather more than 300 miles from the entrance to the Korean Straits. Consequently it must have been known in Japan in good time that Rojdestvensky had committed himself to an attempt to pass through the straits in question. What was now necessary was to ascertain the time at which he would appear in them, and which of the two channels, the one to the eastward or the one to the westward of Tsushima, he would select for his passage.

About 5 A.M. on May 27 one of the Japanese scouts, the 'Shinanu-Maru'—her name shows her to have been a commissioned merchant steamer—sighted the advancing Russians south of Quelpart Island. She immediately reported their appearance by wireless telegraph to Admiral Togo, adding that the strangers were apparently shaping a course so as to pass through the eastern channel between Tsushima and Japan. Two hours later, or about 7 A.M., the cruiser 'Izumi,' the left or port wing ship of an inner cordon of scouts, reported that the Russians had reached a point twenty-five miles north-west of Uku-Shima, which island is about forty-six miles south of Tsushima, and were proceeding in a north-easterly direction. Between 10 A.M. and 11 A.M. Vice-Admiral Kataoka, with a squadron 'which,' says a Japanese account, 'did not consist of powerful warships,' and, in fact, comprised, according to an official Russian report, the old and rather slow cruiser 'Matsushima' and 'Hashidate,' besides, as we know from Japanese sources, the 'Itsukushima' and 'Izumi,' came in touch with the Russian fleet between Iki Island and Tsushima. Kataoka was accompanied by two 'sections' under Vice-Admiral Dewa, whose flag was flying in the 'Kasagi,' and Rear-Admiral (Masamichi) Togo. These sections contained the

* These details are taken from a lecture delivered by Captain Ito at a meeting of the Toho Kyokai on June 26 ('Japan Times' [Weekly Ed.], July 1, 1905).

fast cruisers of moderate or small size 'Chitose,' 'Niitaka,' 'Otowa,' 'Suma,' and 'Akitsushima.' The Russians opened fire on these ships, and supposed that they had driven them away. What really happened was that the Japanese withdrew, proceeding well into the Korean Straits, in the expectation, which was not disappointed, that the Russians would follow them. 'Kataoka,' say the Japanese, 'led the Russians into a trap.' He may not have really done this, because Rojdestvensky was already committed to attempting the straits; but he was certainly able to give information of the greatest value to his commander-in-chief. Speaking of Kataoka's, Dewa's, and (Masamichi) Togo's proceedings, Admiral Togo, the commander-in-chief, says:

'Notwithstanding the repeated firing by the enemy, these sections of our fleet maintained uninterrupted touch with the enemy as far as Okino-Shima, all the while constantly and minutely telegraphing to me about the condition of the enemy. In spite of the thick mist which confined the vision to within five nautical miles, the information thus received enabled me at a distance of several tens of miles to form a vivid picture in my mind of the condition of the enemy. I was thus able, before I could see him with my own eyes, to know that the enemy's fighting sections comprised the whole of the Second and Third Squadrons; that they were accompanied by seven * special-service ships; that the enemy's ships were disposed in a double column formation; that their main strength was placed at the head of their right column, with the special-service ships at their rear; that the enemy's rate of speed was about 12 knots; that the enemy were continuing to steam in a north-easterly direction, and so forth. On the strength of this information I was able to form a mental resolution to meet the enemy with the main strength of my fleet near Okino-Shima, at about two o'clock in the afternoon, and open the attack on the head of the enemy's left column.'

We are still ignorant of much of the procedure of the Russians; but in face of this clear statement of the advantages derived by the Japanese from careful scouting and intelligent use of the wireless telegraph, we may well be astonished at the absence of both on the other side. Several of the Russian ships were furnished with wireless telegraph apparatus; yet there is not a sign of their having used it to convey information, or even to disconcert their adversary's telegraphing operations.

The opposing fleets being now nearly in each other's presence, it is necessary to state their strength. Of the Russian force we have a detailed enumeration, which may be accepted as perfectly accurate, given by Admiral Togo in his official report,

* In a supplementary report Admiral Togo gives the names of six special-service Russian ships and one auxiliary cruiser.

in which he names and accounts for every Russian ship and auxiliary vessel present in the battle. It is less easy to ascertain the exact amount of the Japanese force. The wise and well-maintained secrecy which has been so notable a factor of the success of Japan in this war has not even yet been entirely given up. If we take the name of every ship mentioned in Admiral Togo's report and in the report on the casualties amongst officers and men, we may feel fairly confident that we can make out an exhaustive list of the Japanese ships, larger than destroyers, engaged in the battle; at any rate, we shall not have included in it any that were not. When we come to the Japanese torpedo-craft—destroyers and torpedo-boats—we are met by a special difficulty. Both in the list of the killed and wounded and in Admiral Togo's report, the destroyers are in some cases mentioned by name and in others merely by the number of their flotillas. Torpedo-boats are rarely specified, but, with few exceptions, are referred to as being in flotillas or groups. The number of individuals in a flotilla is not reported. We believe that it was not exactly uniform. By taking the lower number, three, we shall not exaggerate the aggregate Japanese torpedo-craft force. The Russians, it may be remarked, in one report put it at forty to sixty, and in another as high as seventy to ninety craft.

In order to give a fairly accurate picture of the relative fighting efficiency of the two fleets, the vessels composing them will be divided into groups as follows :

RUSSIAN.

Five modern-type battleships.—
'Kniaz Suvaroff,' 'Orel,'
'Imperator Alexander III.,'
'Borodino,' 'Oslyabya.'

Three older-type battleships.—
'Navarin,' 'Sissoi Veliky,'
'Imperator Nicholas I.'

Three coast-defence ships.—'Admiral Apraxine,' 'Admiral Ushakoff,' 'Admiral Seniavin.'

Three older-type armoured cruisers.
— 'Admiral Nakhimoff,'
'Dimitri Donskoi,' 'Vladimir Monomakh.'

JAPANESE.

Four modern-type battleships.—
'Mikasa,' 'Shikishima,'
'Asahi,' 'Fuji.'

One older-type battleship.—'Chinyen.*'

Eight modern-type armoured cruisers.—'Nisshin,' 'Kasuga,' 'Adzuma,' 'Idzumo,' 'Asama,' 'Tokiwa,' 'Iwate,' 'Yakumo.'

* The Japanese counted this ship as about equal to the 'Imperator Nicholas I.' By an order of the Japanese Minister of Marine, dated June 6, 1905, the 'Iki' (late 'Nicholas I.') is placed on the list of battleships next to the 'Chinyen.'

RUSSIAN.

Six modern-type protected cruisers.
 'Aurora,' 'Oleg,' 'Jemchug,'
 'Izumrud,' 'Svietlana,'
 'Almaz.'

JAPANESE.

Seven modern-type protected cruisers.—'Chitose,' 'Kasagi,' 'Tsushima,' 'Niitaka,' 'Otowa,' 'Suma,' 'Akashi.'
Six older-type protected cruisers.—
 'Hashidate,' 'Itsukushima,'
 'Matsushima,' 'Naniwa,'
 'Akitsushima,' 'Chiyoda.'
Two small cruisers.—'Chihaya,'
 'Tatsuta.'
One despatch vessel.—'Arare.'

Omitting the Japanese despatch vessel, the above lists give us twenty Russian ships against twenty-eight Japanese.

RUSSIAN.

Nine torpedo-boat destroyers.—
 'Biedovi,' 'Vidny,' 'Bystri,'
 'Gromki' (name doubtful),
 'Bodry,' 'Blevastchy,' 'Gromiashtchi,' 'Bravi.'

JAPANESE.

Fourteen torpedo-boat destroyers.
 'Asagiri,' 'Usugumo,' 'Akebono,' 'Ikusuchi,' 'Oboro,'
 'Shiranui,' 'Fubuki,' 'Murakomo,' 'Sazanami,' 'Akatsuki,' 'Kagero,' 'Shirakumo,' 'Yugiri.'
Eleven torpedo-boat flotillas (about thirty-three boats in all).—
 The 1st, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th,
 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th,
 20th.

In addition to these there were on each side several special-service vessels. One of those on the Russian side was equipped as an auxiliary cruiser and is classed apart. One was a repairing ship, and one or two were tugs. As some of the Russian vessels were sunk, and all were fired upon and mostly lost officers and men, their casualties go to fill up the total reported, and both they and their crews have to be taken into account.*

RUSSIAN.

Six special-service vessels.—
 'Kamschatka,' 'Irtish,'
 (?) 'Anadyr,' 'Rusi,' 'Korea,'
 'Suveri.'
One auxiliary cruiser.—'Ural.'

JAPANESE.

Seven special-service vessels.—
 'Kumano-Maru,' 'Manshu-Maru,'
 'America-Maru,' 'Kasuga-Maru,'
 'Shinanu-Maru,' 'Tainan-Maru,'
 'Yawata-Maru.'

* There were also two Russian hospital ships, both of which were brought into port by the Japanese. One was detained for breaches of international law, the other was released.

The Russians maintain that the 'four transports and two tugs that accompanied the fleet were a great drawback and hindrance of operations.' No such complaint of their special-service vessels comes from the Japanese. On the contrary, one of them, the 'Shinanu-Maru,' already mentioned as having sighted the enemy early on May 27, did such good service that her officers and men received the special honour of a *kanjo*, or letter of thanks, a distinction highly prized in the army and navy of Japan.

The guns carried by the two fleets, apart from their destroyers and special-service vessels, were :

—	Russian	Japanese
12-inch	26	23
10-inch	7	3
9-inch	12	0
8-inch	12	34
6-inch	151	192
4·7-inch	38	98

It will be seen that the Japanese had a considerable preponderance in guns of the medium and lighter natures ; whereas of the heavier natures, 10-inch and 12-inch, the Russians had a majority almost equally marked. It is worth notice that each side had in its modern-type battleships the same number of the powerful 12-inch guns—viz., sixteen, the remainder being scattered amongst less important ships. Guns are not the only offensive appliances in the armament of modern men-of-war. All the battleships on both sides and, with few exceptions—and those only on the Japanese side—the cruisers also were equipped with tubes for launching torpedoes. Of these the Russians had ninety-four and the Japanese ninety-seven. As far as is known, throughout an action continuing for two days not a single torpedo was launched from any one of these 191 tubes, and, if any were launched, no torpedo so used destroyed an enemy. The installation of a torpedo armament on board battleships and cruisers has modified in no small degree their internal design, and has been in that and in other ways a cause of great expense. The introduction of it is to be traced to insufficiently considered inferences from events in the American civil war, in which the destructive effect of explosion produced in close proximity to the under-water part of a ship's hull had been repeatedly observed.

The battleships of both fleets, even those of the latest date

had their bows constructed for ramming. Not only was no attempt made at attacking with the ram, but neither in the recent battle nor throughout the whole war has such a mode of attack been thought of. Here again a hasty deduction—this time drawn from the incidents of the battle of Lissa—has needlessly affected the design of the most important class of ships for nearly forty years.

In the totals of the *personnel* of the opposing fleets there was a wide difference, the figures being :

—	Russian	Japanese
Men-of-war	10,289	12,414
Special-service ships . . .	1,600*	1,800*
Destroyers	528	820
Auxiliary cruiser	350*	0
Torpedo-boats	0	748
Total	12,767	15,782

The strategic advantages of a position near the Korean Straits had made it a practical certainty that the Japanese fleet would await, in that neighbourhood, the approach of its antagonist. Proximity to the important naval port and dockyard of Sasebo was a great advantage in itself. The distance from Tsushima to Vladivostock is not much greater than that from the eastern entrance of the Straits of Tsugaru to that seaport. As the Japanese commander-in-chief would be in telegraphic communication with many places on the coast of Japan, as well as in the islands lying to the south-west of the empire, his scouting vessels and 'advanced squadron' would be able to give him early information should his enemy make for the Straits of Tsugaru ; in fact, a station in the Korean Straits had the merit of enabling the fleet which occupied it to move on interior lines. The particular place at which the Japanese fleet should lie depended on several considerations. Of these a very important one was facility of concealing its proceedings. Concealment could be most effectually maintained, whilst not impeding the receipt of intelligence, by selecting a place in telegraphic communication with Japan, and yet so much out of the ordinary line of traffic that preventing visits to it or departures from it would be practicable without attracting special attention. Every necessary condition was fulfilled by the great inlet near Masanpho, in Southern Korea, called, in our newspapers, Chin-hai Bay.

* Estimated.

A fleet lying in it would be hidden from passing strangers by the island named on our charts and maps Cargado or Kohe. Admiral Togo was there with his fleet when, in the early morning, the news of Admiral Rojdestvensky's appearance south of Quelpart Island was telegraphed to him through his chain of scouts and look-out vessels. He at once put to sea, and proceeded to the eastern channel of the Korean Straits, making for a point about eighty miles off—say, six and a half hours' steaming—and about ten miles north of Okino-Shima, an islet also named on British charts Kotsu-Shima or Colnet. At this point he arrived about noon on May 27, with the battleship squadron under his personal command, the armoured cruiser squadron under Vice-Admiral Kamimura, Vice-Admiral Uriyu's detachment, of which the flagship was the old cruiser 'Naniwa,' and various destroyer flotillas. There was a strong south-westerly breeze and a high sea. The weather was foggy, but ships five miles distant could be made out, and, as proved by the range at which the Russians opened fire,* were generally well in sight at seven or eight miles. In one of his reports Admiral Togo says: 'The weather was very misty, so that even when there was no smoke of guns or coal the vision could not reach beyond five *ri* (12½ miles).' The state of the sea was such that the torpedo flotillas directly under Admiral Togo's command were ordered to take shelter in Miura Bay, in Tsushima.

The Japanese fleet, which had been standing to the eastward, altered course to west so as to appear on the left of the approaching Russians. About 1.30 P.M. Vice-Admiral Dewa, with his flagship 'Kasagi,' the 'Chitose,' and the rest of his detachment, joined the commander-in-chief, Vice-Admiral Kataoka's cruisers still keeping touch with their enemy. For several hours, indeed until evening, when the wind went down, the sea continued to be too rough for most of the destroyers and torpedo-boats to work effectively. Consequently the first stage of the battle was fought out and the issue decided by the ships' guns. At 1.45 P.M. Togo, steering west, as has just been said, first caught sight of his enemy on his port hand a few miles to the south.

He made out the Russian main body in two columns. Four battleships of the 'Borodino' type were the leading ships of the right or starboard column, which the 'Kniaz Suvaroff,' carrying Admiral Rojdestvensky's flag, headed. The 'Oslyabya,' with

* Either 'five miles' is an erroneous translation, in English reports, of 'five *ri*'; or at a distance of five miles a ship could be made out so distinctly that her name would be known.

Admiral Fokersham, led the left or port column, which, besides that ship, contained the two older-type battleships 'Sissoi Veliky' and 'Navarin,' and the old armoured cruiser 'Admiral Nakhimoff.' These were followed by the 'Imperator 'Nicholas I.' and three coast-defence ships. Thrown forward between the two columns were the fast cruisers 'Jemchug' and 'Izumrud.' Well astern of the columns 'were dimly observed through the mist,' says Admiral Togo, 'over a space of several miles, a long line of ships, including a detachment consisting of the "Oleg," "Aurora," and cruisers of the second and third classes; the "Dimitri Donskoi," "Vladimir Monomakh," the special-service vessels, and so on.' It has been supposed that Admiral Rojdestvensky stationed the most powerful of his ships, which, like Admiral Togo, he kept under his immediate command, on the right-hand or starboard side of his fleet because he had expected the Japanese attack to come from that side, and not, as turned out to be the case, from the other. It is much more likely that he did so for well-known reasons of navigation, it being the custom for the commander of a fleet to take his station in the column which would have to pass closest to the shore or where hydrographic 'dangers' are most numerous. The port column of a fleet standing to the north-eastward through the eastern channel of the Korean Channel would, except for Tsushima, have an open sea on its port hand, and would have the starboard column between it and the long stretch of coast and many outlying dangers—formidable in foggy weather—that extend from the Goto Islands to Iki-Shima. It being impossible to be certain of the exact point from which Togo would deliver his attack, Admiral Rojdestvensky, having decided to move in two columns, did the natural and proper thing in putting his own particular division on the starboard or right-hand side.

At 1.55 P.M. Admiral Togo gave the order for battle, and accompanied it with the following memorable signal :

'THE RISE OR FALL OF THE EMPIRE DEPENDS UPON THIS
ENGAGEMENT. DO YOUR UTMOST, EVERY ONE OF YOU.'

This message deserves to stand by that signalled just a hundred years ago by the immortal Nelson at the opening of the battle of Trafalgar.

The Japanese battleships and armoured cruisers, twelve in all, had been formed into a special group. Two armoured cruisers, the 'Nisshin' and 'Kasuga,' under Rear-Admiral Misu, afterwards wounded in the action, formed part of the battleship division. The remaining six, under Vice-Admiral Kami-

mura, joined that division, and in the earlier part of the engagement acted with it. It is interesting to see how Admiral Togo, by combining his battleships and armoured cruisers into one body, neutralised such superiority as may have been possessed by the Russians owing to their larger number of battleships of various classes. The Japanese combination, as will appear in the course of the story of the battle, proved thoroughly effective. Having sighted his opponent, Togo, with the battleship squadron, altered course to south-west, so as to lead his enemy to believe that he meant to pass him in a direction opposite to his own. He did not continue to steer this course for many minutes. At 2.5 P.M. he 'suddenly swung round to the east,' and pressed obliquely on the head of his enemy's columns. The two sides were now approaching each other on courses which would meet at an angle of about forty-five degrees. We are not told at what speed the Japanese ships were proceeding on their new course. Admiral Togo has informed us that, when first reported in the early morning of May 27, the Russians were steaming at the rate of twelve knots. It is reasonable to suppose that when in actual combat they would endeavour to increase their rate of steaming, and, as a matter of fact, Baron Ferjen, captain of the cruiser 'Izumrud,' which escaped, but was afterwards wrecked in Vladimir Bay, north of Vladivostock, stated that the Russian battleships proceeded at a speed of fourteen knots. For a considerable length of time previous to the battle the extreme speed of the Japanese battleships, fixed by that of the slowest amongst them, had been fifteen knots, a rate not likely to have been fully reached during the varying manœuvres of a general action. Togo had, in fact, turned to the eastward at a point from which he was able, without material increase of speed, to pass ahead of his adversary's columns, which for some time maintained the course that they had been steering.

This movement of Togo's across the Russians' line of advance, from which it resulted in heading them off, gave him a great tactical advantage, an advantage, be it observed, made possible in the first place, and then continued by the tactics adopted by Rojdestvensky. The Russian formation in two columns had the immediate effect of masking the fire of some of their own ships, which were at no greater distance from some of the Japanese leading ships than several consorts of the latter, which had only the masking Russian column to deal with, were from the last-named body. The chief vice of Rojdestvensky's tactical method, however, was his contempt of the principle that your line should be formed as nearly as possible at right angles to

the direction in which the enemy bears from you. This principle Togo respected, with the important consequence that, as he says, he was able to 'concentrate a fierce fire on the two warships 'which were at the head of the enemy's lines.' At 2.8 P.M. the Russians opened fire at a range said to have been as great as twelve thousand metres (over six miles).^{*} The Japanese exhibited more self-restraint, and reserved their fire till they had got within six thousand metres.

The concentration of the fire of the entire battleship and armoured cruiser squadron, under Admiral Togo's personal command, soon overwhelmed the 'Oslyabya,' at the head of the Russian port column. She fell out of the line, a fire breaking out on board her. The Japanese concentrated fire

'increased in efficiency in proportion to the decrease of the distance. The enemy's flagship "Kniaz Suvaroff" and the "Imperator Alexander III.," which was second in the line, fell off from the line, a severe fire having broken out on board those battleships. The confusion in the enemy's formation became more and more evident, and fire occurred on board several vessels which were bringing up the enemy's rear. The smoke carried by the westerly (*sic*) wind † covered the whole surface of the sea, and, combining with the fog, completely enveloped the enemy's fleet, so that our battleship squadron was compelled to suspend gun-fire for a while. Our fleet also sustained more or less damage. The "Asama" was struck by three shells near the water-line aft. She had her steering-gear damaged, and also began to leak badly. She had, therefore, to leave the line of battle for a while, though shortly afterwards, having effected provisional repairs, she was able to rejoin the line.'—*Togo's Official Report.* ‡

Thus, whilst the Japanese had suffered only the temporary disablement of one armoured cruiser, the Russians had practically lost two of their largest, and one somewhat smaller, but still important, battleships. Togo saw at 2.45 P.M.—thirty-seven minutes after the commencement of the action—that 'the 'issue of the day was already decided.' Such is the power of modern naval weapons when wielded by properly trained crews under the direction of a skilful tactician!

The Russian columns, unable to stand against the concentrated and well-aimed fire directed at their heads by the Japanese, were pressed from the north-east, the direction in which they had been steering, first towards the east and then towards the south-east. 'About 3 P.M.,' reports Admiral Togo, 'our force

* In naval language 'miles' are always sea or nautical miles.

† Admiral Togo in other places says it was south-west.

‡ Japan Times (Weekly Ed.), June 17, 1905, p. 431.

'was already ahead of the enemy's fleet.' This statement enables us to form some estimate of the difference in speed between the two fleets. Fire had been opened by the Russians at a range slightly exceeding six miles. The contending forces were steering converging courses about forty-five degrees apart. In fifty-two minutes the Japanese line, which had begun to fire at a range of 6,000 metres, was ahead of the Russian, which latter had got into 'an irregular single column.' It was probably at this moment that the range, as stated in some Japanese reports, had decreased to 3,000 or 2,500 metres. Allowing some forcing off of the Russian line from its original, nearly north-east, course, the time taken by the Japanese ships to head it would not indicate a speed on their part exceeding greatly, or at all, that of the Russian ships which they were engaging.

The Russians suddenly altered course to the north, as if intent on turning the Japanese rear and escaping to the northward. The Japanese ships altered course sixteen points together—that is, all turned at the same time and steered in a direction exactly opposite to that previously followed—the battleships being headed by the armoured cruiser 'Nisshin.' The armoured cruiser squadron performed the same operation and followed the battleships, the Russians being pressed to the south and subjected to a galling fire. The 'Oslyabya,' already *hors de combat*, was sunk at 3.10 P.M. The Russian official report, based on the statements of survivors of her crew taken to Vladivostock in the cruiser 'Almaz' and the destroyer 'Bravi,' says: 'The first two Japanese shells caused a leak in the "Oslyabya," and water poured in with such force that she heeled over, and about three o'clock turned turtle.'

The 'Kniaz Suvaroff' also had to quit the line, but continued to keep up a vigorous fire. Admiral Rojdestvensky, who had been wounded at the beginning of the battle, was transferred from her, with some of his staff, to the destroyer 'Biedovi.*' The 'Borodino' took the 'Kniaz Suvaroff's' station at the head of the line. At four o'clock the 'Sissoi Veliky' was forced out of the line whilst her crew were extinguishing a fire, which having been done she resumed her station. The Russian fleet then manœuvred to shield the 'Kniaz Suvaroff,' but it had got into great confusion, and was making its way to the eastward as well as it could. The Japanese battleship squadron again turned sixteen points together, thus retracing its steps, and, being followed by the armoured cruisers, continued to

* Called in error, in a Russian report, 'Burni.'

cannonade the Russians till 4.45 P.M., driving them more and more to the south. Though he had attached Vice-Admiral Kamimura's six armoured cruisers to his own battleship division, Togo left to that flag-officer suitable freedom of action. Whilst conforming generally to the commander-in-chief's movements, Kamimura manœuvred so as to bring his armoured cruisers temporarily into a line nearly at right angles to that formed by the Japanese battleship division. The Japanese, as it were, moved for a time along two sides of a square, the Russians being within the re-entering angle thus formed, and being consequently cannonaded from two quarters. A torpedo attack was made at 3.40 P.M. upon the disabled 'Kniaz Suvaroff,' which ship had lost one mast and two funnels, and had but little power of movement left. This attack failed. A second one, made about 4.45 by the 'Susuki' destroyer flotilla, partially succeeded, and the Russian battleship heeled over ten degrees. Nevertheless she remained afloat. In the evening Vice-Admiral Uryu, on board the 'Naniwa,' with his detachment and that of Rear-Admiral (Masamichi) Togo, came upon the 'Kniaz Suvaroff' and the repairing ship 'Kamchatka,' also lying disabled. The latter was promptly sent to the bottom. The 'Fujimoto' destroyer flotilla then attacked the 'Kniaz Suvaroff.' 'The latter,' says Admiral Togo, with evident admiration for a gallant enemy, resisted to the last, 'firing a 'small gun mounted at the stern; but she was twice torpedoed, 'and eventually sank at 7.20 P.M.'

When the action between the battleships of the two sides began, Admirals Kataoka, Uryu, Dewa, and (Masamichi) Togo had been sent off with their cruisers to engage the corresponding ships in the Russian fleet. 'In pursuance of the previously 'fixed arrangement,' the Japanese cruisers steamed to the south, and came upon the rear of their enemy, who was advancing towards the point which the others had left. At 2.45 P.M. Uryu's and Dewa's detachments, maintaining touch with each other, first opened fire 'in reversed lines'—which apparently means that the combatants were steering in opposite directions—on the Russian cruiser squadron, comprising the fast cruisers 'Oleg,' 'Aurora,' 'Svietlana,' and 'Almaz,' and also the slower ships 'Dimitri Donskoi' and 'Vladimir Monomakh.' The Japanese went right across the enemy's rear. Admiral Togo's report says, regarding these cruisers of his, 'Taking advantage of 'their superior speed, these detachments frequently put about 'their heads, and appeared now to the enemy's left, and then to 'the right, continuing the attack for some thirty minutes.' Though other Japanese officers, whose remarks on the battle have been

reported by newspaper correspondents, frequently speak of the superior speed of their own ships, this is the only passage in the commander-in-chief's report in which he directs special attention to it. As the nineteen-years-old 'Naniwa' was one of the Japanese cruisers named, and as she was opposed to such ships as the twenty-knot steamers 'Aurora' and 'Oleg,' and the twenty-three-knot steamer 'Almaz'—the latter a speed not claimed by any cruiser in the Japanese fleet—it must be that the speed of the Japanese cruisers was superior to that of their opponents because these opponents had suffered from the effects of the gun-fire to which they had been subjected. What the effect of that fire was may be judged from the statement made by Admiral Togo that a vessel of the 'Aurora' type 'rushed out of the Russian line and threatened to attack our forces, whose fierce fire, however, succeeded in repulsing her 'with heavy loss.' A similar bold attempt had been made against the Japanese battleship squadron, shortly after 3 P.M., by the 'Jemchug.' These acts may be compared with the proceedings of the Russian ships 'Bayan' and 'Novik' in the campaign of 1904. They show that the Russian service has in it cruiser captains of whom any navy might be proud. About this time three Russian destroyers made a dash at the Japanese cruisers, but were not more successful than their enemy's destroyers had been in their earlier operations.

The Russian cruisers stoutly disputed the matter with their opponents. Admiral Uryu's flagship, the 'Naniwa,' was hit below the water-line in the after part, and was compelled to retire for repairs. The cruiser 'Kasagi,' the fastest ship on the Japanese side and Admiral Dewa's flagship, was struck in a coal-bunker on the port side, and began to leak so badly that, escorted by the 'Chitose,' she had to retire into smooth water, where she could be repaired. Her repairs could not be completed in time to allow of her taking any further part in the battle, so Admiral Dewa left her in Aburadani Bay, and shifted his flag to the 'Chitose,' in which ship he rejoined the fleet.

Towards five o'clock the Russians, probably despairing of forcing their way through to the north, tried to get away to the south; and Togo with his own squadron steamed southwards over a distance of eight miles, 'quietly firing upon the second-class cruisers, the special service vessels, and other ships of the 'enemy lingering to the right.' One of the Russian vessels thus dealt with was the 'Ural,' an auxiliary cruiser, which the Japanese battleships sank. At half-past five these ships again stood to the northward in search of enemies, and discovered a group of six vessels steaming in a north-easterly direction,

which was gradually changed to a north-westerly. This group contained the 'Imperator Alexander III.,' a ship that had previously been driven out of her line, had been set on fire, and had been seen to be listing over to one side. It also contained the 'Borodino,' which ship had gallantly filled the place from which the 'Kniaz Suvaroff' had been driven. Shortly after 7 P.M. the 'Borodino,' after having also been on fire, 'capsized,' says the Russian report, 'and sank in three minutes.' A similar fate befell the 'Imperator Alexander III.'

The battle had now become an affair in which the Japanese ships roamed about looking for and engaging the different groups of ships into which the surviving components of the Russian fleet, that had long lost all tactical coherence, was broken up.

With the exception of two or three cruisers, the Japanese ships retained unimpaired their power of movement, and were able to steam freely from one group of battered and more or less disabled antagonists to another. This retention of mobility on the part of the Japanese must have equalled or surpassed in value mere superiority of speed, for which, indeed, it may have been mistaken.

'Towards evening,' says Admiral Togo, 'the wind considerably abated; but the sea still ran high, and our torpedoers, operating in the open sea, were placed at no small disadvantage.' This explains the failure of the earlier Japanese torpedo operations, before the sea had gone down as a result of the wind having fallen. 'The first torpedo attacks* by their destroyers,' we learn from a Russian official report, 'had scarcely any result, no explosions being observed up to ten in the evening.' Admiral Togo indicates also that the torpedo attacks were not successful until 11 P.M. 'From sunset,' he says, 'the enemy defended themselves to the utmost by gun-fire and search-lights, but finally gave way to our attack. The enemy's ships lost sight of each other, and separately sought to escape, but were pursued by our attackers. A terrible *mêlée* ensued, resulting at least in the complete loss of the fighting and navigating capacity of the enemy's battleship "Sissoi Veliky" and armoured cruisers "Admiral Nakhimoff" and "Vladimir Monomakh," which were torpedoed.' Considering how severely these ships had been battered in the daylight action, their holding out so long against their torpedo assailants was

* Alluding, of course, to this phase of the battle, and not to the finishing stroke given at 7.20 P.M. to the nearly helpless 'Kniaz Suvaroff.'

highly meritorious. Three Japanese torpedo-boats, Nos. 69, 34, and 35, were sunk by the valiant Russian defenders, notwithstanding their miserable plight. In the night two ships steaming to the north-east were discovered by the 'Susuki' destroyer flotilla, and were at once torpedoed. One, found to be the battleship 'Navarin,' having received two consecutive hits from torpedoes on each side, was sunk. Other flotillas searched for enemies in every direction throughout the night, but failed to discover any.

At dawn on May 28 the fog had cleared away, and in accordance with orders previously communicated to his ships, Admiral Togo's battleship and armoured cruiser squadrons were at a rendezvous twenty nautical miles south of Ullondo, the island to the north-westward of the Liancourt rocks called on British charts Matsu-Shima and Dagolet. The terrible battle was to run into a second day. At 5.20 A.M. the Japanese cruiser squadron, sixty miles off, discovered 'several streaks of smoke' in the east. This was reported by wireless telegraph to the commander-in-chief. The smoke was found to proceed from the Russian battleships 'Orel' and 'Imperator Nicholas I.,' the coast-defence ships 'Admiral Apraxine' and 'Admiral Seniavin,' and the cruiser 'Izumrud.' Another cruiser far to the south disappeared. 'The enemy's vessels,' says Admiral Togo, had been 'severely damaged, and were no match for our superior force; so that immediately after the opening of gun-fire by our battleship and cruiser squadrons, Rear-Admiral Nebogatoff, commander of the enemy's squadron, and his subordinate officers expressed their desire to surrender. I therefore accepted this proposal, and specially permitted the officers to wear their swords.' The permission specially granted shows that in the opinion of the Japanese, no bad judges, the surrender was justified by considerations of military honour. Whatever other quality the Russians may have failed to show in the terrific ordeal through which they had been passing, they were never wanting in a courage which may have been passive, but which in self-devotion was sublime. The Japanese fast cruiser 'Chitose,' having destroyed one of the Russian destroyers on the way, came up and pursued the 'Izumrud,' which was making off; but the Russian cruiser, owing to her high speed, escaped. Her subsequent life, however, was short. She passed Vladivostock, going on to Vladimir Bay, and there ran on the rocks and became a total wreck in the night of May 29.

A Russian ship having been sighted to the westward, the cruisers 'Otowa' and 'Niitaka' were ordered to attack her. She turned out to be the 'Svietlana,' and after an engagement lasting

from 9 A.M. till six minutes past eleven she was sunk by her two opponents, off Chukpyon Bay, in Korea. The 'Niitaka' and the Japanese destroyer 'Murakomo' forced ashore, five miles north of the bay, the Russian destroyer 'Bystri,' which was totally wrecked. The work of encountering the scattered remnants of the Russian fleet went on. At 3 P.M. the Russian coast-defence ship 'Admiral Ushakoff' was sighted. 'The "Iwate"' and "Yakumo,"' says Admiral Togo, 'dashed forward in order to encounter the Russian ship. The latter then attempted to escape, but was overtaken at a little past 5 P.M. and was at once called on to surrender.' The Russian made no reply to this demand, but at once opened fire, and, being fired on in return, was finally sunk by the two Japanese ships, 300 of her crew being rescued by them. How much she had been injured in the previous day's fight is not stated, but it may be taken as certain that she did not come out of it unscathed; and that it took the fast Japanese armoured cruisers more than two hours to get within effective range of a coast-defence ship, which had already been subjected to the fire of the Japanese fleet, is an interesting detail of the action.

As already stated, the Russian battleship 'Sissoi Veliky' and the armoured cruisers 'Admiral Nakhimoff' and 'Vladimir Monomakh' had been claimed as torpedoed in the night. They were, however, still afloat on the 28th; but, their crews having been removed, they sank before noon on that day.

The most dramatic incident of the fearful tragedy called the Battle of the Japan Sea occurred in the afternoon of May 28. The Japanese destroyers 'Sazanami' and 'Kagero' about 3.30 P.M. discovered, some forty miles south-west of Ullondo Island, two Russian destroyers coming from the east. They chased and overtook them at 4.45 P.M. The Japanese opened fire, whereon one of the Russians hoisted a white flag, a colour rarely displayed in this war. She was the 'Biedovi,' and had on board the badly wounded Admiral Rojdestvensky and his staff. Admiral Folkershamm had been killed on board the 'Oslyabya' at an early stage in the first day's action. Admiral Nebogatoff was made prisoner when the 'Orel' and her companions were taken. Admiral Enquist had succeeded in getting away with three cruisers which eventually reached Manila. Now the sole remaining Russian admiral, and he the commander-in-chief, had fallen into the hands of his Japanese antagonists. The victory had indeed been won.

In a supplementary note to his official report Admiral Togo gives succinctly the way in which the Russian fleet had been disposed of.

Eight battleships.—Six sunk, two captured.

Nine cruisers.—Four sunk, three escaped to Manila, one escaped to Vladivostock, one escaped to Vladimir Bay, but was there beached and destroyed.

Three coast-defence ships.—Two captured, one sunk.

Nine destroyers.—One captured, four sunk, one escaped to Shanghai, two escaped to Vladivostock, one foundered on the way to Shanghai.

One auxiliary cruiser.—Sunk.

Six special-service ships.—Four sunk, two escaped to Shanghai.

As was to be expected from the destruction of so many of their ships, the Russian losses in *personnel* were very heavy. Still, they were not so terribly great as has been generally supposed. Out of the total of 12,767 previously noted, 7,282 were taken prisoners, many having been rescued from sinking ships. The crews of the ships and destroyers which escaped, and also hands belonging to sunken ships that were saved by their escaping friends, amounted to 2,259. In the escaped ships fifty-three officers and men were killed. It follows that the total Russian loss in killed and drowned was 3,279.* We have not precise returns of the losses of the defeated in the great battles of a hundred years ago, but the evidence available tends to prove that in them the losses in dead and disabled of the beaten side were not proportionately inferior to those just stated. There were 278 wounded Russian prisoners, and the wounded in the escaped ships amounted to 170, or 448 in all. The Japanese loss was surprisingly small, being 115 killed and 430 wounded.

The crushing defeat of the Russian navy gave Japan full command of the sea, as was soon seen by her movement against the island of Sakhalin. Peace has now been made; but, had the war continued, the whole of the resources of the Japanese Empire would have been available for employment in Manchuria and the Vladivostock region. 'The command of the sea,' said Thucydides, more than two thousand years ago, 'is a great thing,' and subsequent history has confirmed his statement. The victory of the Japanese navy was expected by nearly all who had studied the conditions of the war; perhaps it was expected by the Russians themselves. The magnitude of the success was not looked for by anyone, not even by the Japanese. In a speech made at a banquet in Tokio on May 31, Admiral Viscount Ito, Chief of the General Staff of the Navy, and distinguished amongst his countrymen as victor in the sea-fight of

* Adding the wounded, the grand total is 3,727 killed (including drowned) and wounded. It was stated at first to be 14,000!

the Yalu in 1894, said that 'he, for himself, had not expected' such a complete victory.' On the day before this, Admiral Togo had telegraphed to the Ministry of Marine: 'The main force of the Second and Third Squadrons of the enemy has been almost annihilated. Please be at ease.' There had evidently been some misgivings.

The odds were certainly against the Russians, and Rojdestvensky's conduct of the preliminary operations of the battle did not tend to redress the balance. The presence of auxiliary vessels, too, near the fighting ships, in effect weakened what was already weak enough. The tactical formations and movements of the Russian fleet have been already alluded to, and the defects in them mentioned. The point, however, in which the Russians were conspicuously inferior to the Japanese was in gun-fire. Had the Russian tactics been good, the respective efficiency in the shooting of the two sides remaining the same, the Japanese would still have won a decisive victory. Gun for gun, the Japanese fire was the more accurate. Togo did not open his cannonade till he was within practicable range of his enemy, and by the concentration of the fire of many ships on a few he overwhelmed his immediate opponents. At the beginning of the action the Russians seemed to be making what bystanders at target practice are wont to call 'good shots.' Their projectiles fell near their enemy's ships. The Japanese, on the other hand, hit the ships at which they fired. Herein lies the difference between well-trained and imperfectly trained captains of guns. A very few lessons will suffice to make a yokel send a shot near a target, but it is only the well-trained shooter that hits the bull's-eye. Speaking of the effect of the Russian fire on Admiral Togo's fleet, a Japanese report says: 'The whole of the casualties, both among officers and men, occurred on the deck, and none in the interior of the vessels. This shows that the Russian shots mostly flew over the deck.' It must be remembered that, if the Russian ships were hit often, they were fired at often. The Japanese worked their guns more smartly, and Togo's sound tactical method of concentrating the fire of relatively many ships on a few greatly multiplied the frequency of the shots at any individual Russian ship. Though greater than that made by the Russians, there is nothing to show that the percentage of Japanese hits was startlingly great. Only two of the captured and escaped Russian ships had a larger number of killed and wounded than the 'Mikasa,' Togo's flagship. Of course, in the ships sunk the death-roll was enormously greater, but it was chiefly made up of the drowned. In the reports on the state of the captured battle-

ships 'Orel' and 'Imperator Nicholas I.' little stress is laid on the effect of the Japanese 12-inch guns. On the 'Orel's' side forty-three shot-marks were counted. She was under fire on both days—May 27 and 28—and many scores of shot must have been fired at her. The left gun of the fore turret was broken about six feet from the muzzle. The upper part of the foremost funnel was destroyed, and the steam-launch on board literally riddled. This shows that a good many Japanese shots went high. The shots that hit the 'Orel' were not, as a rule, of large calibre. In an interesting lecture, before alluded to, Captain Ito says that the 'Orel' 'was struck by forty shells 'from our 6-inch guns.' According to another account, some at least were really 8-inch. The bow of the 'Imperator Nicholas I.' was 'riddled with holes 100 millimetres (about four inches) in 'extent.' This would indicate hits by shots of small size. The ship's foremost funnel was injured, showing high firing; but a hole '500 millimetres in size' (nearly twenty inches) was made at the water-line. The important point is that the Japanese fire, more accurate than that of the other side, was made still more effective by greater rapidity of shooting, and especially by the concentration of a large number of guns on a particular ship or small group of ships. This, indeed, is the great lesson of the battle.

The fate of the 'Petropaulovsk' and the 'Hatsuse' had already shown that great size gives no more immunity from rapid sinking than moderate dimensions. It continued to be believed by some that great size would prevent, or at least retard, destruction by gun-fire. The experience of the battle of the Sea of Japan does not corroborate this. The 'Oslyabya,' 'Imperator Alexander III.,' and 'Borodino' battleships were sunk by shot. According to a Russian report, already quoted, the 'Borodino' 'capsized and sank in three minutes;' and on the authority of the same side we are told that the 'Oslyabya' 'turned turtle.' So also did the 'Imperator Alexander III.' Mons. Bertin, the eminent French naval architect, had predicted the capsizing of gigantic armoured battleships if injured in action: and an English authority of equal distinction, Sir Nathaniel Barnaby, had stated two years before the battle:

'The modern ship of war, whether "protected" or "armoured," is in danger of capsizing, when wounded under water, to an extent unknown fifty years ago. The increased risk of capsizing, before sinking, in the wounded ship of war of to-day is not peculiar to any class or to any navy.'*

* Sir N. Barnaby in 'The Times' of June 13, 1905, where he reproduces his statement.

That this calls for most serious consideration by our naval authorities will be universally admitted.

It will have been seen that the battle which we have been describing soon turned into a series of operations, in carrying out which the Japanese moved about and brought a superior force against the small groups into which the Russian fleet had been broken up. With the few exceptions noted, the Japanese ships retained unimpaired their power of mobility, whilst that of the much-battered Russians had been seriously reduced. In the absence of all evidence beyond mere general statements to the contrary, it seems probable, as has been above suggested, that it was this superiority in mobility which has been represented as superiority of speed possessed by the Japanese. Superiority of speed, as was expected, did give, not the certainty, but a better chance, of escape when discretion dictated the necessity of running away. All the Russian cruisers which escaped were fast ships. Of those which fought it out, fast battleships and slow armoured cruisers were involved in one common ruin.

More than thirty years ago, in the pages of this Review, in which efforts, frequently repeated subsequently, were then begun to demonstrate the importance of the study of naval tactics, the predominance of the gun * in sea-fights was maintained as against that attributed to the 'ram,' then much in fashion owing to inferences hastily drawn from the battle of Lissa. In the battle of the Japan Sea we find the verification of this view, and we see also confirmed the opinion there expressed concerning the tactical value of the locomotive torpedo, the advocates of which expected it to revolutionise naval warfare. The more sober estimate of the efficiency of the weapon expressed in these pages was that, 'as a method of delivering the *coup de grâce* to an obstinate enemy refusing to strike, and still dangerous, it will probably be found highly useful.'† The accuracy of this estimate was exactly established in the Japan Sea on May 27 and 28 last. Russian ships already subjected to the heavy fire of the Japanese fleet, and generally almost bereft of powers of locomotion, with guns disabled and crews weakened by fatigue, fell a prey to the torpedo; but not an easy prey, as what has been said above will have indicated.

The Russian fleet deliberately proceeded to a spot within easy

* 'There seems more than a probability that the gun will reassert its claim to the position from which the ram had appeared to exclude it.' *Edinburgh Review*, October 1872: 'The Past and Future of Naval Tactics,' p. 588.

† *Edinburgh Review*, July 1874: 'Ocean Warfare,' p. 21.

reach of several ports from which torpedo craft might have been expected to issue. The state of the sea, which, whilst allowing a decisive artillery combat, prevented for a time the use of destroyers and torpedo-boats, made clearly apparent the liability of craft of the kind to be restricted in their action. As it was, some at least of the damaged Russian vessels which were sunk by the torpedo craft, might have been added to the Japanese navy had the torpedo not been used; and there is little reason for thinking that any of the torpedoed Russians would have escaped had not a single torpedo been launched.

In training, intelligence, and experience the Japanese crews were indisputably superior to their enemy. In courage there was nothing to choose between them. The unswerving fortitude with which the Russian seamen continued to play a game which, from an early period, they must have seen that they could not hope to win, deserves our highest admiration. Togo's signal was addressed to ships' companies of which every man knew what victory or defeat would mean for Japan, and felt confident of the devoted gallantry and consistent support of all his shipmates. Amongst the Russian crews, knowing what we do now of the incidents on board the 'Kniaz Potemkin' and 'Georgi Pobiedonosetz' and at Revel, we cannot but feel sure that there was, if not a mutinous spirit, at any rate much disaffection. There must have been but little heart for the work in hand, and much suspicion of neighbours. In a statement published in Japan, and referring to the prisoners taken in the Sea of Japan and elsewhere, we read that, 'Hitherto the Russian prisoners have been quartered regardless of race, and this was the cause of frequent quarrels amongst them. Our authorities have now grouped the men into Poles, Finns, and pure Slavs, and given them separate rooms according to the grouping. This procedure has been the means of restoring harmony amongst the prisoners.' Knowledge of the moral condition of the Russian ships' companies carries with it the conviction that in his expedition Admiral Rojdestvensky was, in the circumstances, sent by his superiors on a duty impossible of execution. Had he been better equipped, morally and materially, than he was, Togo—of whose brilliant qualities as an admiral all must be convinced—and his veteran seamen—trained and hardened by nearly a year and a half of unremitting and serious hostilities—would have still been victorious. The Japanese navy, reflecting as it does all the best characteristics of the nation, has been, because it deserved to be, invincible in war.

ART. III.—EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ART AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

1. *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art.* By J. P. RICHTER and A. CAMERON TAYLOR. London: Duckworth. 1905.
2. *Byzantinische Denkmäler.* Vol. III.: *Ursprung und Sieg der Altbyzantinischen Kunst.* By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI, E. DIEZ, and J. QUITT. Vienna: Verlag der Mechitaristen-Kongregation. 1903.
3. *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte.* By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI. Leipsic: J. C. Hinrichs. 1903.
4. *Publications of an American Archæological Expedition, 1899–1900.* Part II.: *Architecture and other Arts.* By H. CROSBY BUTLER. New York: 1903.

IN a recent article* in this Review on the progress of archæological discovery among the ruins of pagan Rome, attention was drawn to a parallel activity in the field of Christian antiquities. It seems desirable to pursue this part of the subject further and to notice some of the more remarkable work which is being done, not only among the monuments of Italy, but also in those long neglected provinces of the East which are now assuming an even greater importance in the eyes of the archæologist and the historian.

The hope of solving problems so intricate as those concerning the transition from Hellenistic and Roman to Christian art is essentially dependent upon the progress of scientific accuracy in exploration and upon the perfecting of illustrative methods. The learned antiquaries of the eighteenth century had little sympathy with the patient inductive reasoning demanded by modern archæology; the genius of their age was all in favour of the imposing generalisation and the *ex cathedrâ* utterance. Nor had they or their immediate successors the ample opportunities for comparative investigation which the progress of mechanical invention has placed at our disposal to-day. They themselves saw everything in a mellow Olympian light fatal to the conception of inconspicuous things, and the artists whom they employed, with a like disregard for tiresome detail, insensibly inclined to perversion of the truth under

* January 1904.

the subtle influence of preconceived ideas. The engraver, in his turn, augmented the inevitable inaccuracy of such work, with the result that the student of such famous books as those of Ciampini on the mosaics of Rome, or of Gori upon the ivory diptychs of the ancients, had to rely upon figures with only a general resemblance to the originals they professed to reproduce. Although there was a gradual improvement through the first half of the nineteenth century, the change was rather of kind than of degree. Books like Seroux d'Agincourt's '*Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*,' and even Garrucci's '*History of Italian Art*,' leave much to be desired from the point of view of accuracy, and it was still impossible for the untravelled inquirer to form a clear idea of the most ancient monuments of Christianity. The rapid development of photography and the introduction of rigid methods effected a revolution which transformed antiquarianism into scientific archæology, equalising the opportunities of all countries, and ousting the dilettante from his dictatorial chair. The results of this revolution are now becoming manifest on all sides, and in no province are they more welcome than in that of Christian archæology, which is ceasing to be the arena of sectarian encounters and is yielding rich revenues of fact under the administration of impartial science. If Giovanni Battista de Rossi could have lived into the new century, he would not have disowned the structures now rising from the foundations which he so accurately laid.

The handsome book of Dr. J. P. Richter and Miss A. Cameron Taylor on the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore at Rome is distinguished alike by this excellence in reproduction and by the systematic investigation which the critical modern spirit demands. Never before have the details of mosaic been so perfectly rendered as those here reproduced from the water-colour drawings and tracings of Signor Carlo Tabanelli. It is possible for the first time to appreciate the tone and quality of the work, for in the fine coloured plates every tessera can be distinctly seen, and the utmost care has been exercised to secure an exact correspondence with the original scheme of colour. Signor Tabanelli's work for '*The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*' is a worthy sequel to that which he produced for Mgr. Wilpert's great book on the paintings of the Catacombs—in which the pictorial art of the earliest centuries of Christianity was first made fully available for study. Placed, like the historical series in S. Apollinare

Nuovo at Ravenna, far too high to be properly seen, these much-restored mosaics were hardly more accessible than the frescoes in the dark chambers of subterranean Rome; and it is an achievement of no mean order to have brought them within easier range of critical examination. By climbing high scaffolds and swinging from the roof in a cage, the authors and their artist have given us a series of reproductions which entirely supersede the plates in de Rossi's '*Mosaici Cristiani*' devoted to the illustration of this church.

The ancient mosaic pictures are, as is well known, disposed in a long series of panels above the columns on either side of the nave, and on the great triumphal arch at the east end of the building, the decoration of the apse being mediæval work of the thirteenth century. Those of the nave depict episodes from the history of Abraham, Moses, Jacob, and Joshua; those of the arch scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin; while at the summit of the arch is an inscription: 'XYSTVS EPISCOPUS PLEBI DEI,' placed here by Pope Sixtus III. (A.D. 432-440). Hitherto it has been assumed by most archaeologists that in any case the arch-mosaics are the work of Sixtus, and that if those of the nave are not his, they are at least to be ascribed to his predecessor, Liberius (A.D. 352-366), who is likewise described in the '*Liber Pontificalis*' as the builder of the church. The reason for supposing a difference in date between the two series is due to an apparent divergence in their general character; for whereas the scenes of the nave are evidently influenced by such reliefs as those of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, those of the arch are less obviously inspired by classical art, but offer peculiarities pointing to a later time. De Rossi was so impressed by this distinction that he was disposed to assign the nave-series to Liberius, and that of the arch alone to Sixtus, taking it for granted, as almost all other investigators have done, that the Old Testament pictures were historical illustrations conceived in the manner of early illuminated Bibles like the Vienna Genesis, and that those of the arch were composed to celebrate the decision of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), by which the right of the Virgin to the title of '*Theotokos*' was finally established. But it was argued by the Russian Professor Ainaloff, who in recent years subjected the mosaics to as careful an examination as his opportunities allowed, that the close affinity between the unrestored portions of arch and nave compels us to regard the two series as the work

of a single period, and even of the same group of artists. If, then, no typological connexion was to be assumed between the subjects of the nave and the arch, the apparent inconsistency of the two had simply to be accepted and both attributed to the time of Sixtus. For the general character and many details of the arch seemed incompatible with an earlier date than the fifth century, and the more antique style of the compositions in the nave must therefore be due to a deliberate imitation of ancient models. We shall have occasion to refer below to the probable reproduction of earlier frescoes in mosaic, and to the copying of antique sculpture by the mosaicists of the post-Constantine period at Ravenna. Here we need only note that similar conservative tendencies were manifested by the first illuminators of manuscripts. Professor Ainaloff, indeed, compares these mosaics to enlarged miniatures, and draws attention, like earlier writers, to their similarity in many details to the Vatican 'Virgil' and the 'Iliad' in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

Upon all the theories which ascribe the mosaics to the century after Constantine, the authors of 'The Golden Age of Early Christian Art' have delivered a sudden and unexpected attack. They, too, hold that all the mosaics originated at one period; but instead of assigning them to the time of Sixtus in the fifth century, they boldly carry them back no less than 200 years, pronouncing them to be the work of men still living in the afterglow of the great classic traditions. It is hardly necessary to point out that if this attack should succeed it would effect a revolution in many of our most widely accepted ideas on early Christian art. Propositions which claimed axiomatic truth would become invalid; 'the streams of sacred rivers would return upon their sources.' It is impossible within the limits of a short article to do full justice to so daring and ingenious an hypothesis, or to follow all the lines of argument by which the authors seek to overcome the conservatism of existing opinion. The ordnance which they bring to bear is of two kinds—theological and artistic; and this double assault lends a formidable aspect to their attack. For a plain man, who knows something of early Christian art and would be disposed to resist to the last upon artistic grounds, is taken aback when the balls whistle about his ears from an unexpected quarter and the heavy batteries of early patristic symbolism are brought up upon his flank.

Stated in the briefest possible manner, the theory pre-

sented for our consideration is apparently as follows :—The church now called Sta. Maria Maggiore was built as a private and secular basilica; the Popes Liberius and Sixtus did not erect it, as the ‘*Liber Pontificalis*’ implies, but confined themselves to partial additions and alterations. It was built and ornamented with mosaic before the third century was far advanced, for the character of the brickwork, though some fifty years later than Hadrian, recalls the work of his time; many tiles still upon the roof are of the age of Septimius Severus, while the use of architraves instead of arches in the interior equally indicates an earlier date than the fourth century. The mosaics with which Sixtus really decorated the church were on the west front, and had no connexion with those under discussion. It was to this external work that the letter of Pope Hadrian to Charles the Great really refers, and the inscription above the arch is an interpolation. The consecutive series of pictures along the nave proves, upon a close critical examination, to be conceived in the allegorical spirit of the early Fathers—of Clement of Alexandria, Justin, and Irenæus—rather than that of the polemical centuries which followed: the fact that the artist often departs from the strict chronological order, and omits or emphasises this or that detail in the interest of a preconceived idea, shows that these scenes are, above all, typological, representing the historical pre-intimations of Christ’s advent. They are directly linked to the series of the arch, which has nothing to do with the celebration of the Theotokos, but really depicts the coming of Christ as the Logos, the Lord of all Christians, and not as the saviour of a peculiar people. The two groups are, in fact, integral parts of a single cycle; it is impossible to admit that the one is a merely historical sequence, designed, like the ‘*Biblia Pauperum*’ of a later day, for the edification of the ignorant, and the other an entirely distinct pictorial glorification of the Virgin Mother of God. For through the first there runs a subtle vein of allegory unintelligible to the vulgar; while the second not only includes scenes like the Massacre of the Innocents and the visit of the Magi to Herod, which could in no way serve their presumable purpose, but omits the Nativity and generally subordinates the personality of Mary to that of the youthful Christ. In fact, one series distinctly leads up to the other, which is its complement and inevitable conclusion.

It will be seen that we have here a most comprehensive theory, attempting to abolish at one stroke those apparent

anomalies which have always made the interpretation of the mosaics of Sta. Maria Maggiore difficult and unsatisfactory. If it can really be proved that all these pictures are of pre-Constantinian date, and throughout inspired by a single logical idea, then the decoration of the basilica is a unique example of Christian art, executed at a time not hitherto known to have produced any work of equal compass, and we must completely revise all our accepted notions as to the developement of Christian pictorial art. The authors have had unequalled opportunities for forming a judgement as to the condition of the mosaics and the relative values of work executed by different restorers, from the most ancient renovations down to the cheap stucco of Cardinal Pinelli, and one of them first directed his attention to mosaics more than twenty-five years ago. It may therefore seem presumptuous to suggest that the foundations of so attractive an hypothesis are not in all respects well and truly laid. But careful perusal of the book leaves us with the impression that as far as its theoretical part is concerned it will achieve a *succès de curiosité* instead of winning a permanent place among the works which have made epochs in the criticism of art.

Let us consider, in the first place, some of the historical and archæological obstacles to the acceptance of the basilica as a structure of the third century. The weakness of the argument which Dr. Richter derives from the character of the brickwork and of the stamped tiles upon the roof has already been pointed out by Mr. H. Stuart Jones ('Hibbert Journal,' April 1905), who shows that similar arguments might be applied in the case of S. Martino ai Monti, originally built in the time of Symmachus (A.D. 498-514). As a matter of fact the builders of the fourth and following centuries made free use of earlier material, incorporating in their churches any bricks or tiles which lay convenient to their hands. The argument from the use of architraves instead of archivolts in the nave is also of no cogency against a post-Constantinian date, for other churches were similarly treated after the Peace of the Church. And further, the escape of so remarkable a series of pictures during the persecution of Diocletian is not quite so probable as Dr. Richter would have us believe. We may grant that, as far as Rome was concerned, the persecution was of short duration, and that the iconoclasts, like the Turks at Santa Sophia, may conceivably have covered mosaics with whitewash instead of tearing them down. But the Turks have not always contented themselves with whitewash; and some of the scenes upon the arch are

of a kind which would have provoked the zealous agents of a pagan emperor to the utmost violence of destruction. It is hard to believe that a structure so great and so didactically adorned can have been Christian property in the third century; and the inference drawn from the early use of the term 'Basilica Sicinini' proves very little. For the word 'Sicininum' came to have a purely topographical significance, and the equally common use of the expression 'Liberian Basilica' could be urged with much the same weight in favour of a later origin.

In the second place let us consider the general character of the mosaics themselves. It is surely strange that, if they belong to the first three centuries of our era, they should differ so fundamentally from other mural pictures which were being executed at the same period and in the same city. It is, of course, true that these are in the Catacombs, and have very largely a sepulchral meaning which would be out of place in a basilica. But the artists of the earlier Catacombs were absolutely in the simple symbolical stage of development; they painted isolated allegorical groups inspired by a general symbolic sentiment; anything like a long historical sequence with a great number of figures and a wealth of detail was alien to their genius and practice. It is hardly convincing to point to the contemporary pagan compositions of the columns of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius; for though Christian artists were influenced in style and technique by the work of pagan Rome, they did not follow step for step all its individual developments. Motives of policy, psychological and religious conditions, their divorce from public life, all combined to divert their activities into different channels; and if in every known case, except that under discussion, we find Christian artists continuing to work in the simple symbolic style well into the fourth century, we are justified in regarding the proposed change of date with the greatest suspicion. To state the matter in a paradoxical form, it would have been an anachronism for a Christian artist of the second or early third century to compose in the historical manner of contemporary pagan art. But we are not compelled to derive our evidence from subterranean frescoes alone; the history of mural mosaic, as hitherto understood, confirms the evidence which they afford. The earliest scheme of mosaic decoration in a Christian building, known to us partly by what still survives and partly by early drawings or descriptions, is that of Sta. Costanza, erected in memory of a sister

of Constantine the Great. But here we find no consecutive typological treatment, no subtle interweaving of patristic fancies with historical designs, but simply the antique decorative system slightly modified in a Christian sense. The work is absolutely traditional in style; in its general conception it manifests its relationship with the mosaic pavements of the period, and its genre-scenes of country life are still far removed in idea from any long cycle of connected pictures. As in the case of the Catacombs, the inspiration flows from the idyllic spirit of the Georgics and not from that of any epic, either of the Roman or the Jewish people. We willingly concede that the allegorical cast of thought, so universal in the second and third centuries, was quite capable of inspiring artists to link into a mystic order the most varied episodes of sacred history. The question is whether it actually did so; and this we are inclined to doubt, for in the imagination of types and forms art is apt to lag behind literature. We may also freely admit that the old notion of a wholly intimidated art, confined to its underground warrens and afraid of any open expression, exaggerates the disabilities which the Christians suffered in the second and third centuries. But if the ability to conceive and execute such consecutive series as those of Sta. Maria Maggiore had been at all common before the Peace of the Church, we might legitimately expect to find great pictorial cycles appearing the moment the first Christian emperor gave the stamp of imperial approval to monumental Christian art. But this is not the case. The growth of continuous historical representation is slow. The churches begin gradually. Sta. Costanza abides by the ancient tradition; Sta. Pudenziana unfolds no extensive allegories. Literature, as usual, had anticipated art; and it may be doubted whether the subtle trains of thought which delighted Justin, Clement, or Irenæus were ever translated upon the walls of any contemporary building. The sculptures which on column and arch set forth the imperial triumphs could find no imitators among Christian artists until the Church itself had triumphed and the imitation was justified by her success.

We think the authors, in their anxiety to get back to the third century, unduly depreciate the talent and the opportunities of those which succeed it. It is true that this was a time of decadence and disaster, during which the Eternal City was abandoned by its Emperors and more than once taken by the barbarian invader. It might plausibly be maintained that such a period must have been

fatal to the developement of the fine arts, and to the production of very costly and laborious work like the decoration of a large church with mosaic. And yet there are facts which inconveniently oppose such *a priori* arguments. Under the pontificate of Celestine I., about A.D. 424—that is to say, fourteen years after the sack of Rome by Alaric—there were executed in mosaic in the church of Sta. Sabina on the Aventine two figures representing the ‘*Ecclesia ex gentibus*’ and the ‘*Ecclesia ex circumcisione*,’ which by their dignified conception and by the correct treatment of their drapery afford clear proof that the classical tradition was yet alive. Still later, in A.D. 450, just before Genseric’s capture of Rome, the basilica of St. Paul ‘*extra muros*’ was decorated with mosaics which, though unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1823, and since restored, are held to have worthily maintained the connexion with antique art. In A.D. 465, ten years after the departure of the Vandals, there were placed in the vault of the oratory near the baptistery of St. John Lateran decorative mosaic designs which manifest a similar attachment to ancient tradition. And even when the threshold of the sixth century has been passed, we find in the apse of SS. Cosmas and Damian, decorated as late as A.D. 526 to 530, figures which in their pose and in the stately folds of their garments are still reminiscent of a classical style. Moreover, if we turn to the churches of Ravenna, we are confronted by facts of a similar kind, of which twenty-seven years ago Dr. Richter, in an admirable critical study,* himself brought out the full significance. Here we also perceive the statuesque character which is sometimes so conspicuous in Sta. Maria Maggiore, the same dependence upon models selected from sculptures, and clearly due to a conscious imitation of the antique. How, then, must this homage to the achievement of the past be explained? Partly, perhaps, by a real survival of that taste and skill which an unfortunate generation is often supposed to have suddenly and totally lost, partly by the operation of some influence from an exalted quarter. We have to remember the special immunities granted to artists by Constantine, and the later edict of Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian according peculiar privileges to professors of the pictorial art. Imperial persons were evidently concerned about the prosperity of painting and in the maintenance of local schools. The edict of A.D. 375 had especial reference

* J. P. Richter, ‘*Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*,’ Vienna, 1878.

to Africa, but it is not to be supposed that the imperial interest was confined to that province: it must have been directed to other countries and other cities, including Italy and Rome. Here we seem to have a plausible explanation of the artistic qualities which undoubtedly appear in some of the scenes in Sta. Maria Maggiore, especially for instance in that representing the parting of Abraham and Lot. In our appreciation of this group we may endorse without reserve the approval of our authors, though at other times disposed to accuse them of an excessive enthusiasm for the quality of these pictures; for in part at least one cannot but approve the strictures of M. Vitet and other critics, who have pointed to indecisions and errors of composition, and to the thick stumpy bodies and large heads of the figures, recalling the faulty proportions so commonly found in the sculpture of the fifth century. Is it not both possible and reasonable to explain this union of an antique style and an often faulty execution by assigning the whole work to a post-Constantinian period, instead of subjecting our imagination to the severe strain which the novel theory demands? Let us suppose that the mosaic workers of Rome, like their colleagues at Ravenna, deliberately set themselves to treat their Christian subjects in the antique style. The men who decorated the Liberian Basilica, like the illuminators of the original manuscript copied by the Joshua rotulus in the Vatican, found in the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius the obvious models for a continuous series of connected groups. They were not the immediate inheritors of the Antonine tradition; they simply adapted its imitable qualities in the service of the liberated art of their Church. And of the capacity of Roman artists living long after Constantine to produce work of a very high order the noble composition in the apse of Sta. Pudenziana, produced at the close of the fourth century, is a signal and significant proof. Both in the major and the minor arts the Roman world was still capable of great things; the diptychs of the Symmachi and Nicomachi at South Kensington and in the Louvre, that of Rufus Probianus at Berlin, and that with two scenes from the Resurrection in the Trivulzi collection at Milan, are sufficient evidence that at the close of the fourth and in the first part of the fifth century there still lived artists not unworthy of the great traditions of the past. And is the quality of our mosaics really so supreme that the men who executed them could not have been contemporaries of these admirable carvers in ivory, or even of the sculptors of the

doors of the church of Sta. Sabina, on which, as Mr. Stuart Jones has pointed out, Dr. Richter is unduly severe? The authors lay particular stress upon the general absence of those more striking weaknesses of decadent Roman art which Professor Riegl has subjected to so searching an analysis,* though we may note that Professor Riegl himself selects one of the scenes upon the arch as an illustration of these very defects. But the general immunity might perhaps be explained if these mosaics were regarded as a careful copy of earlier compositions. The authors have themselves suggested such a possibility in an excellent passage at the beginning of the book (p. 14), which deserves to be quoted in full:—

‘Not only does it not follow that a picture to which permanence was given by its execution in mosaic was necessarily designed at the time at which it was executed, but the mere fact of its translation into a material of almost eternal durability is, *a priori*, an argument in favour of the supposition that as a composition it had already existed for some generations, possibly in the same church and in the same position, but in fresco. Having stood the test of time, and having received its consecration, it passed into the category of things proven and classic, and was considered worthy of transposition into the richest and most durable medium of artistic expression.’

Precisely: an approved composition may be renewed after the death of the man who first conceived it, and the renewal may contribute in no small degree to the survival of an antique excellence of style.

Such are some of the general reasons which make us hesitate to believe that these mosaics belong to the period preceding the Peace of the Church. They are confirmed by others of a more particular character, some of which may be briefly enumerated.

As the authors themselves admit, no Christian writer mentions the formal adoption of Moses by Pharaoh's daughter before the fourth century; yet the scene appears in the Moses series of the nave. The same remark applies to the Miracle of the Quails, which is not found in Christian art of the period claimed for these paintings. In the Annunciation scene upon the arch, the Virgin is seen spinning wool in accordance with the account given in the fifth century apocryphal *Protevangelium Jacobi*. The earlier Apologists were, no doubt, familiar with many of the

* A. Riegl, ‘Die Spätromische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Oesterreich-Ungarn,’ Vienna, 1901.

episodes afterwards incorporated in the Apocryphal Gospels, but the works of art in which such things are represented are, so far as we know, of the fifth century, which by no means conformed to the prohibition of the Council of A.D. 382. The use of the nimbus both on the nave and on the arch would be unprecedented in work of the third century. Thanks to the labours of De Rossi, Wilpert, Garrucci, and others, we are now acquainted with a very large series of Christian paintings and sculptures of the first four centuries, and can closely follow the course of their developement. In the multitudinous frescoes of the Catacombs the nimbus is not given even to Christ before about A.D. 340, and the insertion of a cross within its circumference is first noticed in SS. Peter and Marcellinus at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. The Virgin receives the nimbus later still, and it is not until the end of the fifth century that it is given to saints. Yet here, in the original portions of mosaics which we are asked to assign to the third century, we find this distinction accorded not only to Christ but to all the angels, one of whom even appears within a 'glory' or mandorla. Let us take one other criterion of a similar kind. Christ is first found with a beard in the same catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, the fresco being not earlier than the very end of the fourth century; yet in these mosaics He appears bearded in the scene of the entertainment of the angels by Lot. A probable theory with regard to the bearded type of Christ is that it came into the West from Palestine with the returning pilgrims, who flocked there in such numbers after the building of memorial churches at the sacred places by Constantine and Helen: an example of a bearded Christ in the early third century has yet to be found. We have purposely omitted all reference to late details of costume and to the wings of the angels, which the authors pronounce to be additions or interpolations, confining ourselves entirely to those parts of the work which they accept as original. But we think enough has been said to prove the serious difficulties in the way of a third-century attribution. Iconographical details are not always a safe guide, for new discoveries sometimes compel us to readjust accepted dates, as in the case of the sarcophagus from Sulu Monastir, in Asia Minor, now in Berlin, and the 'Constantine Bowl' in the British Museum, which take one type of the nimbus back to an earlier period than that hitherto accepted. But both of these monuments come from the Christian East,

which usually took the initiative in iconographical changes, and neither of them is far distant in date from A.D. 300. The true criteria for the iconography of the mosaics in the Liberian Basilica must be sought among the Roman monuments, more especially in the Catacombs, and these speak with no uncertain voice against the theory put forward in 'The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art.'

The preceding remarks have been chiefly confined to the main issue involved in the question of date; for on the opinion which a man forms on this point his judgement as to the ultimate value of the book must really depend. It has, therefore, been impossible to follow in detail the author's interpretation of the individual scenes represented on the walls of the church. The exposition is always sympathetic, and, especially in the case of the Old Testament series, is often marked by that critical acumen of which Dr. Richter has long ago proved himself possessed. It can hardly be doubted that an allegorical significance constantly underlay the obvious representation of fact, for by training and persuasion every early Christian thought in types, and there was no section of sacred history which did not contain some episodes rich for him in mystical significance. The prophetic allusions in the books of the Ancient Dispensation were always haunting minds which delighted in the elaborate concordance of the two Testaments, so that almost any depicted event from the life of the Jewish heroes and prophets possessed its ulterior and allusive meaning. When in process of time historical painting came to be practised on a large scale, the symbolism of individual scenes was co-ordinated into organic 'theories,' and to the seeing eye most groups of Biblical illustrations must have had an esoteric value as 'Tendenzbilder,' beyond that which they possessed as simple representations of fact. De Rossi perfectly understood this when he described the nave series of Sta. Maria Maggiore as historical, and compared it with the illustration of the earliest illuminated Bibles: in so far, therefore, his view differs from that here set forth rather in degree than in kind. But while he, perhaps, laid too little stress on points which he probably took for granted, Dr. Richter often appears to us to fall into too meticulous a method of exposition; and in some of his readings, notably those of the scenes upon the arch, we seem to trace a process of thought, alembicated and doubly distilled, which suggests the extraction of artistic and exegetical quint-essences. Such, we cannot but think, is the interpretation

of the two figures on either side of the throne in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi as a Sibyl and Hystaspes the Persian Sage. It is almost impossible to imagine such *dramatis personæ* as contemporary with the Adoration Groups of the Catacombs; for example, with that in SS. Peter and Marcellinus of the first part of the third century, or even with the later rendering, a century after, in the Catacomb of Domitilla. Another example of this refinement in exegesis is the explanation of the scene upon the arch in which a prince and his suite issue from a city to greet our Lord. This has usually been interpreted as the meeting between King Aphrodisius and the Holy Family in Egypt, though there is here no indication of falling walls or of idols crashing down. Our authors, for reasons that must be read at length to be appreciated, interpret it as 'Occidental Philosophy a Guide to Christ.' Finally, they have discovered in the group representing the Massacre of the Innocents shades of suggestion which only a congregation of dilettanti could ever have fully appreciated. The nimbus round Herod's head is not the usual conventional mark of sovereignty, but is given in irony to this Idumæan parvenu, who suffered himself to be made a puppet in the hands of the Jews: on no other supposition, we are told, could it be accorded to so detestable a character. And yet we find in an Octateuch of the Vatican the tyrant Eglon thus distinguished, and Eglon's reputation was at no time much better than that of Herod. Such interpretations as this argue powers of perception equal to those with which Dr. Max Nordau finds the modern mystic too richly endowed. They are, indeed, almost above criticism: 'Que voulez-vous répondre à de si savantes raisons?'

It seems to us that, with all their erudition and enthusiasm, to which we render the most ample homage, the authors will hardly win general acceptance for their revised version of an old chapter in artistic history. Their arguments to prove at all costs the pre-Constantinian date of the Liberian Basilica have a suspicious analogy to those by which, three centuries ago, Ciampini sought to establish the pagan origin of Sta. Costanza. A building of such elegance, said he, could not possibly have been erected in the decadent times of triumphant Christianity; therefore it must have been a pagan temple converted to Christian use; therefore Anastasius, who said that it was built by Constantine, must have been guilty of an inadvertence; therefore, when he wrote 'fabricare,' he really meant 'restaurare.' In the present

case we are invited to make a similar change of reading in the passages of the '*Liber Pontificalis*' ascribing the erection of Sta. Maria Maggiore to Sixtus or Liberius. We doubt whether expert architectural opinion will endorse this drastic textual criticism. Nor are we by any means sure that students of Patristic literature will concur in the judgement that only the age of the early Apologists could have witnessed the execution of mosaics which students of Christian art and iconography will still, we venture to think, continue to associate with a later time. Eusebius and Jerome and Augustine had not altogether forgotten their typology, nor had the didactic tendency vanished from the art of the fifth century, as the doors of the church of Sta. Sabina prove. The second and third centuries may have been more subtle in the weaving of allegories, but they had not a monopoly in the art. These remarks are made in no carping spirit; they simply express certain misgivings suggested by the perusal of a very brilliant book which throughout holds the reader's interest and compels his serious attention. But admiration must not bias judgement, and we cannot but suspect that, though the authors have digged deep, they have glanced by the royal vein. Whatever may be the final verdict upon their theory, in their practical work they have deserved well of the republic. Theirs are the best reproductions of mosaics which have yet appeared, and they have been in a position to discriminate with authority between original work and restoration. This alone gives them a claim to honourable distinction which archæologists will unanimously accord.

The mere fact that it should be possible to suggest an alteration of two centuries in the date of the most famous mosaics in Rome proves how much remains to be done in the investigation of Christian monuments before the archæology of Early Christian times can rival the precision of classical studies. But if the Christian antiquities of Italy are still fertile in surprises, though the attention of the learned has been directed to them for more than three centuries, what is to be said of those other monuments of the once Christian East which until recent times have lain neglected in the dangerous solitudes of Mohammedan countries? Their unexpected richness and variety, ever growing with the progress of discovery, soon made it apparent that Eastern art could not always be regarded as subordinate to that of the West, but that the day would come when it would claim a position of complete equality. That day,

indeed, has come and gone, and the question is no longer whether the East is to be conceded an equal place, but whether it may not compel the recognition of a positive pre-eminence. It is thus that there has arisen that Byzantine question which has caused so sharp a divergence of opinion in recent times, dividing Christian archæologists into two parties—one still faithful to Rome, the other ready at every turn to contest her artistic initiative. The latter, which for want of a better term may be called the Byzantine party, is endowed with a youthful energy which would carry it far in any field; and when it is remembered that its sphere of operations in Egypt, Syria, and, above all, Asia Minor, still contains virgin ground from which almost anything may be expected, it would be hardly human nature if its pioneers did not deem their province richer than the West, where every corner has been investigated long ago. And their achievement has already in large measure justified their faith, for the results of the past quarter of a century have singularly modified the judgements once commonly passed upon Byzantine history and art. Everyone remembers the sneers by which Voltaire and Gibbon, who had the ear of Europe, wrecked the reputation of the Eastern Empire. The admirable work of men like Ducange weighed as nothing in the scale against a couple of flippant epigrams; and until the idea of evolution made the study of antiquity a progressive science, men continued to speak of ‘a tedious and ‘uniform tale of weakness and misery,’ and to dismiss the whole history of Constantinople as ‘a worthless repertory of ‘declamation and miracles disgraceful to the human mind.’ Though it has taken a hundred years to live these imputations down, for mud thrown by men like Gibbon and Voltaire sticks very fast, the truth has at last prevailed. We now see, as M. Charles Diehl has well put it, that we have been judging the Byzantines like the Popes who excommunicated them or the crusading Vandals who never understood their genius. Even Sir Walter Scott was still so far under the ban of prejudice that he could not make Constantinople live in the pages of ‘Count Robert of Paris’; but such is the fascination which runs through whole periods of Byzantine history that plain facts have proved more interesting than fiction, and in the volumes in which M. Gustave Schlumberger and M. Diehl have unfolded the stories of Justinian, of Basil, of Nicephorus Phocas, and of John Zimisces, we have a romance of history which makes the writing of historical novels about the same events appear almost an impertinence.

In the archæological field the revulsion of feeling has been hastened by an unceasing activity in exploration, and by the accumulation in museums of material in sufficient quantity to make effective comparative study possible. As a result of this patient work the conviction is growing that the previous verdict of Europe on the art of Byzantium was no less unjust than that so lightly pronounced on the military and political capacity of her rulers. It was the fashion to speak of emaciated drawn features, of austere ascetic expressions, of stiff and elongated figures sheathed rather than clad in bejewelled robes, and hardly more expressive of a living humanity than a mummy in its painted case. Such judgements were chiefly based upon an acquaintance with the latest work of Byzantine artists, produced when the foundations of the Empire were already undermined and the storm-cloud of the Turkish peril, rolling up from the East, had cast its shadow over life on the shores of the Golden Horn. But we do not judge the art of other countries by the period of their decay; and it has been one of the best results of recent research to focus attention no longer upon the spiritless work of the decadence, but upon that of the earlier times, when Byzantium more than once lived spacious and heroic days. Thus we were first taught to appreciate the real talent which was active in many parts of the Empire in the great period of revival succeeding iconoclasm; we learned to understand the centuries which saw the completion of mosaics like those of Daphne; we began to estimate at their true value the numerous delicate miniatures, ivories, enamels, and works of the goldsmith's art which, like the flotsam of a great wreck, had drifted into the treasuries of our Western churches. It was clear, indeed, that this Byzantine art, somewhat Church-ridden, and inevitably based upon a compromise between Eastern and Western ideals, could never attain the spontaneity, the depth of feeling, or the grace of unfettered fancy which have made the achievements of other countries supreme. Except in architecture its best was always the second best. But, within these limits, it deserved admiration rather than contempt, and, until old age and desolation came upon it, was constantly in advance of the best work in Western Europe. Nor did research stop at the ninth century; the pioneers pressed yet further back beyond the iconoclastic interval, and are at present establishing the paramount importance of the earliest period of Byzantine history which culminated under Justinian, and saw the first

formation of a Byzantine style. It is recognised that to this period belong the decisive years between adolescence and maturity which, in nations no less than in individuals, determine the character and direct the future career.

Among those who have devoted themselves to its elucidation none have shown so devouring an activity as Professor Josef Strzygowski, of Graz, whose work now claims the first attention of those who would keep abreast of the progress of modern research. Professor Strzygowski has from the first been the determined opponent of Roman claims to artistic hegemony in Early Christian times. The theories of Wickhoff, of F. X. Kraus, of Alois Riegl, all of whom have conceded the initiative to Rome during some, at least, of the first centuries of our era, have found in him a consistent and indefatigable antagonist. Like the *πρόμαχος* of ancient times, he fights in front of the line; and if sometimes, by excess of daring, he has exposed himself to damaging counterstrokes, he has received no mortal wound, and confidently affronts the dangers which his honourable position entails. It is impossible in a few short pages adequately to explain the scope of Professor Strzygowski's inquiries; it must suffice to give some general notion of their tendency and their effect upon contemporary archaeological opinion. The kernel of his creed, which may be read at length in his 'Orient oder Rom,' and in a score of periodical publications, is briefly and concisely stated in the introductory Essay to the third volume of the 'Byzantinische Denkmäler.'* Byzantine art is not late-Roman art transplanted to the Bosphorus. The artistic centre of gravity in Constantine's day was not in Italy at all, but in the partly Hellenistic region of the Eastern Mediterranean, with its great cities of Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus. What Constantine wanted to do was to get away from a 'passée' and provincial Rome, and found his capital nearer to the true centre of things. The city on the Bosphorus was admirably chosen for this purpose, lying as it did in a temperate climate, and commanding the toll-gates between Asia and Europe. Its situation ensured that its artistic growth should be free from hampering traditions. The men who built and adorned it were summoned from Egypt,

* The volume also contains two valuable monographs: the first by Dr. J. Quitt, on 'The Dogmatic Significance of the Mosaics in San Vitale'; the second by Dr. E. Diez, on the Vienna Manuscript of Dioscorides.

Syria, and Asia Minor; its nurses and its tutors were Greeks. Thus, from the first, its art assumed a character distinct from the official art of old Rome, and, with the adaptability of youth, rapidly assimilated and blended into a new whole the various styles which Hellenistic and Perso-Mesopotamian genius had long been elaborating beyond the failing sight of the Western metropolis. Political and religious centralisation produced their inevitable effect; and before two centuries had elapsed the confluence of talents from Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, and Sassanian Persia produced the formed Byzantine art of Justinian's epoch. The grain was brought from Eastern granaries, and Christianity was the leaven that leavened the whole lump. A common faith and a central government, established together on the frontiers of Asia, drew local and separate arts from their isolation to the enrichment of an organic whole; and the 'Reichskunst,' which Wickhoff assigned to Rome was, in fact, only realised by Constantinople.

The Eastern Empire fell naturally into two great artistic provinces—a Northern, comprising Asia Minor and the European territories, and a Southern, composed of Syria and Egypt. But, bound together as they were by the closest administrative and commercial ties, their individual qualities were gradually interfused; they penetrated each other, and their combined influence radiated westward into Italy and Gaul. If we may judge from the monuments which have been preserved, the Southern province was at first exceptionally active; it was Antioch which has left its mark on the walls of Ravenna; it was Syria and Egypt which made and exported the majority of the manuscripts, textiles, and ivories which reached Western churches before the time of Charlemagne. But this apparent predominance of the South-Eastern littoral may be due partly to chance, partly to the commercial enterprise of the Syrians, who included works of art among their exports, and so saved them in greater numbers from the subsequent ruin of the Mohammedan invasion. Undoubtedly we can trace a more visible influence exerted in the West during this period by Egypt and Syria; it is clearly present in the earliest Frankish manuscripts, and perhaps even, as Dr. Vöge has suggested, in the early monumental sculpture of Southern France. But it cannot be supposed that Anatolia, the very body of the Byzantine Empire, and Constantinople, its organising head, were not equally active during this early period. Ephesus, to mention no other city, must have been

as full of clever Greeks as Antioch; Constantinople attracted to itself the best brains of the Empire, and the Anatolian provinces were, so to speak, its home counties.

In 'Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte,' the author attempts to give Asia Minor its due, and to do for it what he has done in other books for Syria and Egypt. By evidence derived from many sources he shows that Asia Minor was more purely Hellenistic than either Syria or Egypt. It was in Greek that its ideas found expression; it had no Syriac or Coptic to barbarise its literature either in form or content; the foundations of the Greek Church were laid upon its soil. Nor was that old eminence in sculpture which made Pergamon famous forgotten in the days of the Roman dominion; the few examples of Christian date which have as yet been discovered seem to show that there still survived an Anatolian school which lent its aid to the developement of the new capital. And Professor Strzygowski sees in this school no local growth content to vegetate in provincial obscurity, but a force which was felt in every direction, and exerted its influence in Italy itself. In the great group of Roman sarcophagi he detects an inspiration from Asia Minor which equally affected the kindred sculptures of Southern France. Very curious artistic analogies undoubtedly exist between Italian and Anatolian sculpture, and though as yet not sufficiently numerous to justify comprehensive generalisations, they at least suffice to establish the probability of direct relationship. Thus an ivory carving at Berlin, affiliated by Dr. Haseloff to the group represented by the great diptych in the Cathedral Treasury at Milan, bears the most striking resemblance to a fragment of a stone relief at Berlin from Tusla in Asia Minor, representing part of the scene of the death of Ananias. So close is the resemblance that it sets one thinking of certain other peculiarities in the Milan diptych; for instance, the type of the youthful Christ in its baptism scene, and the enamel with which it is embellished. But the Milan group of ivories has been connected by good judges with a school of carvers working at Rome, and this Oriental influence suggests that, whether the work was actually produced in Italy or not, Rome and Milan were hardly more independent of Asiatic guidance than their later rival Ravenna. In painting, though little has actually been preserved, Anatolia may be conjectured to have been equally active. We have the account of Asterius of Amaseia in Phrygia of the elaborate decoration of his church; we have the fragment of an illu-

minated gospel from Sinope, now in the Louvre, which by its relations to the Codex Rossanensis would seem to confirm the suggestion that this famous manuscript was itself produced in Asia Minor. In architecture there is a mass of evidence waiting for final co-ordination, but even now prompting to the formation of far-reaching hypotheses.

This, the most conspicuous of Byzantine arts, is of supreme importance in the controversy, and Professor Strzygowski has rightly devoted most of his space to the evidence which it supplies. He reminds us that there are two regional influences: one, that of the Hellenistic coast; the other, that of the interior, with relationships to Syria and Armenia. The first of these is not fairly represented by existing monuments, for the buildings which once adorned the great coast cities have been destroyed by earthquakes or by man, and there is more to be found in the regions of the interior where old Asiatic influences were always powerful. The Anatolian plateau, as Professor Ramsay has long ago pointed out, never lost its individuality under any of the great conquering empires which have successively held Western Asia. It assimilated this or that element from foreign civilisations, but was never dominated by them. Professor Strzygowski has recently developed a similar line of thought with regard to the art of Sassanian Persia, the relations of which to that of the Eastern Empire were, of course, exceedingly close.* His demonstration in the present case is chiefly based upon a study of the ecclesiastical architecture of the plateau, and it may be remarked in passing that some of the most interesting photographs which he publishes were taken by our countryman Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, who has himself contributed a short chapter to the book. We cannot follow the author into the details of his argument, but may briefly state that from a survey of these Anatolian monuments and those of the neighbouring Syrian regions, known to us since the epoch-making expedition of the Marquis de Vogüé, he is disposed to claim for the East not only the domed church built on the central system, but even the basilica itself. Moreover, impressed as was de Vogüé before him by the remarkable resemblances in detail between this Asiatic architecture and that of the Romanesque period in Europe, he suggests that the Western architects were inspired by designs which had been introduced into Southern

* In an article on the Mashita, '*Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*,' 1905.

Europe long before the days of Peter the Hermit. The real original of the Cathedral of Aachen was not S. Vitale in Ravenna; both had a common archetype in the Martyrion of Syria. This hypothesis takes us much further than those of de Vogüé and Viollet-le-Duc, that the similarities between the domed churches of France and those of the Byzantine provinces are due to fugitives from iconoclasm or to the crusaders. It suggests that the process of imitation had begun far earlier, during the period preceding the first great Arab conquests, when commercial intercourse between Marseilles and Ravenna and the Egyptian and Levantine ports was carried on upon a most extensive scale. The facts as to this intercourse, which earlier writers like Heyd and Leitschuh had long ago brought into prominence, have more recently been summarised by M. Bréhier*; from them it is obvious that the Gaul of the Merovingian Franks was throughout in touch with the Eastern Mediterranean, and that in addition to the activity of traders there was a continual passage of monks and pilgrims in both directions. To such intercourse the undoubted dependence of Frankish illuminators upon Syrian masters is certainly due; is it, therefore, so impossible that the Western architect should have shown an equal readiness to avail himself of his opportunities? The problem is full of interest, and far too extensive to be discussed here; we may merely note that this view represents a further advance in the direction indicated by Choisy, and is perhaps not so irreconcilable as it at first appears with the opinion of Dehio, who declines to accept the crusaders as middlemen, but believes that the Roman buildings in the South of France were a sufficient source of inspiration to indigenous talent. For on the theory under discussion we need not come down as late as the churches of St. Front de Périgueux and St. Mark at Venice, but may conceive an Eastern influence establishing itself in France even before the fall of the Roman power.

The chief difficulty in the way of demonstration, as Professor Strzygowski's critics have not failed to point out, lies in the uncertain date of the ruined churches of Asia Minor. While he himself would assign the domed basilica to the Hellenistic East, and dates the Anatolian examples as early as the fourth century, others, as Wulff in his study of the Koimesis Church at Nicæa, still think them later than

* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1904.

Justinian, and, inverting the suggested course of development, ascribe the chief initiative to Constantinople. Professor Strzygowski even finds at Uchayak a prototype of the definitely Byzantine church, with cupola in the centre of an equal-armed cross, which he dates before Justinian, a view by no means generally held. Such claims can only be finally established after further exploration by architects and archaeologists; but the author defends himself in advance against the vaguer charges of his more prejudiced opponents. These critics accuse him in a general way of belittling the part played by Rome in the architectural development of the first Christian centuries, complaining that he adduces, not structures of equal rank with the great Roman buildings, but paltry ruins from this or that provincial hinterland. 'Show us,' they say, 'something in the great style, and then we will consider whether the men who built the Pantheon or the Baths of Caracalla are to be dethroned in favour of some obscure Syrian or Anatolian genius.' The answer is that Rome has been favoured by fortune above all the great Oriental cities. She has not been laid low by earthquakes; and the Christianised barbarians who successively ruled in Italy were far less destructive than the Mohammedans. It is unreasonable, therefore, to expect evidence in the form of monuments of the first rank from the Eastern capitals. They exist no longer, though Antioch had once her *Thermaë*, to which even those of Caracalla were perhaps inferior. For in our author's opinion the art of building great domes and vaults with brick really originated in Mesopotamia: to ascribe it to Rome is to misinterpret the architectural history of Hither Asia. But whether of stone or brick, the small churches of ruined up-country townships are large enough to prove the genesis and development of a style, for mere size is of little moment. And if the testimony of great work is demanded, is it not really given by Sta. Sophia itself? Were not Anthemius and Isidore men of Asia Minor? And where on Italian soil are to be sought the prototypes, the trial-pieces, which in the long process of supersession and improvement made it possible to conceive so supreme a design? It was in Anatolia and Syria, quickened by the fruitful blending of Hellenistic and Oriental ideas, that the experiments which transformed Christian architecture were carried out.

Such is the dispute to which '*Kleinasien, ein Neuland*,' makes so interesting a contribution, and only the publi-

cation of good photographs and plans of the Christian monuments of Hither Asia can enable observers who are not specialists to take sides in it. To one such publication, the second part of the American archæological expedition, we may draw special attention. This work, written by Mr. Howard Crosby Butler, has thrown further light on the field first explored by de Vogüé forty years ago. It covers all de Vogüé's ground, and includes districts, such as the basalt region of Aleppo, not hitherto published. The volume has five hundred photographs and plans; and as there are dated monuments of almost every decade from A.D. 10 to A.D. 609, it is evident that the student has here a most valuable collection of material from which to form an idea of the remarkable architectural developments preceding the Arab invasions.

The speculations of Professor Strzygowski and his fellow-workers afford sufficient proof of the present vitality of Byzantine studies, and remind us how great an influence the Eastern Empire was already exerting in Europe before the tenth century. They will help to break down the still prevalent superstition that Christian Asia is as remote from any rational sphere of interest as Milton's 'imagined lands' and regions of the moon; they will hasten the day when it will be considered as impossible for a student of the Middle Ages to dispense with a preliminary knowledge of Byzantine remains as it now is for a classical scholar to ignore Ionia in the study of Greek art. The rehabilitation of the Byzantine Empire is, we regret to say, chiefly the work of foreign countries. The foundation of the 'Byzantinische Zeitschrift' in 1895 marked an epoch in a new era of progress, for Professor Karl Krumbacher and his collaborators have established an organ in which the first-fruits of research are promptly recorded, and all the work done in the investigation of Byzantine history, literature, and archæology is periodically reviewed. The success of the 'Zeitschrift' in organising collective effort led to the foundation of 'the Vizantieski Vremennik' in Russia, and the 'Oriens Christianus' in Rome. France subsidised the teaching of Byzantine art and archæology, and established a permanent library, with collections of casts and photographs, at the Sorbonne. Under the direction of M. Charles Diehl and M. Gabriel Millet, Byzantine studies in Paris are becoming increasingly popular, and a centre of instruction has been formed the advantages of which are open to students of all countries. The growing interest in Byzantine matters has

been shown by the encouragement of work in the post-classical field by students of the foreign schools at Athens and Rome, and by the establishment of a separate Byzantine section at the periodical congresses of archæologists and of Orientalists. Exploring expeditions have been sent out by several countries with the support of Governments and of influential societies; others have been equipped by private munificence. Thus the Russians and the Americans have recently investigated the architectural remains of Syria and Asia Minor; German travellers have been everywhere; while the French, who have investigated the monuments of Byzantine rule in Algeria and Tunis, have been equally active in the South of Italy. In the formation of collections, Germany has taken a great step in advance by allotting to the illustration of the Byzantine period a large section of the new Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin. In a word, there are signs everywhere upon the Continent that the long-despised Eastern Empire is coming into its own, and that the importance of Byzantium to the comprehension of the Western Middle Ages is becoming more and more clearly recognised.

In these circumstances it is natural to inquire what is being done in Britain, and how our own country compares with others in the work of developing this new field of research. The answer to the question can hardly be regarded as encouraging. Apart from the recognition by our schools at Athens and Rome, no encouragement is given to Byzantine studies. We may take legitimate pride in the work of a Finlay and a Bury in history and of a Ramsay in archæology, to say nothing of that done by other men in the architectural field. We may find encouragement in the fact that a distinguished Comtist in a Rede Lecture and a romance has classed the Byzantine Empire among the powers which have served the cause of humanity. But this is all individual work: there is no co-ordination of forces through which British scholarship might attain a more becoming and considerable place. The absence of any Byzantine organ in England compels our writers to entreat the hospitality of Continental reviews. Such archæological exploration as is attempted is insufficiently endowed. Meanwhile, the more important antiquities of the Christian East, and those from adjoining countries which throw light upon them, are finding their way to Berlin: in this way the façade of the Mashita, discovered by our countryman Dr. Tristram, has travelled in the last

few years from the desert of Moab to the new Museum on the Spree. We may sincerely congratulate Dr. Bode on the results which he has achieved, and envy him the more favourable conditions which have made them possible. But it behoves us to reflect very seriously whether we intend to leave to others the adequate illustration of a whole important period of the world's history. The difficulty in the way of action is, as usual, the cost; it is clear that any new application for public or subscribed funds must be received with impatience when a hundred other claims are more obviously urgent. It is said that the British Titan is weary, and cannot bear even one additional pound upon his galled shoulders. The answer is that foreign Titans, who go in even heavier marching order, do somehow manage so to adjust the weight that the less popular of the higher studies are not forgotten. If we British are too poor or too practical to do likewise, if we fail to secure for our country advantages which other peoples are securing for theirs, our negligence will one day rouse the resentment of our more enlightened descendants. It may be urged that the field of Byzantine history and archæology is an obscure region where we have no particular need to wander. But the intelligence of a nation is most accurately measured, not by its support of the greater arts and the popular sciences, which common shame forbids it to neglect, but rather by its encouragement of less conspicuous branches of learning, which equally form an integral part in the organic whole of national culture. And it is, unfortunately, true that our apathy and indifference extend to the remains of past ages as a whole, even to those which make the strongest appeal to the imagination and the historical sense. By what actions do we show any national sense of the historical value of archæological exploration? Where are our 'missions,' our 'délégations scientifiques'? What does our diplomacy effect for the advantage of British archæology? While France has temporarily secured for her savants the monopoly of research in Persia, so that no stone may be moved without their consent, and a British expedition in the Shah's dominions is now an impossibility, we have not only acquiesced in the arrangement, but have conceded to France the perpetual direction of the service of antiquities in Egypt as well. The admirable work of a British archæologist in Crete has only been rendered possible by individual enthusiasm and private generosity. Cyprus, which has been under British administration for a

quarter of a century, still awaits exploration upon a worthy scale. The excuse which we are apt to make for this strange indifference is that ours is a practical genius ; that we establish colonies and govern subject races well ; and that in an age of specialism one kind of eminence should suffice. Let our neighbours foster art and endow research ; we will develope savage countries. But such self-acquittal on the lines of the Virgilian apostrophe to Imperial Rome is not really admissible : the demands of education are more comprehensive now than in the Augustan age, and ours is not the only great empire in the world.

ART. IV.—THE NOVELS OF MISS YONGE.

1. *Charlotte Mary Yonge: Her Life and Letters.* By CHRISTABEL COLERIDGE. London: Macmillan. 1903.
2. *The Heir of Redclyffe.* By C. M. YONGE. London: Parker. 1853.
3. *Heartsease.* By the same. London: Macmillan. 1854.
4. *The Daisy Chain.* By the same. London: Parker. 1856.
5. *Dynevor Terrace.* By the same. London: Parker. 1858.
6. *Hopes and Fears, or Scenes from the Life of a Spinster.* By the same. London: Parker. 1860.
7. *My Young Alcides: a Faded Photograph.* By the same. London: Macmillan. 1875.

A RANK of well-worn volumes, some battered almost out of the semblance of books, yet so carefully guarded that not a lost leaf interrupts the sequence of the story—these, in a household where books have always been plenty and freely accessible, make no bad credentials for a writer; and with them before us we shall be bold to challenge the common estimate which relegates Miss Yonge to the rank of a mere story-teller for schoolgirls. There is no use in affecting to deal out justice in this matter. Whether it be just to consider that any prominent lady novelist of to-day is disparaged by comparison with the author of ‘*The Daisy Chain*,’ it will be time to decide in another fifty years. The essential point is that, after fifty years, here are these books of Miss Yonge’s still read, and still eminently readable, when one turns back to them after the lapse of a generation. Rice pudding, perhaps—yet, rather say, wholesome bread with fresh butter and the best of home-made jam.

But it would be both unfair and uncritical to consider Miss Yonge merely from the standpoint of readability. Her desire to influence is not less obvious than that of her contemporary, Kingsley; her influence was not less real than his; and no one who reads her is likely to resent the moralising, for the moral is always inherent in the whole, and not, as with Miss Edgeworth, extraneous and imposed. Miss Edgeworth was a born humorist, and ‘*Castle Rackrent*’ (her one pure and unadulterated piece of expression) is quite simply a presentment of life, as free from moralising

as anything in Maupassant; and to the end of her days she had the tendency to create characters, like King Corny in 'Ormond,' who might from many points of view be reprehensible (poor King Corny—if Miss Yonge had got hold of him, he would have done penance!) but who were simply loveable, like Corporal Trim or my Uncle Toby. But her father had told her that books must have a moral, and so a moral was dutifully tacked on. Miss Yonge had none of the humorist's temptation to see two sides, to set up a purely personal standard, of likes and dislikes, rather than of right and wrong, and consequently Miss Yonge's moral problems all worked themselves out neatly. Yet, to do her justice, Christian charity compensated a good deal for the lack of width in her outlook, and she always laboriously presents a meritorious side to her undeserving characters. The fast young lady who misleads Lucilla in 'Hopes and Fears,' and plans the fishing expedition to Ireland, ends, we are told, as a Plymouth sister, abounding, though extravagant, in piety. These are the points where Miss Yonge's admirers laugh gently at the conscience which compels her to say the best she can for people whom she has known and has not liked. But when it comes to her judgement of the people for whom she feels a natural sympathy—even for the less amiable members of some numerous and cherished family—then the case is very different. We may say to ourselves, 'this good lady judges conduct 'from too narrow a standpoint,' yet we never refuse a respectful hearing to her judgement, and, thanks to her astonishing power of creating individuals, we are quite ready to consider the character created apart from her judgement of it. Her value as a teacher may be affected by her intellectual limitations. But her power as an artist is limited only by her sympathies; she can present an infinite number of personages, living and real, provided only that they be English gentlemen and gentlewomen (in the traditional acceptance of the words) and do not transgress gravely against the normal rules of conduct. Two observations need to be made in extension of this. The first is that she has a tolerance amounting to comprehension for the young man who sows wild oats. The second addition is by far the more important. Whatever is commonplace and conventional in her mind redeems itself by a vivid sense of those qualities which transcend ordinary standards—by a power, in a word, to suggest saintliness. In this aspect, and in this aspect only, she can afford to be compared with

that infinitely greater artist who was also a perfect English gentlewoman. Miss Austen has all the humour that Miss Yonge lacks. Yet by her rigid acceptance of a standard for becoming behaviour, she sterilises that gift, or makes it one-sided: she can show what is laughable—what departs from the fine sense of proportion in her mind—but she cannot show what is at once laughable and loveable. Neither can Miss Yonge do this; her lack of humour prevents her. But she can show as loveable and admirable a great deal that the world is ready to laugh at. Where Miss Austen has right principles, and the code of the eighteenth century, Miss Yonge has a missionary Christianity—and in its most attractive form, with zeal tempered by a love for all that is venerable and comely. Miss Yonge lived in the full stream of the Anglican revival, Miss Austen in the days when ecclesiastical torpor was only quickened into a dull dislike by activities outside its own pale; and for that reason, Miss Yonge, with poorer gifts, is nevertheless in touch with a wider world.

The main circumstances of her life are worth noting, but they can be very briefly set down. Her father was a soldier who had served in the Light Division through the last years of the Peninsular War, and stood in the square of the 52nd when it moved forward in the van of the final advance at Waterloo. The colonel under whom he served was Colborne, afterwards Lord Seaton, and shortly after the peace, Mr. Yonge fell in love with Fanny Bargus, his Colonel's step-sister. Her parents would not hear of marriage into a marching regiment, and there was a five years' probation, at the end of which Yonge sent in his papers, and settled down to live with his mother-in-law at Otterbourne, about four miles from Winchester. Here Charlotte Yonge, the eldest child, was born in 1823: one brother a year later completed the family, but the clan was numerous and she grew up among large families of cousins, whose inter-relations gave full precedent for all similar complications in her novels. But the closest companionship of her life appears to have been with her father, and it was formative and designedly so.

William Yonge left the Army at the age of twenty-seven, having seen four years of the fiercest battles known to European history. For the sake of marriage he gave up his profession, but not for the sake of ease. He had more energy than occupation, and Miss Coleridge evidently thinks that he overdid parental influence, as was the way of

Edgeworthians. Nevertheless, constant intercourse with a man of his temper and his experience was no commonplace training. It was completed by another teacher. In 1836 the determining event of Charlotte Yonge's life happened: Keble was appointed incumbent of Hursley, of which parish Otterbourne was an outlying cure. 'Thus,' Miss Yonge writes, 'came in the chief spiritual influence of my life,' and under Keble's guidance her father appears to have found full scope for energy in trying to revivify religion and spread education where lethargy had long reigned.

Yet the example of these ministrations, and her own share of them, never extirpated the self-consciousness bred by Edgeworthian repression. It left Miss Yonge with a morbid shyness which only passed off after prolonged intimacy; her qualities only displayed themselves in a confined circle; and not the least unhappy result was to erect a permanent barrier between the worker for the poor and all who were not of her own class. Her notions of social propriety precluded the idea of intimacy either with domestics or labouring folk. Consequently in all her books, though there is ceaseless talk of the poor, they exist only as material for benevolent activity; it never seems to have occurred to Miss Yonge that in such intercourse as is engendered by any true commerce with another way of life, influence is apt to be reciprocal. She wrote of facts, no doubt, as she found them; the parishioners, her chiefest care outside her own family, were always 'they' as distinct from 'we,' hardly less apart than the South Sea islanders, dear to her missionary interests. Here, perhaps, lies the great weakness of her work: her characters carry with them everywhere the atmosphere of the parlour, and we miss, almost insensibly, the larger humanity which enabled Miss Edgeworth to draw old Thady—and a score of others.

It is a question whether this defect was lessened or intensified by the influence of her spiritual guide. Mr. Herbert Paul said wittily, the other day, that for some the Church of England is too wide, and for some it is too narrow, but that it exactly fitted Mr. Keble. Perhaps the excess of gentility, the lack in simple humanity, which mark Miss Yonge were not much modified by a Church which has always inclined to be exclusive and to insist on a form of virtue which shall at no point be incompatible with the English notion of what befits a gentleman or gentlewoman. The old ideal of a prosperous and amiable upper class occupied in doing good to a well-conducted lower class has

proved a little insufficient, and no one would to-day set up Miss Yonge as a guide beyond certain limits. But within the limits of her own sympathies—that is to say, in the ordinary domestic relations of well-bred, religious-minded English families—her guidance is not likely to be surpassed. Here, at least, we feel no lack of humanity; here we recognise a generous nature, and at times a high wisdom, informing that gift of projecting living characters which differs in method only from the art of the dramatist.

Miss Yonge had the luck to write when the English novel was at the height of its perfection, existing in its amplest form. ‘*The Heir of Redclyffe*,’ published in 1853, gained its brilliant success at a time when Dickens, Thackeray, and Charlotte Brontë were at the meridian of their powers. Four years later George Eliot was added to the wonderful group of those contemporaries who attained a rank which Miss Yonge never approached. It cannot be said that she profited by their example, and much of their work she would undoubtedly have regarded as ‘dangerous.’ Her whole allegiance went out to Sir Walter, though even from him she learnt only—if she needed to learn it—a total disregard for delicacies of style. But nevertheless she wrote in the full flood of a tradition which naturally prompted to large and easy treatment of a subject, to a crowded canvas and generous amplitude of detail, such as were most congenial to her talent. She wrote, in a word, before the art of novel-writing had grown self-conscious, minutely concerned with technique, or beset by an exotic brilliancy of dialogue. Her simple aim was after the primitive and essential object of the novel—to display character through the medium of a story.

Looking back now on a century through which the novel increasingly dominated all literary forms, we can see how the two rival elements tended to separate themselves, to assert almost an independence of each other. Taking for extreme types Stevenson and Mr. Henry James, we see the one man with whom the story is everything, the other wholly preoccupied with analysis of motive—and each in his different way shunning the normal. For Stevenson it was essential first of all to construct the sequence of events marshalled through succeeding climaxes. Plot was paramount; plot had to exist in its completeness before flesh could grow on the bones of it. *Per se*, considered as a scheme before the characters took life, plot had to be interesting. With Mr. James, on the other hand, we see an

artist working out the investigation of character to a predetermined result; his novels resemble a scientific demonstration. But in the school to which Miss Yonge belonged—and Thackeray was of it—the novelist started with a group of characters brought together at the start by some emotional relation; and characters and story grew together. Scott's practice was the same, but Scott is continually inventing for the sake of romance, awakening wonder, terror, that haunting sense of some beauty or some horror closely imminent, which is far as the poles from Miss Yonge's world. Other writers who do not deserve to rank above her shared Scott's gift of romance; Sheridan Le Fanu for a notable example. Other writers who certainly rank above her shared her incapacity for these effects; Miss Austen chief among them. But the true comparison for Miss Yonge is Anthony Trollope. She and he, unlike in many things, are yet essentially alike in that they possessed in amazing measure the gift of shaping in their minds a large group of individuals, for the most part neither witty nor in any way exceptional, yet interesting as a group just because their creators are so profoundly alive to their idiosyncrasies and realise so thoroughly their impact on each other. Dr. Thorne and Dr. May, to take two capital figures, are simply estimable country practitioners, too cultivated for oddity; yet each man is known and shown so intimately that we cannot be indifferent to his joys and sorrows, though nothing happens to either outside the common run of life. There is, it is true, a moment when Dr. Thorne has to make a dramatic choice, and it is forcibly indicated; and throughout in Trollope the work has sap and savour in it beyond Miss Yonge's tamer achievements. You cannot parallel in her the force of those pages which tell how Archdeacon Grantly wrestled with himself that he might not desire his father's death to be hastened by the few hours which would secure his own promotion to the bishopric. Yet even this gentle lady can indicate in her gentle way strange violences of emotion; for instance, the chapter in 'Hopes and Fears' which describes Bertha Fulmort brought back from her fantastic elopement. The schoolgirl of sixteen has been cajoled by a disreputable fortune-hunter; her secret has been discovered, she has been scolded as a naughty child. In all the crazed vanity of a precocious sexual triumph, she remains obstinate, and finally runs off, only to find her hero, who has been more accurately informed of her expectations, ready and eager to

hand her back to legitimate guardians, with explanations that she has taken seriously what was only meant for joke. There is genuine power in the description of her entrance, dumb and livid; of her locking herself up, refusing food, till the hysterical breakdown when she believes that she has actually starved herself. It needed no commonplace imagination to render so well, yet so delicately, the maddening pain to that premature woman's pride, that vanity all the more sensitive by reason of its very absurdity. The sense of ridicule—very different from the sense of humour—was never more skilfully suppressed; and it is a real triumph to command comprehension, if not sympathy, for such a situation.

Yet it is not in the passages of strained emotion—which, seldom as they occur, occur successfully—that one finds Miss Yonge's true gift. She is to be sought in the whole rather than the part of any given book. Her dialogue is nearly always level; it attains to no climax, it aims at none; she is the least dramatic of novelists. Yet, as it proceeds, we are aware of the characters, we hear them speaking their own thoughts; and it has been justly remarked that she can venture constantly on a page of conversation with no indication to mark off the speakers, except what punctuation affords. It is not needed; each speaker is recognisable in every phrase—or, rather, in every sentiment, for Miss Yonge does not indulge in fine shades of language. And when this can justly be said, it is saying a great deal.

Truth of delineation—truth within however narrow limits—is the vital characteristic of her work—as it is also of Trollope's. In a sense, these authors are the more valuable because they see only what everyone sees—but of that they omit nothing. If an historian wants documents for the social history of England, say from 1850 to 1875, in Miss Yonge and in Trollope he will find them abundantly. It is astonishing to reflect that they were contemporaries of Mr. Meredith. But it is characteristic of the lesser writers to be preoccupied with what lies on the surface and, as such, more properly marks a period. Meredith's subject is humanity; Miss Yonge's is English gentlefolk and more particularly English ladies in the middle of the nineteenth century. No one would say that Miss Yonge cannot draw a gentleman, yet we have heard this astounding proposition advanced about Mr. Meredith—for the reason, probably, that his method is at all points to reveal the human

being—that creature of emotions and ideals, whom the English gentleman is sedulously instructed at all points to cover up.

Nevertheless, although Miss Yonge is so completely of her period, she may, perhaps, survive by virtue of her close touch with one of the great and permanent factors of human life. Prose does not last like verse, yet while the ‘Christian Year’ attracts readers, readers may also be attracted to her works, for there is about them something of that ‘sweet, attractive kind of grace’ which comes of the union between genuine piety and a cultured nature. At Hursley Vicarage, while Keble lived there, Miss Yonge was in touch with one of the local centres of that Oxford revival whose influence is not yet by any means spent. It is true that we find her the unwavering champion of many obsolete orthodoxies such as the verbal inspiration of Scripture: it is true that her notions of what a ‘young person’ of either sex may safely read would seem to exclude Shelley for instance. But these are accidental parts of the governing idea which penetrates all her books—that advocacy of a self-discipline which has in it so little of the rigours of asceticism that it is hardly less aware of the beauty of holiness than of the holiness of beauty. Her feeling—wholly catholic—for the value of symbols, her love for all things venerable and comely, may help one to realise that she also had her part, influencing and being influenced, in that wide movement of which pre-Raphaelitism in art was only one phase—and help one thereby to understand what certainly to-day seems a little unintelligible, that Morris and Rossetti were among the fervent admirers of ‘The Heir of Redclyffe.’

That famous story differs in origin and to some degree in type from any of Miss Yonge’s later works. Its historic genesis is told thus by Miss Coleridge. In the spring of 1850, Charlotte Yonge, then aged eight and twenty, had several stories in active progress—she had begun to publish as early as 1844 and was now the author of three or four volumes. She paid a visit to her friend and literary confidant Miss Dyson.

‘During this visit Miss Dyson showed her the MS. of a story which she herself had written but which she did not feel to be entirely successful. She wished, she said, to depict two characters, “the essentially contrite and the self-satisfied.” There were plenty of heroes who were repentant for having accidentally killed a friend out shooting, for instance, but the penitence of the saints was unattempted. The

conceited hero was to persecute the other and finally to cause his death, which was to be to his own worldly advantage. . . . Miss Dyson had generous insight enough to know that her friend was a far better story-wright than herself, and Charlotte's imagination was at once fired with the idea and she began to work it out and improve upon it.'

The story was evolved by discussion in letters and talk, and one cannot but think that something of the other hand lingers in Philip, the self-righteous young man. The world of books does not contain such another prig, yet he is depicted as all-conquering: adored by ladies, admired in his regiment. Nowhere else in Miss Yonge is there so improbable a character figured in detail; wicked young men, hardened seducers, of course pass vaguely and melodramatically: but Philip is a member of one of her favourite families. Everybody else is well drawn in that household of eight persons, and Guy himself is not unbearably virtuous. Yet as Miss Yonge developed, she drew no other principal character so plaguy good as Guy—and there is a touch of melodrama, too, about the descendant of the Morvilles which does not recur. His eye that flashes with transmitted fires—his likeness to the deplorable ancestor—and even his heroic conduct in the shipwreck—all these are lurid patches of colour that Miss Yonge afterwards preferred to dispense with. She knew herself more at home in the normal.

Her characteristic method was carried to its extreme point in the story which followed. 'The Daisy Chain' owes perhaps much of its looseness in texture to the fact that it was a first attempt at serial writing, and made by Miss Yonge while she was herself experimenting with the editorship of the magazine in which it appeared. The original idea was evidently to construct a story, illustrating the different workings of ambition, which should be suitable in its reference and in its teachings for the public which the 'Monthly Packet' hoped to reach. Yet the laying down of the first lines showed plainly that Miss Yonge meant essentially what she finally accomplished—a family chronicle in which the one extraneous interest should be afforded by the family's mission-field. In fact, a poor and uncivilised district needing to be reclaimed and civilised is almost a necessary appanage of every family in her novels. Yet in each novel we only see this field of activity in its effects upon family life and individual character. Cocks-moor is the theme of the first pages in 'The Daisy Chain,'

a church finally erected in Cocksmoor crowns the conclusion; yet of Cocksmoor and its denizens we have only the barest glimpses, and they are never seen for their own sake. In reality, our interest never goes outside Dr. May's household. The story which Miss Yonge has to tell—if it can be called a story—is this. Dr. May is a clever, prosperous country practitioner, happy with his wife and eleven children, of whom the youngest is a baby still unchristened, and the eldest is a son away reading for holy orders. The eldest at home is a girl, between whom and the guest of the household, Alan Ernescliffe, a young sailor, there are symptoms of a betrothal. The other girls are subject to a governess, the boys attend the local grammar school. We are shown the family group happy together, with the mother for its centre, evidently the governing and controlling power. Then a carriage accident happens, due—for even in this Miss Yonge will not shrink from drawing the moral—to Dr. May's habitual rashness. The mother is killed, the eldest girl, Margaret, is so injured as to be consigned indefinitely to her sofa, while Dr. May himself is so far disabled that we see the family for the first hours and days absolutely disorganised under the shock. Miss Coleridge has rightly praised the breadth and simplicity of touch with which the whole emotions accompanying a disaster so commonplace, yet so appalling, are depicted. The important thing to point out here is that, without sacrificing any of this breadth, Miss Yonge sets to work to display from the very first, in detail, the characters of the elder children. Margaret, who, not only as eldest daughter, but by a spiritual affinity succeeds to her mother's place, is in the first days out of the action; and the characters which show are four. Flora, pretty, practical, and all but grown-up, proves herself a perfect treasure; her head and hands are all that they ought to be. In sharp contrast with her is the gawky Ethel, the student who keeps pace surreptitiously with the Latin and Greek tasks of her brilliant brother, Norman; but whose downright speech, awkwardnesses and stumblings, make her useless and pathetically conscious of her uselessness. She has dreamed, in the very hours before the accident, of a life spent in high services for the regeneration of Cocksmoor; she comes home to be confronted with an immediate need which she cannot meet. Norman also, the high-strung scholar and poet, is thrown upon the household more as a hindrance than a help; but Miss Yonge is going to show us that his helplessness is not like Ethel's. Her

deficiency is in qualities of skill and tact, a deficiency which is explained, perhaps with excessive insistence, as having also a moral origin in neglect of the small details. But her moral qualities emerge from the shock braced rather than disorganised; and it is she who can help Norman in the kind of stupor which unnerves him and leaves him without heart for the work to be done, since he cannot have the praise he desired for doing it.

Meanwhile, Richard, the eldest son, placid and slow-brained, who has been kept from home in a kind of disgrace because of his failure to pass an examination, returns and immediately takes command. He has all Flora's dexterity and resource, but behind it is a different motive; for humility is as essential to his nature as self-complacency to hers; and while he can console, she can only do a nurse's work. Very skilful, and even relentless, is the way in which we are made to feel the young girl's enjoyment—even in the midmost of her grief—of the importance which a crisis gives her, and her pique when Margaret's recovery of consciousness threatens to relegate her to the schoolroom and the status of one who obeys orders.

Margaret herself is hardly analysed like the others. She is indicated, perhaps, more as an influence than a person, and not alone herself but a kind of representative of her mother. Her enforced passivity, as an invalid with spine-injury, renders this treatment natural; yet the romance of the story, the leading love interest, centres round this woman who is denied all fruition of love. One may conjecture that a certain perception of convenience in a story destined to go out with the first launching of a magazine for carefully bred girls influenced this grouping. Yet, whether this be so or no, it cannot be denied that Miss Yonge has contrived to surround Margaret with an atmosphere that becomes her position as the object and the giver of an affection which finds the one essential bond between man and woman in the knowledge of each other's mind, the assurance of a fellowship which transcends the need for caresses. And she had an honourable consistency in this matter, for in 'My 'Young Alcides,' the book where more than in any other (as it seems) she gives herself leave to depict her woman's ideal of manhood, the young hero accepts this view of love, and forgoes for a scruple what he might justifiably have taken, even though he cannot be sure that the girl whom he loves will acquiesce in his surrender to her mother's refusal.

Enough has been said to show the kind of effects which

Miss Yonge aims to produce. For her, the main thing is to be explicit. Her characters speak and act, revealing themselves unmistakeably in speech and action; yet, not content with that, the author enforces the moral—sometimes by commentary of her own, sometimes by mutual criticism between the personages of the story. It is a redundant method, yet we are not so sure but redundancy is proper to the novel—that large leisurely art in which the novelist has always claimed the right to divide the stage with his characters, to be chorus in the most unreserved sense. On the other hand Miss Yonge is rigid in her exclusion of anything that does not fall within her predetermined purpose—which is, in this case, to interest readers in the perfectly simple life of a family left motherless, and therefore evolving its various natures less smoothly than under more guidance. In the first part of ‘*The Daisy Chain*’—all that was published in the serial—hardly anything happens. Ethel sets up an amateur school at Cocksmoor; one boy goes to sea, and Norman gets the Balliol scholarship. A more dramatic event is afforded by a crisis in the affairs of the grammar school, where Norman is unjustly deposed from his headship. Indeed, whatever drama there is in the earlier part of the story is mainly afforded by the fortunes of the schoolboys. And, let it be said, Miss Yonge has a great knowledge of schoolboys, whom she depicts in an aspect by far more real than those writers suspect who can see nothing in boys but slang and animal spirits. The deadly seriousness with which a conscientious monitor takes his responsibilities is in no way exaggerated by her. What absurdities there are lie rather in the estimates placed by her grown people on childish actions: for instance, when Dr. May suggests that his sailor-boy shall be debarred from confirmation because a few days before the ceremony he has been masquerading in girls’ clothes, and frightened his invalid sister into a nervous collapse. However, Miss Yonge might reasonably plead that she wishes to depict Dr. May as hasty and choleric; her exaggeration lies in this, and not in the effect which such a threat might fairly be expected to produce on an affectionate and well-nurtured boy.

But it is rare to find her at fault, and out of this chronicle of the very smallest beer she extracts surprisingly deep and genuine emotions—always keeping her eye meanwhile on what was the legitimate central interest of every novel while novels were at their best—namely, the love story. Ernescliffe, the young sailor, before his departure,

is allowed to exchange promises with Margaret; and the unconscious dawning of intimacy between Norman May and the gay, pretty little neighbour, Meta Rivers, is very delicately drawn. This girl's figure is designedly and skilfully put in for a contrast. Her father, the rich and cultivated banker, recently settled near the country town, has only this child in his great house; she has never known a wish ungratified, and she looks with amazement at girls of her own age, as well-bred as she, inhabiting rooms furnished like those of her servants. She is drawn as one of those natures whom luxury cannot spoil and she has in herself a brightness independent of her setting. The enthusiasm for good works takes quick hold of her, and she comes to confide to the Mays her distress at finding herself of no great use when she tries. She is inclined to give up, thinking herself in the way, but is advised to go on. Then a turn in the conversation (clumsily enough introduced) leads Meta to inquire about trains. She is told the last comes in at 9.45. Meta explains—and the passage is worth quoting as typical:

“That is what we were afraid of. It is for Bellairs, my maid. Her mother is very ill, and she is not properly nursed. It is about five miles from the Millbury station, and we thought of letting her go with a day ticket to see about her. She could go in the morning after I am up; but I don't know what is to be done, for she could not get back before I dress for dinner.”

‘Margaret felt perfectly aghast at the cool tone, especially after what had passed.

“It would be quite impossible,” said the doctor. “Even going by the eight o'clock train and returning by the last, she would have only two hours to spare—short enough measure for a sick mother.”

“Papa means to give her whatever she wants for any nurse she may get.”

“Is there no one with the mother now?”

“A son's wife who they think is not kind. Poor Bellairs was so grateful for being allowed to go home. I wonder if I could dress for once without her.”

The doctor goes on to cite a parallel case, in which the maid found a brother dead, and her mother very ill.

“Surely she stayed!” (says Meta).

“It was as much as her place was worth,” said the doctor, “and her wages were the chief maintenance of the family. So she had to go back to dress her mistress, while the old woman lay there, wailing after Betsy. She did give warning then, but, before the month was out, the mother was dead.”

‘Meta did not speak, and Dr. May presently rose and went out.

Meta sat thoughtful and at last sighing said, "I wonder whether Bellairs's mother is so very ill. I have a great mind to let Susan try to do my hair and let Bellairs stay a little longer. I never thought of that."

"I do not think you will be sorry," said Margaret.

"Yes, I shall, for if my hair does not look nice, papa will not be pleased, and there is Aunt Leonora coming. How odd it will be without Bellairs. I will ask Mrs. Larpent."

"Oh yes!" said Margaret. "You must not think we meant to advise; but papa has seen so many instances of distress from servants not spared to their friends in illness, that he feels strongly on the subject."

And so on.

Now, all that is long-winded and slipshod, but character comes out; it is well invented, though dull in execution. And from this point Miss Yonge steps on the stage herself, and begins to explain how this meeting opened up to the little lady 'a new scope for thought and duty.' With real knowledge, the attitude of the average 'good employer' is expounded, and we are told further at length what happened when Bellairs went away; how grateful the girl was, but how entirely impossible it was to make hair look right without her, and how Lady Leonora scolded Meta, telling her it was only the way to make 'these people' presume.

Lady Leonora is also much distressed at the idea of intimacy with a doctor's daughters till she is conciliated—and here Miss Yonge shows the born story-teller's gift—by Flora. For Meta Rivers is drawn to the May household by their culture and idealisms: on the other hand, Flora, well dressed, capable, tactful, with an instinct for getting on, is naturally anxious to propitiate the relatives of this well-placed acquaintance—and so the plot thickens.

For in the second part, no longer designed for a school-girl's magazine, things begin to happen, and Flora is the moving force—materially speaking. She developes rapidly on her own lines, not less ambitious, not less clever than the rest, but in other ways. A great bazaar which she (in spite of Ethel's protests) contrives to organise to raise funds for Cocksmoor (the continuous strand being thus maintained) brings her into touch with Meta's amiable and rich but dull-witted brother, whom she marries—and whom having married she pushes into Parliament. Occupations accumulate about her, she brings a stir into the family life, and even all but contrives to marry off Ethel to a clever and prosperous young man at Oxford. Very admirable again is

the study of the effect thus produced on the mind of her natural antithesis, Ethel, who finds herself, by Flora's social talent and decorative gift, in a situation she has never contemplated—for the first time attracting a man, and that man one by whom she is no less attracted. The study of these two women, so unlike, yet still sisters unmistakeable, is a piece of character-drawing that any artist might be proud of; and Miss Yonge is nowhere more finely consistent than in her description of Ethel's choice. For it does not stand alone; throughout the volume she has shown the gawky, unhelpful girl growing into a real support and companion for her father, and joyful in her realisation of this; and the impulses which had urged the girl to devote her energies to a crusade against ignorance and squalor in Cocksmoor are the same in a maturer form which lead her to turn deliberately from the 'misty brilliant future of 'mutual joy' that half rises before her, and devote herself to the grey lights of a home where she feels herself necessary. Not many women can so fully perceive at once the attraction of self-devotion and the charm of self-realisation in the commoner way of happiness.

Another strand is here arbitrarily yet skilfully inwoven; for Ethel's decision to depart with her father from the festivities at Oxford leads to a meeting in the train with a college friend of the doctor's, much travelled and now returned, who becomes almost a member of the household, and who certainly enriches the story by a new colour. But colours are not spared. Over the Oxford gaities hangs a fear for the ship overdue, in which are not only the sailor son but Margaret's sailor lover; and news comes at last definitely of its loss. As the story proceeds to its climax, there is a kind of resurrection, for the sailor Harry appears, but only with news of Ernescliffe's death on the South Sea island. And so Margaret's romance closes in death—a death glorified by tokens from her loyal lover. But a blacker thread is woven in. Flora, the worldly-wise, who has made her marriage of convenience, has been so busy with her social life and continuous schooling of her stupid husband for his task as a politician that her child is left solely to nurses: and her father, suddenly summoned, arrives only in time to pronounce that the child is dying of narcotics. The incident might be called melodramatic, yet it is not melodramatically treated; and the woman's dull and dumb despair is handled with the same force that shows in the eloping schoolgirl's story. One may resent

the moralist in Miss Yonge, that meted out such heavy punishment, but one cannot deny that she describes what might happen, and renders genuinely the emotions which such a happening would inspire.

Yet in the end Miss Yonge relents. She concedes to the penitent a new baby, and what she values more, a real change of heart, springing out of the great anguish that masters Flora, and breaks down all her self-control, when Margaret, her own chosen sister, is removed by death. In that twilight, she and Ethel come to a full sympathy before Flora, the successful one, goes back to drudge at the life which she chose for herself—thinking to do well by the family—while Ethel's aspirations are crowned by the erection of that church at Cocksmoor for which Margaret herself lived to see. Within the sound of its bells, Norman and Meta Rivers unite their destinies—going out to what Miss Yonge regarded as the highest form of knight-errantry, mission work in the South Seas—leaving Richard installed as curate in the fabric which has sprung out of the girl Ethel's early enthusiasm. And as one closes the book, one takes leave of a group of people whom one has known intimately—through the medium of a temperament which lacked nothing of vigour or vitality though it was that of a very devout maiden lady.

But in truth we need not say good-bye, and Miss Yonge never had the heart to say it. The Mays and their remote descendants figure, intermarrying with other families almost as dear to her, in half a dozen later books. The temptation to sequels is always perilous: yet it is no bad sign of a novelist to be so tempted: and Trollope in this matter also showed his affinity with Miss Yonge. And let it be said as a tribute, so closely did these two enter into the lives of their characters that no other English novelist has so successfully introduced old friends in a new environment.

We have chosen 'The Daisy Chain' for detailed analysis because it presents Miss Yonge's tendencies in their extreme type—at all events in the first part. Elsewhere, she does not dwell so insistently on the schoolboy and schoolgirl period: and 'Heartsease,' the novel which immediately succeeded, is in all reality a novel, and an excellent novel. As in most works of any value, there is a central idea running through it—the conception of what may be accomplished by the influence of a high character, even when that influence is merely transmitted. Violet Martindale—whose flower-name,

in its English equivalent, gives the title to the book—is not herself merely, but a kind of vehicle for the personality of Helen Fotheringay, a woman whom she has never seen, and who is dead before the book opens.

The story is this. Violet, the daughter of Mr. Moss, a sharp north-country attorney, meets at her first ball a young guardsman. He is attracted by her soft beauty, and even the obvious designs of her pushing father—anxious to see his girl ‘an Honourable’—do not deter him from precipitate marriage without the knowledge of his parents or his imperious and strong-minded sister. Thus the first announcement brings something like a family quarrel, and Violet has met none of her new relatives when she is visited by John Martindale, her husband’s elder brother, a chronic invalid. He finds her in need of friendship, for the guardsman, though very much in love, is careless: and the need for friendship increases as time goes on. The Martindale family do little more than tolerate Violet; her handsome sister-in-law Theodora is jealous of her; and as the first attraction of marriage wanes, her husband is increasingly neglectful. None of this is exaggerated; it is drawn without humour indeed, yet always with sympathy—full justice being done, for instance, to the element of real lasting attachment in Arthur Martindale’s feeling for the wife whom he neglects: and it is treated in the manner proper to the novel, with that long minute tracing of development impossible in more summary forms of art. Let us admit that John Martindale preaches, so long as we are prepared to admit that there are people who profit by being preached to; and the preaching takes the sympathetic form of confidences, in which he tells Violet of his own long attachment to the girl Helen Fotheringay whom he never married, because her sense of duty and his insisted that they should wait for obstacles to disappear which might very justifiably have been ignored. One is made to realise the gradual strengthening of Violet’s character, the substitution of a high patience for mere despair when she finds that her charm for the man whom she idolises is waning: and to realise also that John Martindale is turned from a valetudinarian into a man by the power to be of use. But the special concern is with Violet; and as she gains strength to confront continually increasing difficulties and troubles in her husband’s debts and heavy illness, she is shown gaining an increasing mastery over the imperious Theodora, who from the first resents the influence wielded

by this soft creature. The two natures are contrasted throughout, and Miss Yonge gives all the honours to Violet, whose intelligence of the heart, responding easily to culture, outdoes all Theodora's original power of brain. And yet the authoress here and in all her books keeps a great kindness for the high-spirited girl who rebels against use and wont and scorns feminine subjection. Before the moralist has done with her, she is sure to be mercilessly bitted and bridled, but Theodora ends as a fine creature perfected through humility—and rewarded with an adoring husband. And, let it be clearly understood, Theodora flirts. She is not the born flirt, like Lucilla in 'Hopes and Fears,' who cannot see a man without proceeding to subjugate him; but she does flirt, and Miss Yonge, though she disapproves, quite recognises that it is human nature. Theodora is not so ruthlessly handled as Lucilla, who goes through the servitude of governess-ship, and in the end marries an elderly parson, though remaining to the end the original woman. Theodora loses her beauty, yet Miss Yonge has a fine perception that Theodora is the rare woman who really would prefer to be desired independently of her looks, and the punishment is, therefore, in the end a kind of glorification by high poetical justice—since Theodora has disfigured herself by saving life in a fire—an achievement, too, of which her victor, Violet, would have been incapable. Thus the finished whole has a fine harmonious grouping—for of course it belongs to the class of art which rejects realism and aims at an ordered plan. The good influence of Helen is offset by the bad influence of Helen's hater, Mrs. Martindale, a clever old lady who domineered over the generations and preached continually self-advancement. But Miss Yonge knows too well to make Helen triumph over this old aristocrat in her proper person—for Mrs. Martindale dies quite impenitent, with sincere dislike of everybody who does not marry money; it is over Theodora and through Violet that the principle of self-abnegation is asserted.

Yet, for all this conforming to a fixed moral scheme, there is a deal more reality in these books than in most of the novels which aim at presenting us with 'a slice out of life.' People like the old Lord Ormeston do not show themselves in any very intimate light; but it is in the nature of these people to go through existence in a decent, gentlemanlike way, without experiencing or causing violence of emotion, or doing either outstanding good or ill; and

Miss Yonge presents them living and individualised, with a curious economy of any bold distinguishing touch. But his young grandson is studied in the fullest detail, and though we see this amiable spendthrift only as his women-folk see him, we see him vividly—the easy, well-bred, well-conditioned young soldier of a crack regiment, who is capable of bravery, but has never done a day's work in his life. Miss Yonge draws him with more than liking for his good looks and charm, with real intimate sympathy that does not preclude a sense of his slack fibre. She shows him first in trivial details, pleasant fondnesses of courtship with his pretty young wife alternating with heedless traits of inconsiderate selfishness and pettish ill-temper; she shows him later in agonised emotion over the young wife, who is all but dying after a first confinement, premature and embittered by his unkind absence, till she is brought back to life almost out of actual death by the sense of his nearness; she shows him again and again, altered but the same, in relations with his children, first indifferent to them (for this lady is under no sentimental illusions about the paternal emotions), and lastly, when reduced to real contrition by dangerous illness and the long languor of convalescence, finding a curiously complete companionship in the delicate little boy whom he has never cared for. It would be difficult to overpraise this study, at once so unsparing and so full of sympathy. Very few women have drawn any type of man so well. And if one has to admit that Miss Yonge draws always the gentleman somewhat to the exclusion from view of the mere man, it is only fair to say that she depicts forcibly enough the inherent and almost incurable selfishness of the male.

Any one who cares to study her method would find it curiously illustrated by a comparison of her habitual naturalism with the essay in ideal portraiture before referred to—the attempt made in 'My Young Alcides' to draw a man of heroic proportions, with the touch of delirium in his passions which makes drink a permanent danger—and to draw this modern Hercules as the Christian hero. There is a genuine enthusiasm in the book which redeems it from the commonplace. Miss Yonge is too much interested in her own story to leave us cold. But her position as an artist—and to such a position she is amply entitled—rests in her power to create a number of living personages fully individualised though within a narrow range. Of her young men—the hardest thing for a lady novelist to accomplish—

we should single out the young lad FitzJocelyn in 'Dynevor Terrace,' where a type of character very rare, and yet not the less recognisable, is extraordinarily well drawn. Miss Yonge does not often get so far beyond the commonplace as in the suggestion of this airy volatile charm, the gracious flower of a nature born without the darker propensities. And it should be remembered that this youth is expressly referred to by Miss Yonge as the son of a marriage between a pedantic statesman and a lovely young woman who died while 'childish vanity and folly' were as yet only 'verging on levity and imprudence.'

For a professed moralist, Miss Yonge is always honourably lenient in judgement of her sisters. Lucilla, as we have said, is a flirt pure and simple, and though Lucilla's austere admirer gives up all thought of the girl (with Miss Yonge's approbation) because she insists on going to a ball in a dress trimmed with salmon flies, it must be allowed that this is only part of a much more reprehensible project—namely, to go to Ireland and poach at discretion, confident in her looks to mollify any possible keeper or proprietor. But Lucilla is treated with all charity; and a good deal more than charity goes out to the central figure of that novel. The 'hopes and fears' which it deals with spread over an inconceivable ramification of relation and affinity (actual and contemplated); the book is almost without form at every point, and in every dialogue redundant. These are Miss Yonge's besetting sins and this book has a double dose of them. Yet one would forgive a great deal more if only for the sake of the large and wise humanity which inspires the central conception of the book. Honora Charlote, around whom the action revolves, is an old maid neither by conviction nor necessity, but simply because she makes a mess of her life. Always desirous of guidance, romantic in her hopes, she throws herself into an ideal passion for a talented preacher whom she is not allowed to marry, and lives in strenuous imagination of his self-sacrifice among the backwoods and Red Indians. The visions are abated first by news of his removal to a town parish, and later by the communication of his marriage to someone else. Yet, she still persists in her visionary devotion, rejecting as too obvious and commonplace the suitable marriage with her cousin Humfrey Charlote, and her idealism gets a new lease of life when the distant clergyman, dying widowed, leaves her the guardianship of his children. Only after she has undertaken the charge, and her days of young-ladyhood have been

put away, does she begin to realise that the cousin whom she has always set aside is in reality a finer character than the eloquent clergyman; but as she prepares herself to fulfil his happiness and her own, she is struck dumb by the news that his robust life is under sentence; an aneurism has been discovered; and in a few months she is the lady paramount in his great property. Yet her mission comes to her plain; she has her wards to train, and she devotes herself with the same idolising passion to them, or rather to the younger of them, the boy Owen. And from the same qualities in a new application similar results follow. Their lives also run to confusion, as hers has done. Yet—and here is where Miss Yonge's talent displays itself—we are shown how, side by side with the ill result of Honora's excessive enthusiasm, there follow also from her high standard many things most honourable, and how she, who cannot with ample resources make the happiness which she aims at for herself and those most dear to her, yet is a light and a consolation to other human beings who are brought into the sphere of her influence.

It is a long story, like all Miss Yonge's stories, and in it not very much happens. Yet we come from it, as from all, at least of those written in the freshness of her power, with the sense of having assisted at the slow developement of a number of lives unrolled before us by one who understood them intimately from her own point of view, who sympathised deeply with every form of nobility which their natures contained, and who delighted to show the quickening radiation of goodness. Admitting her limitations—admitting, for instance, that she evidently believed that every good man must be a Conservative—it cannot be denied that the great gift which she possessed of conceiving imaginary persons in imaginary situations, with such intensity and such knowledge of their law of growth that interest was commanded, was so used as to spread very far the influence of a wise and generous mind, and especially among other minds at their most impressionable period. Other writers without number have attempted the field in which she was so successful, and one at least—Miss Evelyn Sharp—with gifts of humour and of style which Miss Yonge lacked; but none has approached her, for the reason that none has shown anything of her talent for interesting herself in the whole personality of a number of persons not obviously interesting and living the most ordinary lives.

ART. V.—IRISH LAND PURCHASE.

1. *An Interim Report of the Estates Commissioners for the period from November 1, 1903, to December 31, 1904, with Appendices.* Presented to Parliament by command of his Majesty. 1905.
2. *Return of Proceedings under the Land Law Acts, the Labourers' (Ireland) Acts, 1883–1891, and the Land Purchase Acts, during the months of March, April, May, and June, 1905.*
3. *Reports of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland, 1900–1904.*
4. *The Irish Landowners' Convention. Twentieth Report of the Executive Committee,* submitted to the Irish Landowners' Convention on Friday, August 28, 1905.
5. *Speech of the Duke of Abercorn, as Chairman of the Irish Landowners' Convention, August 28, 1905.* Reported in the 'Irish Times,' Saturday, August 29, 1905.
6. *Letter of the Right Hon. Walter Long, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, to the Right Hon. Sir John Colomb, M.P.* Published in 'The Times,' September 11, 1905.

WHEN we last had occasion to refer to the Irish Land Acts, Mr. Wyndham was still engaged in seeing through the House of Commons the remarkable and far-reaching measure for which his tenure of the Irish Chief Secretaryship will long be remembered.* We then observed that, admirably as, upon the whole, the Land Act of 1903 appeared to be fitted to provide a final solution of the agrarian difficulty, it would be absurd to expect that, in passing it, Parliament had seen the last of the Irish Land Question. It was impossible to suppose, as we then remarked, that a measure so large, dealing with a subject so complex, should not be found to disclose in its working some administrative defects, to remedy which further legislation would become necessary. We take no credit, we need hardly say, for the correctness of a prediction which needed but little prescience, and as little do we see in its fulfilment any impeachment of the policy which Parliament irrevocably adopted two years ago. For whatever ambiguities may have been occasioned by defective draughtsmanship; whatever difficulties may have been interposed by the magnitude and intricacy of

* See the article on 'The Social Revolution in Ireland' in No. 405 of this Review.

the financial arrangements necessary for the operation of the Act; and whatever the administrative or legislative burden of fitting the machinery of the measure to the effective performance of its task, the policy of the Wyndham Act, and the paramount importance of the measure in the history of the agrarian revolution in Ireland remain, and will always remain, unaffected. For although the main objects of the Act of 1903 are the same as those of the Ashbourne Acts of 1885 and 1888, and of Mr. Balfour's Act of 1891, the means displayed in the former are so superior to those devised by Mr. Wyndham's predecessors that the difference between the earlier and the later legislation is really rather a difference of kind than of degree. Delays may, indeed, retard the final consummation of the policy deliberately adopted by the Unionist Cabinet in 1903, and the original estimates of the pace at which the purchase and sale of the tenanted land of Ireland can be conveniently conducted may be found to have been over-sanguine. Yet, we repeat, the significance of the Act in relation to the whole social system of Ireland will always remain the same. For the true importance of the measure lay in this, that it embodied, and for the first time gave shape to, the ideal of a universal peasant proprietary in place of the ideal of fixity of tenure at fair rents, which had been the leading principle of the legislation inaugurated by Mr. Gladstone. Both the Bright Clauses of the Gladstonian Land Acts and the early Purchase Acts of the Cabinet of Lord Salisbury had indeed been designed to foster the development of that ideal which has all along commended itself to Unionist statesmen as the true goal of legislation. But, earnest as were their efforts, the difference between the Ashbourne Acts and the Act passed by Mr. Balfour in 1891 as compared with Mr. Wyndham's lay in the fact that down to 1903, notwithstanding increased facilities for purchase, the rent-fixing provisions of the Land Code were those to which the great majority of both landlords and tenants in Ireland attached the chief importance; whereas, since the passing of the late Act, the purchase and sale of holdings and estates have absorbed the attention of both parties to the long-standing agrarian conflict to the almost total exclusion of all other considerations.

It is not strange that this should be so. For the truth is that, under the provisions of the Act, bargains can now, for the first time, be struck which upon the whole may be said to be to the advantage of both parties. We have no intention of going into the nicely calculated question of the less or more of purchase prices, or of trying to ascertain on which side the balance of advantage may be said to lie. The fact that within little more than a year and a half from the commencement of the Act

advances to the amount of upwards of twenty-two millions, or more than one-sixth of the estimated purchase price of all the tenanted land of Ireland, had been applied for, after a mutual agreement between the parties as to the price, is sufficient evidence on the point. It proves conclusively that, in the judgement of both the parties to the great transaction which it was the object of Parliament to forward, the Act of 1903, as it was expounded by its author and understood by the public, was an efficient instrument for the purpose for which it was designed. And it proves that under its provisions both parties could reach an agreement mutually satisfactory, having regard to the conditions and prospects of Irish agriculture, and to the unsatisfactoriness of the perpetual disquiet occasioned by the rent-fixing system, from the recurring uncertainty and expense of which the Act provides an effectual and final mode of escape.

We are aware that exception would probably be taken to this statement by the more extreme members of both parties. For example, the columns of the most influential Nationalist newspaper in Ireland has for months printed, and still continues to print, in a conspicuous place in its pages, the solemn warning to tenants, against giving excessive prices for their holdings, which is known as the Limerick Resolution. The gist of this resolution, which was designed to check the tendency of tenants to come to terms with their landlords at prices which the latter were able and willing to accept, and to establish something like a maximum rate of purchase, is that the number of years' purchase under the new Act should in no case be greater than that paid under the Ashbourne Acts. We do not know that the landlords, or anyone in their behalf, have asserted any countervailing theory of a minimum standard of price. But it is unquestionable that many among them continue to protest their inability to part with their properties on the terms obtainable under the Acts. As, however, neither the Limerick Resolution, even when backed by the moral support of the majority of the Irish Parliamentary party and its organs in the press, nor the protests of isolated landowners in different parts of the country, have prevented the signing of agreements by landlords and tenants to the extent already indicated, we feel fully justified in asserting that in the Act as originally designed, and as it was expounded in the House of Commons, the Legislature had at length devised a system under which its cardinal object, the creation of a universal peasant proprietary in Ireland, might be carried out with reasonable expedition and a tolerable approximation to justice and fair play. The great majority of the landlords, through the association known as the Irish Landowners'

Convention, are no longer concerned with protesting against legislation, but rather are seeking to have the machinery of the Wyndham Act improved. There appears to be little reason to doubt that, supposing Mr. Wyndham's expectations, as to the provision of money by the Treasury to meet the advances applied for, to have been realised, the progress of the negotiations between landlords and tenants would, to say the least of it, have fully kept pace with the ability of the Treasury to provide the necessary funds.

That being so, it is obvious that, alike from the point of view of the vast interests of the landlords and tenants of Ireland, and from that of the people of Great Britain, whose practical concern in the settlement of Irish difficulties is scarcely inferior to that of Ireland herself, the hindrances which have latterly impeded the progress of agreements under the Wyndham Act constitute a public misfortune which is to be seriously deplored and for which a remedy is urgently needed. It will be convenient here to state briefly the nature of those hindrances ; and to indicate the extent to which they threaten to mar the operation of the Act, and to retard if not defeat the consummation of the policy to which Parliament has so deliberately and so definitely committed itself.

The primary and essential merit of the Land Act of 1903, and the feature which won for it the acceptance of all parties in Ireland, lay in the assurance which it appeared to give to both parties to the transactions contemplated under it of immediate and substantial relief and benefit. The problem which it was designed to solve, and to the solution of which it was believed that its provisions were fully adequate, was the problem of simultaneously giving to the tenant-purchaser a substantial and immediate reduction in the amount of his annual burden, and of securing to the landlord a substantial improvement in his position by assuring him a settled income equal to the net value of his landed property, and free from the uncertainty and expense of rent-collecting and rent-fixing. By making the amount of each half-yearly instalment of the purchase money substantially less than the tenant's former half-yearly payment in rent, the former object was effectually attained. In this respect there has not been any disappointment, nor, indeed, is such disappointment possible. For no sooner has an agreement between the parties been approved by the Estates Commissioners than the reduced rate becomes payable by the purchasers, the relation of landlord and tenant is at an end, and the process by which the rent-paying tenant is to be transformed into the owner of his holding is begun.

To effect the second object, it was arranged that when the title had been cleared, and the provisions of the Act in all other respects had been complied with, the purchase-money should be paid to the vendors in cash. The depreciation of the guaranteed land stock, in which the vendors were paid under Mr. Balfour's Act of 1891, had been the primary cause of the failure of that otherwise admirably designed measure to effect the solution of the problem of land purchase. Accordingly, a cardinal principle of the Act of 1903 was the provision for payment of the purchase-money to the vendor in cash instead of in land stock ; and Mr. Wyndham was able to make what appeared to be adequate arrangements for giving effect to his scheme. It was agreed by the Treasury that during the first three years of the operation of the Act a sum of five million sovereigns should be annually available, should so much be required, to meet the advances sanctioned by the Estates Commissioners. It was further understood that at the expiration of the three years, when fifteen millions should have been so advanced, such fresh arrangements would be made by the Treasury as would enable the whole hundred and twelve millions which, it was estimated, would suffice for the entire operations of the Act to be made available for the purposes required in the course of fifteen years.

Unfortunately, it was assumed, quite erroneously as the event has proved, that five million sovereigns per annum would be amply sufficient to meet the demands likely to be made upon the public exchequer for the first three years. Upon this assumption Mr. Wyndham made his calculations and effected his arrangements with the Treasury ; and, what is even more important, upon this assumption it was that the Treasury concluded in the City the financial arrangements necessary for finding what even in these days of inflated expenditure must still be deemed these very considerable sums. But neither Mr. Wyndham nor the Treasury, nor any of the parties to the great accommodation which his Act embodied, appears to have anticipated that there would be any serious inequality between the amount thus to be provided and that which would be necessary to satisfy the agreements entered into within the period contemplated. Nor in the wildest dreams of the most optimistic admirers of the measure was it imagined that the colossal sum of twenty-two millions would be called for within less than two years of the passing of the Act.

For this miscalculation no one can well be blamed, or, at any rate, the blame is fairly divisible among all the parties concerned. Successful as the Ashbourne Acts undoubtedly were, a sum of ten millions had sufficed for the transactions of

seven years. And, although the stimulus given to the idea of purchase by the agreement arrived at between the long contending parties to the agrarian struggle at the Irish Land Conference naturally imported a probability of rapid bargaining between landlords and tenants, it scarcely seemed reasonable to suppose that, in the face of the adverse criticism to which the provisions of the Act were subjected from opposite quarters, agreements would be reached at a pace which has been out of all proportion to what previous experience gave reason for anticipating. Yet this is what has happened. For more than a year it has been evident that the money available through the Treasury is entirely inadequate to meet the advances sanctioned, and that in the absence of some satisfactory expedient for meeting the difficulty a delay of several years must occur before the engagements already entered into can be satisfied, to say nothing of future transactions. The result is, of course, to inflict a serious injustice on those owners who have already agreed with their tenants: and, what Parliament may perhaps regard as of more serious, or at least more urgent, importance, to discourage to the point almost of complete cessation the making of further bargains.

The gravity of the position created by the unanticipated rapidity of the agreements for sale, and the resulting inadequacy of the financial provision for meeting the liabilities in respect of these, first became apparent within a twelvemonth of the passing of the Act, and the difficulty has been growing in magnitude ever since. The last months of Mr. Wyndham's administration were occupied largely with the consideration of various devices for meeting this emergency; but, although he appears to have made sundry suggestions or proposals to the Treasury, nothing had been effected before that statesman's resignation of office in February last. Nor was his successor at all more fortunate in his earlier efforts to get rid of a difficulty which seriously hampered the progress of purchase. Down to the close of last Session all attempts to stimulate the Treasury to greater liberality and elasticity in its arrangements for providing cash to meet the advances sanctioned by the Estates Commissioners had entirely failed, and it was in Mr. Long's efforts to promote legislation based on an agreement between the political representatives of the two agrarian parties that the Ministerial crisis of July last originated.

Having set forth the circumstances in which the deficiency of money has originated, it is right that we should briefly explain the obstacles to a settlement by the Treasury of this most unfortunate miscalculation. Those obstacles have been stated

publicly with full knowledge and great lucidity by the Duke of Abercorn in the address cited at the head of this article. We cannot do better than summarise the leading points of his statement to the Irish Landowners' Convention, a body thoroughly representative of the owners of property in Ireland and of those most nearly affected by the financial inconveniences we have described.

The fundamental basis of the Land Act of 1903 was, of course, the application of the credit of Great Britain to the business of providing within a reasonable period the enormous sums necessary for the transference of practically the whole of the tenanted land of Ireland from its old owners to its present occupiers. Even in the most halcyon periods of financial prosperity, when British funds stood at their highest point, transactions involving more than one hundred millions of money could not possibly be provided for without what Mr. Wyndham, when introducing his Bill, justly described as 'due and jealous regard to the national 'credit.' The financial phase through which the nation was passing in March 1903, and in which it still finds itself, was certainly not the most encouraging for an operation of such magnitude as Mr. Wyndham's scheme involved. The decline in every class of security due to the South African War and other causes had made the flotation of large issues a difficult matter for the Treasury; so that, even had that department felt more than normally liberal, it would still have been obliged to cut its coat with more regard to the condition of the money market than to the wishes of the Irish Government and the expectations of the Irish community. Accordingly, the Treasury, when arranging to provide by the issue of Land Stock the five million sovereigns per annum guaranteed for the first three years of the Act, felt obliged to give an undertaking to its financiers in the City that in no circumstances would the latter be called on to find a larger sum than five millions cash in any one of the three years following November 1, 1903. Thus, although twenty millions were already required before the end of last Session, there was no prospect of obtaining more than fifteen of them before November of next year; so that, even if the position were not aggravated by the addition of further agreements within the next twelve months, the money available to meet advances already sanctioned would be less to the tune of five millions than the amount required.

But this is not all. For what is the position with regard to the future? And at what rate may we anticipate that the ninety-six millions estimated by Mr. Wyndham as likely to be required within twelve years from 1906 will become available?

Save in so far as purchase and sale is for the present retarded by the inability of the Treasury to find the money already required, it is evident that, could sales progress as rapidly as agreements are reached the money would probably be called for much earlier than was originally estimated. No definite arrangement appears to have been entered into, as between the Treasury and the City, for the provision of cash to satisfy the agreements entered into by the vendors from November 1906 onwards. But expectations were held out that after that date the golden fountain would flow more freely than during the prior three years. Mr. Wyndham stated in the House of Commons that it would be possible and desirable to 'mend the pace' so as 'to enable all saleable land to be sold in the course of some fifteen years from the passing of the Act,' and expressed his opinion that the ninety-six millions would be forthcoming between 1906 and 1918, at the rate, that is, of eight millions yearly. Even this much, however, was not definitely undertaken by the financiers, and no one candidly considering the state and prospects of the money market can avoid sharing the Duke of Abercorn's misgiving that there is little ground for hoping 'that sufficient money will be raised by the Government to enable the outstanding and the future applications to be closed on the principle of payment in cash within a reasonable time.'

In view of this actual and probably continuous dearth of ready money, for the purposes of the Act, various suggestions have been made for the solution of this difficulty, but hitherto without success. The proposal which found favour with Mr. Wyndham, and which it is believed he was engaged in urging on the Treasury at the moment of his resignation, was that of the issue to vendors whose agreements had been sanctioned, and whose purchase-money had been allocated by the Land Commission after the clearing of title, of a form of Treasury Certificate, on foot of which they might raise money at comparatively low rates of interest for the purpose of extinguishing existing mortgages bearing high rates of interest. Whether this palliative would have been efficacious it is impossible to say, for it has never been tried. It found a good deal of favour with vendors, and would almost certainly have eased the situation for many owners without introducing the vicious principle that the State, having sanctioned the terms of a bargain arrived at on the faith of its own ability to give effect to it, is justified in endeavouring subsequently to vary those concluded terms by forcing one of the parties to the bargain to accept less than his stipulated price. But it is difficult to believe that either in the banks or from private investors capital would be forth-

coming on terms quite so easy as the advocates of this method appear to anticipate. Mr. Long's alternative, which unexpectedly led to such important incidents in the political world, was that vendors should accept part payment of their purchase-money in 2½ per cent. stock at its face value in lieu of cash, and he appears to have anticipated that this might be done to the extent of something like one-half of the whole amount. Such a bargain would doubtless be an excellent one for the Treasury, since the gradual distribution of some fifty millions of stock would obviously be much cheaper than the provision of the like amount in cash. But it is impossible to suppose that under existing financial conditions such stock could maintain its par value in the market, and obviously, by whatever amount it should fall short of its nominal value, by so much would the vendors be the sufferers. The Bill by which the Government proposed to give effect to Mr. Long's expedient would, however, it appears, have been accepted by the vendors, though reluctantly, upon the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, and as doing something to ease a financial burden too serious to be borne for an indefinite period. But it was withdrawn in consequence of threatened Nationalist opposition at a period of the Session when the excited condition of feeling in Parliament, following on the defeat of the Government, made perseverance with contentious legislation a practical impossibility. Mr. Long subsequently expressed his conviction that he would be able to deal with the difficulty in a manner satisfactory to all concerned, and such as would ensure the smooth working of the Act. He has so far justified his optimism that he has quite recently procured from the Treasury that relaxation of its arrangements for making cash advances in respect of purchase agreements already sanctioned which Mr. Wyndham was unable to effect. In his letter to Sir John Colomb he was able to announce an arrangement 'under which the Treasury agreed to provide 'additional funds amounting to two millions before the end 'of the present year, together with such an amount of stock 'as will produce during the year 1906 in two loans ten millions 'of cash. By this means at the end of next year the Treasury 'will have issued in all say twenty-three millions of stock for the 'purposes of the Act of 1903.' Undoubtedly the Chief Secretary has by this arrangement done much to relieve the pressure so far as regards the agreements already sanctioned. But so far the public has received no indication of the means by which he proposes to overcome the more remote but not less serious obstacles which are certain to arise in the future. His very success in meeting the present emergency will probably accelerate

the making of further agreements to meet which no adequate provision has yet been made.

We owe some apology to our readers for having devoted so much space to these somewhat dry details. But we have felt it important that the precise nature of the difficulties which have retarded and still threaten to retard the operations of Mr. Wyndham's great measure should be plainly stated, and that the position as between the Treasury and tax-payers of Great Britain upon the one hand, and the parties to bargains of immense magnitude entered into upon the faith of British security and British credit on the other, should be properly appreciated.

While the financial difficulties which we have endeavoured to explain have hindered many landlords from parting with their properties under existing conditions, the progress of the Act has been delayed in other directions by circumstances of a very different kind. One of the most burning of the subsidiary questions connected with the administration of the Act is the question of the reinstatement of the evicted tenants. The 'wounded soldiers' of the land war have for years constituted a serious difficulty in the way of the accommodation of the agrarian quarrel in many districts in the South of Ireland, and especially on those estates where the Plan of Campaign operated. We have no intention at this time of day of discussing the merits of their grievances. Very many of them, but by no means the majority, are the victims of their own crass determination to persist in recalcitrant hostility. Very few of them, it may safely be said, are the victims of a *bonâ-fide* inability to pay their rents. The great majority of them, on the contrary, are men who have had to pay the penalty of the failure of the great illegal combination known as the Plan of Campaign, the essence of which was not the inability of people to pay rent, but their determination only to pay such rent as they chose or their advisers chose to deem just. Now that that battle is over, a very general sympathy is felt for those who, however foolishly or even criminally they may have acted in associating themselves with a conspiracy which the law was known to condemn and certain to defeat, were not entirely free or always willing agents in so acting. It is impossible not to feel that in many instances the burden of the penalty has fallen upon the wrong shoulders, or at least has pressed exclusively rather on the abettors than on the inventors of the conspiracy. And while it is impossible to palliate, from the point of view either of law or of humanity, the conduct of those to whose counsels the Plan of Campaign was due, it may be admitted that the failure of that weapon, and the resulting misfortunes of the misguided tenants, have imposed

something in the nature of an obligation of honour upon the Irish Parliamentary party to procure the best possible terms for the victims of their own agitation, and to secure the utmost amelioration of the condition in which the evicted tenants find themselves. This was generally recognised in the discussions of the Land Conference, and it was equally recognised in the Act of Parliament, which contains generous provisions for the reinstatement of the ousted occupiers where this can be done without flagrant injustice to those who have acquired legal rights in the evicted holdings. It may be said generally, and the Report of the Estates Commissioners bears testimony to the fact, that no hostility has been manifested by the owners to the reinstatement of the evicted tenants, so long as their own just rights and those of tenants who have taken on the holdings since the date of the evictions are respected. It would be too much to assert that animosities so heated as those which the struggle with the Plan of Campaign provoked are entirely forgotten. But there is no desire to keep open old sores, and so far as the owners are concerned there is no serious obstacle to an accommodation.

The real difficulty lies far deeper. It lies in the nature of things. The evicted holdings are in other hands. New rights have been created in respect of them, and rights which it is impossible to ignore. Either they are in the hands of the landlords, who have let them to graziers under the eleven months' system, or they are in the hands of new tenants under a fresh contract of tenancy. Of 4,275 applications for reinstatement received by the Estates Commissioners from evicted tenants to the end of last year, 1,317 cases belonged to the former and 2,877 to the latter category. It is obvious from these figures that, except by unjust compulsion exercised to the disadvantage of law-abiding citizens who have fulfilled their obligations, and in favour of those who have defied the law, the restoration of the dispossessed occupiers can only be partial and gradual. The problem, so far as it is capable of solution, must be met by the settlement of the evicted tenants in lands not at present tenanted, as such lands may come into the market in the gradual course of sale, rather than by their actual restoration to their former holdings. Up to the present, however, the progress made in this direction has been slight. And although the return of the Estates Commissioners shows that on the estates in course of purchase at the end of last year as many as thirty-five thousand acres of untenanted land were likely to become available for the benefit of evicted tenants, down to the same date the whole number of tenants reinstated or provided with

fresh holdings since the commencement of the Act was no more than one hundred and thirty-seven.

It would be as unreasonable to blame the Government or the Estates Commissioners for the comparative meagreness of this result as it would be to blame them for the unexpected rapidity of the agreements entered into for the sale of estates throughout the country and the resulting inadequacy of the financial arrangements for purchase. But the evicted tenants, though numerically small, constitute, for the reasons we have mentioned, and for several others, a politically important body. They are in the first place persons already familiar with the methods of agitation as these are understood in Ireland. They are in close touch with, and in many cases the active organisers of, the branches of the United Irish League. And they have, as we have already pointed out, a moral claim on the good offices of their political leaders. This claim the latter, to do them justice, have not been slow to recognise. They have been instant in season and out of season in pressing the claims of the victims of their own failure on the attention of the Government. And they even seem prepared to delay a settlement of those financial difficulties in the removal of which the great body of Irish tenants are vitally concerned, in the hope of procuring better terms for this relatively small fraction of their clients. To this, more than to any other single cause, may fairly be attributed Mr. Redmond's opposition to Mr. Long's proposed Bill. The measure was opposed not because its provisions were specially obnoxious to the Nationalist leader, but because, since the Bill could only have been passed if treated as non-contentious, it offered no opportunity for the addition of provisions for the further mitigation of the lot of the 'wounded soldiers.'

Even more serious than the obstacle created by this question, because it affects a much greater number and a much larger area, is the obstacle created by the agitation against the graziers. It was this agitation which in the course of last winter threatened to lead to the revival of agrarian disturbance on a large scale in the West of Ireland, and which most seriously compromised the reputation of Mr. Wyndham as an administrator in the eyes of many who might have looked with leniency on his share in the more conspicuous incidents which brought his career as Irish Secretary to a close. And it is in the apparent determination of the tenants and their Parliamentary advocates to enforce the spoliation of the large graziers for the benefit of the small occupiers that the most serious obstacle to the gradual and peaceable transference from owner to occupier is likely to be

found. For it is to be remembered, as a test of the importance of this aspect of the purchase problem, that it was in connection with the agitation for the increase of the holdings of the cottiers of Connaught by subdividing among the latter the large grazing ranches of Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon that the United Irish League originated. 'The colonisation of the rich prairies' of the West by the disinherited natives' has long been a favourite object with Irish agrarian reformers, and no one who has the slightest acquaintance with the condition of the West of Ireland can wonder that it should be popular. The holdings of the cottier tenants of Connaught and North-West Ulster are for the most part hopelessly uneconomic. For a large part of the population of the districts we have named the few acres of moor or mountain which constitute a holding form little more than a residence for the tenant's family, which really depends for its sustenance on the labours of the cottier and his sons or brothers in the harvest fields of England and Scotland. Of large numbers of the peasantry in these districts it is probably true to say that their holdings do little more than supply the store of potatoes which furnishes the winter subsistence of the family, while the other necessities of the home are furnished by the twenty or thirty pounds which is earned in as many weeks by each field labourer in the potato-raising districts of Scotland or the large farms of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. By far the greater part of this cottier population is resident in what for the last fourteen years have been known generally as the Congested Districts, and in recent years schemes for the enlargement and improvement of these holdings have engaged the attention of the beneficent department known as the Congested Districts Board. In the course of the eleven years prior to the passing of the Land Act of 1903 this body acquired by purchase under the provisions of their Acts of Parliament close on 200,000 acres. Of this very considerable area by far the greater portion consisted of tenanted land, and the beneficial operations of the Board have lain chiefly in the reformation and reorganisation of the holdings, with a view to increasing their economic value by the provision of improved dwellings and efficient fences, and the introduction of superior methods of agriculture, prior to reselling the land to the tenants at its cost price to the Board. But a considerable portion, about one-fifth of the whole, was made up of untenanted land, and this has been applied either to the enlargement of existing holdings or to the provision of new holdings for tenants desirous of emigrating to new pastures from the holdings they had previously occupied.

The most remarkable example of this mode of dealing with

the problem of uneconomic holdings is furnished by the case of the estate of Viscount Dillon, a large tract of land mainly of very inferior quality in the counties of Mayo and Roscommon. This estate, which was purchased by the Congested Districts Board six years ago for the sum of 290,000*l.*, representing sixteen years' purchase of its net rental of about 18,000*l.* per annum, was among the largest in the West of Ireland, and contained a tenantry of over four thousand, of whom at least half were migratory labourers occupying holdings at a rent of 5*l.* or less. The extensive nature of the improvements carried out upon estates purchased by the Congested Districts Board may be judged by the fact that upwards of 50,000*l.* have been spent on the development of the Dillon Estate alone, and the *modus operandi* of the Board may be briefly illustrated by the following paragraph from their thirteenth annual report :

'As an example of what has been done, we may point to the fact that on the Loughglynn section of the estate 156 tenants were provided with new or enlarged holdings. There were on this section of the estate 218 tenants paying a gross rent of 1,093*l.*, or an average rent per holding of 5*l.* 0*s.* 3*d.* Of these holdings the rents of 110 tenants were at 4*l.* and under, and the rents of fifty over 4*l.* but not exceeding 6*l.* The results of our operations were that the holdings of most of these tenants have been increased by the addition of 1,625 acres of land and bog, having an annual value of 721*l.* There are now 207 tenants on this portion of the estate, whose gross rents amount to 1,724*l.*, or an average of 8*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* per holding. Of these only twelve have holdings valued at 4*l.* or under, and twenty-two have holdings over 4*l.* but not exceeding 6*l.* The remainder of the holdings are all over 6*l.* annual value. In allotting the untenanted land every effort was made to level up the small holdings to as near an economic standard as the available land permitted. Those who had fair-sized holdings got no increase.'

Without entering in any greater detail into the character of the work accomplished by the Congested Districts Board in the enlargement of holdings in the West of Ireland, it must be obvious from the foregoing illustration of its methods that its work in this direction has in recent years been conducted upon the largest scale. But although this work has had the most marked and beneficial effects upon the social condition of the districts in which the Board operates, it has, perhaps inevitably, brought some inconveniences in its train. It may be doubted whether it would have been possible anywhere to change the face of a country-side, and to add substantially to the material well-being of every one of its inhabitants, without arousing a certain amount of envy in the people of the neighbouring districts, or without

encouraging the expectation that similar beneficence would be exerted universally and instantaneously in favour of other districts of the same character. In Ireland, at all events, the result has been to produce a loud clamour from every side for the enlargement and improvement of the smaller holdings, wholly irrespective of the facilities existing for such an enterprise. Thus it has fallen out that, although the operations of the Congested Districts Board have been amazingly extended since the passing of Mr. Wyndham's Act, it has been found impossible to keep pace with popular expectation. While the purchases of land for these objects in the eleven years 1893-1903 totalled slightly less than 200,000 acres, the area acquired in 1903-4 alone amounted to 45,000 acres, or considerably more than one-fifth of that number. And in the present year, for which the figures are not yet available, the Board has undertaken in the purchase of the De Freyne property—an estate in the County Roscommon which was long the scene of a bitter antagonism between landlord and tenants—a task scarcely inferior in magnitude to that which it has already carried out on the Dillon estate. It is obvious, however, that a work of this sort is necessarily limited by opportunity. It must depend on the availability of land suitable for such treatment, and upon the willingness of the owners and others interested to part with their property. But the greatest practical difficulty consists in the fact that all through the West of Ireland there are large tracts of relatively fertile pasturage which are in the hands of the well-to-do graziers who cater for the supplies of beef and mutton required for the English market. Upon this industry, which, in spite of foreign competition both in the supply of live cattle and dead meat, is still one of the principal sources of Irish wealth, a very large number of persons connected with the farming classes depend for their livelihood. The lands on which this stock are raised or fattened are for the most part held on a tenure which does not admit them to the benefit of the rent-fixing provisions of the Land Acts, and is known as the eleven months' system—that is to say, there is a fresh letting every May and a surrender or determination of the letting in the following April. Thus, within this department of the tenanted land of Ireland freedom of contract has not hitherto been interfered with; and, inasmuch as the grazing system is a profitable one, rents considerably higher than those fixed on agricultural holdings in the Land Courts have hitherto been readily procurable for them. In general these holdings are naturally best fitted for pastoral purposes, and could not be worked as profitably on any other system. Upon these pastoral oases in the

wilderness of bog and mountain the eyes of the ordinary tenant farmer of the West have long been fixed with a not unnatural cupidity; but until quite recent years without any special manifestation of hostility to the graziers, who are usually of the peasant class, and who in most cases profess the same religion and sympathise with the political opinions of the vast majority of their neighbours. Such, however, has been the encouragement which the spectacle on the Dillon and other estates has given to the small farmers by whom the graziers are surrounded, that even this community of national, religious, and political sentiment has failed to restrain a loud and general clamour for the surrender of the grass lands and their application to the enlargement of existing agricultural holdings. The idea has become widespread that in the sale and purchase of estates the Estates Commissioners were intended by Parliament to give an unlimited extension to the principles upon which the Congested Districts Board have for some years proceeded, and that the grass lands should be transformed from their present occupiers and the uses to which they are at present put, for the purpose of enlarging the agricultural holdings of the ordinary farmer. It was in this notion that most of the trouble experienced last winter in connection with the sales of estates originated. The grazing lands, being outside the purview of the Land Acts, could only become legally available by the voluntary surrender by the graziers of their rights, and by an agreement with the owner at a price which would compensate him for the valuable property he held in lands of this class. It was for the purpose of forcing a surrender by the graziers and a consequent fall in the value of the lands to the owners that the unfortunate methods of agrarian combination enforced by the processes of intimidation formerly so familiar were resorted to in the West of Ireland last winter. Though the vigilance of the law has been so far successful in preventing the further spread of such methods, the attempt has had a most unfortunate effect upon the smooth working of the Purchase Act, and is among the factors which still threaten to retard its progress.

We must, however, confess that, quite apart from the difficulties which are created by the lack of a sufficiency of unoccupied land, and by the impossibility of meeting the expectations of the peasantry without serious injustice to those who are in possession of the grazing lands, we are not without some misgivings as to the wisdom of the policy of enlarging holdings which has now been for some years in vogue. It seems very much open to question whether the attempt to convert uneconomic holdings incapable of maintaining their occupiers without extraneous

means of livelihood into holdings only a little less incapable of maintaining them is anything more than a purely temporary palliative. Unquestionably the enlargement and improvement of their holdings is felt by the present occupiers to be a very real benefit; and in so far as this is so the experiment is a success, in which everyone must feel satisfaction. But when all is said, and the utmost has been done for the comfort of the tenant, the difference between a holding valued at 4*l.* and the same holding improved to a value of 6*l.* constitutes no real amelioration of the standing causes of the poverty and backwardness of the tenant who inhabits it. When the 4*l.* has become 6*l.*, or even 8*l.*, the holding still remains uneconomic. It is still inadequate to maintain its owner without the assistance of the proceeds of his labour abroad. The effect too often must be to encourage by a slight amelioration of impossible conditions persistence on the part of the occupier in a mode of life which can never become actually prosperous. Furthermore, even in the case of slightly larger holdings where the improvement effected may chance to be equal to the difference between economic and uneconomic conditions, there is an obvious danger in encouraging the continuance of a population at a point so close to the margin at which a condition of comparative prosperity threatens to become one of actual want. It is plain that if by some miracle all the small holdings in Ireland could be substantially enlarged to-morrow we should only be witnessing the beginning of a repetition of the same difficulty. To the evils of subdivision, more than to any single cause, may be traced the chronic poverty of so great a part of the West of Ireland, and we fear there is but too much reason to anticipate that in proportion as holdings of this class are enlarged they encourage and will almost certainly lead to the growth of a population beyond what the capacities of the soil fit it to sustain. Numerous as have been the attempts to foster the growth of cottage industries and to add to the sources of livelihood in the impoverished districts, there is as yet no sign that any great improvement can be effected by these means; and, so long as this is so, the attempt to maintain in the western counties a population which can never be really self-supporting is foredoomed to ultimate failure.

It has necessarily been our principal business in the foregoing pages to explain the difficulties which at present hinder the progress of land purchase in Ireland. In doing so we have necessarily dwelt more upon the administrative defects of the Act of 1903 than upon its merits. But we should convey a very mistaken impression of the real facts if in dwelling upon obstacles which, though serious and troublesome for the moment,

are for the most part certainly temporary in their character, we were understood to question the ultimate success of Mr. Wyndham's great measure. The difficulties to which we have adverted are undoubtedly real. They cannot be removed in a moment. The solution of the financial problem involves, as we have shown, considerations which seriously affect the whole financial position of Great Britain and the security of British credit in the money markets of the world. The difficulties nearer home in Ireland are of a kind which require patient and delicate handling. With the best will in the world it is beyond the power of British statesmen to overcome by any adroit manipulation of figures a shortage of ready money which is really due to the exceptional weakness and timidity of the money market. With the utmost desire to deal generously with claimants upon public sympathy whose misfortunes, however slight their equitable title to consideration, it is yet expedient on grounds of public policy to mitigate, it is idle to suppose that satisfaction can be given to such claimants otherwise than as opportunity offers and justice admits. Nevertheless, while these difficulties and defects are obvious, and seem for the moment even more grave than upon sober consideration they need be deemed, the truth is that the Act is steadily, and we may even say rapidly, accomplishing its purpose. However tedious and troublesome the immediate difficulties may be, there is this broad difference between the obstacles in the path of the Act of 1903 and those which clogged the operation of its forerunners, that whereas the comparative failure of the former was brought about by the difficulty of inducing the parties to make a bargain, the existing inconvenience has been created by the very rapidity with which bargains have been effected. The trouble is not that the terms sanctioned by the State under the provisions of the Act are terms which either or both parties to the bargain deem inadequate. It is rather that the State has not proved equal to the immediate satisfaction of the claims upon it which have arisen from the very multiplicity of the bargains effected on the faith of its own credit. That being so, the ultimate success of the measure is practically assured. The delay may be a little longer or a little shorter than expectation. It may take a few years more than the authors of the Act anticipated for its full effects to be produced. For ourselves, we have never been able to believe that a measure whose purpose, speaking broadly, is to effect the permanent repeal of the seventeenth century settlement of Ireland, and to produce a complete transference of the soil of the country from owner to occupier could accomplish its purpose otherwise

than gradually. And were it otherwise the advantage to the country would by no means be without alloy. But we take it as assured that, whether the process require fifteen years or twenty or even twenty-five, the social revolution which has been going on for the last twenty-five years will have been completed within a period which men no longer in their earliest manhood may easily expect to see the end of. Within a generation, at most, all those long-standing problems which have made up the Irish Land Question as it has been familiar to generations of politicians and publicists will have received their final solution. We are far from saying that no others will arise in their stead. The landlords will, indeed, have been got rid of, but Ireland will remain. And so long as Great Britain is associated with Ireland and responsible for her well-being, so long she must expect to be called on to fulfil the obligations of a rich neighbour towards a poor one, and to cope with what patience she may with fresh difficulties. But none the less the Land Question, as we have so long known it, will have been settled.

Before bidding good-bye to this topic it is worth pointing out that upon the success or failure of that settlement, and the degree in which it does or does not prove to have contributed to the ultimate prosperity of Ireland, something more depends than the well-being of the sister kingdom, important though that be. To Englishmen the working out of the problem must also prove interesting as affecting the reputation of the British Parliament and as affording a test of the competence of the Legislature to devise the means and superintend the accomplishment of vast and far-reaching social changes affecting the individual and national life of the community in which they are carried through.

It seems far from improbable that when the legislative achievements of the Parliament of the United Kingdom from the passing of the great Reform Act of 1832 to the close of the nineteenth century come to be reckoned up a generation hence, the work to which the social historian will attach the greatest importance will be that long series of statutes known as the Irish Land Acts. It is true that within the same period changes as remarkable or more remarkable have been wrought elsewhere than in Ireland. But these changes have not been primarily due to Parliamentary interference. The growth of industrialism, the development of locomotion, the manifold extensions and expansions of our social system which have marked the last century as a period of unexampled progress, have been in the main the product of invention or the effect of economic laws rather than the outcome of legislative interference. Even so considerable a contribution to the welfare of millions of the

population as the Factory Acts is to be considered rather as a corollary to the expansion of the great staple industries of Great Britain than as an evidence of the wisdom of the Legislature. Much the greatest share of the energies of Parliament in the Victorian era was devoted to the purely political question of Parliamentary reform. Yet it is perhaps no injustice to the sagacity of our statesmen and Legislature to say that while the successive extensions of the franchise have given occasion for the finest displays of Parliamentary oratory, they have had less to do with the social happiness of the people than some measures which have received a relatively unimportant share of their attention. Indeed, in the sphere of franchise reform alone it may well be doubted whether the almost unchallenged adaptation of the Parliamentary franchise to the purposes of local government, which has been the instrument of the remarkable transformation effected in quite recent years in our municipal institutions, has not produced much more important results on the everyday life of the people than the admission of fresh millions within the sacred pale of our ancient Constitution.

In Ireland, on the other hand, the social revolution which is being rapidly effected by the agency of the Land Acts is primarily the work of Parliament. It is true, indeed, that the remedies applied to the agrarian ills of Ireland have produced effects never anticipated by the physicians who originally prescribed them. Mr. Gladstone, whose attachment to the ritual of Conservatism survived all the transmigrations of his political spirit, was able to persuade himself that even so violent an invasion of the principle of free contract as the celebrated Act of 1881 would but consolidate and confirm the owners of the soil of Ireland in the just exercise of the rights of property. And Isaac Butt, who, like Mr. Gladstone, came out of the Tory party to become the unconscious founder of a social revolution so alien to his ideas that, could he have foreseen, he would probably have repudiated it, considered that the effect of the grant of fixity of tenure to the Irish tenant would be an increase in value to the Irish landlord of from twenty to thirty years' purchase of his estate. But though the predictions of the Parliamentary sponsors of the principles embodied in the earlier enactments of the modern Irish land code have been ludicrously falsified by the event, Parliament is not on that account to be deprived of either the credit or the responsibility for the great social changes brought about by its interference in the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland. Those changes could never have become possible otherwise than through its agency. No growth of public opinion in Ireland, no compromise of opposing interests,

could ever have achieved them, since in Ireland public opinion means not the collective sense of the community upon matters relating to the general welfare of the country, but the individual sense of either party of the infamy of its opponents. At this distance of time from the commencement of the agrarian controversy it will probably be admitted even by those who most disapprove the principles of the Land Act of 1881 that Parliamentary intervention of some sort was needed in the interests of both parties to the quarrel. And undoubtedly for the form which that intervention took Mr. Gladstone and his successors were directly responsible, and are therefore responsible for the present condition of the patient.

The British public will therefore watch the completion of the great experiment which has been tried in Ireland with an interest quickened not merely by anxiety, great as that anxiety must needs be, for the well-being of so important a portion of the United Kingdom, but by solicitude for the capacity of the greatest of all British institutions to perform its great and manifold functions. We are far from suggesting that there is any real similarity between agrarian conditions in Ireland and those which prevail in this country. Indeed, the apology pleaded for much of the Irish legislation has been the essential difference in these conditions. Nevertheless, it is impossible that the spectacle of a revolution of such magnitude produced by purely legislative means should fail to excite a great influence on the imagination of people in this country. Should Parliament ever attempt to deal with agrarian questions in Great Britain, it must indeed be on lines widely different from those laid down in Ireland; for in Ireland, to mention but one of many distinctions between the two countries, the farming and labouring classes of the agricultural community are so inextricably mixed as to be practically identical and inseparable in many parts of the country. But if statesmen should ever become convinced that some encouragement should be given in England to the settlement of greater numbers of the people on the land, it is inevitable that the great precedent set in Ireland should be cogently pressed by agrarian reformers, and closely scanned by those whose business it may be to initiate legislation. Therefore we commend the study of the progress of Land Purchase in Ireland to those whose actual concern with Ireland is remote. Even though the question has passed in its larger aspects from the domain of controversial politics to that of accomplished legislation, it may some day be worth while to ask the attention of our readers to some of the results of the greatest social revolution ever effected in these kingdoms by Parliamentary means.

ART. VI.—THE PRESERVATION OF BIG GAME IN AFRICA.

1. *Two African Trips: with Notes and Suggestions on Big Game Preservation in Africa.* By EDWARD NORTH BUXTON. London: Edward Stanford. 1902.
2. *Elephant Hunting in East Equatorial Africa.* By ARTHUR H. NEUMANN. London: Rowland Ward. 1898.
3. *An Ivory Trader in North Kenia.* By A. ARKELL-HARDWICK. London: Longmans & Co. 1903.
4. *Mit Blitzlicht und Büchse.* By C. B. SCHILLINGS. Leipzig: R. Voigtländer. 1905.
5. *Big Game Shooting and Travel in South-East Africa.* By F. R. N. FINDLAY. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1903.
6. *Records of Big Game.* 4th edition. By ROWLAND WARD. London: Rowland Ward, Limited. 1903.
7. *Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire.* Vol. I. London: Privately printed. 1904.

IT is doubtless inevitable that civilisation, advancing into savage countries, should destroy many wild animals. There are various reasons, some utilitarian, most, perhaps, sentimental, why we believe that this is to be regretted. Some of the beasts may be useful to man in different ways; others may be merely strange or beautiful. Be this as it may, there are few persons endowed with righteous feelings who do not hear with some indignation that an animal of either sort has been completely exterminated by man. It has taken untold centuries to produce by evolution a giraffe or a zebra; and when the last of the kind has been killed by man no human effort can ever replace the loss which the world has sustained. We purpose, therefore, to assume without discussion that it is desirable to save from indiscriminate slaughter the various forms of animal life in Africa which are either harmless or useful to man. The European Powers which are chiefly interested, assembled in conference at London, have signed a convention with this object. How far it may be desirable to allow harmful animals to be exterminated, or where the line is to be drawn, we shall not stop to inquire. The entire disappearance of lions or leopards from the face of the world would be a sad thing,

though they are unpleasant to those who are compelled to live in their neighbourhood.

The present position of affairs in Africa is unique in the history of the world. A huge continent with an astounding fauna remained unexplored by white men until near the middle of the nineteenth century, and was then suddenly partitioned among the nations of Europe. Leopold King of the Belgians summoned representatives to the Brussels Conference, and the division of Africa among the European Powers began. Now railways are being pushed forward in every direction, steamers are running on all the great lakes and rivers, and the country is being developed with feverish haste and all the most modern adjuncts of civilisation. Such being the posture of things to-day, it is easy to show what danger the fauna runs from this invasion. Everyone takes toll of the game; no one takes thought of those who come later. So-called sportsmen arrive bent on killing as much as they can; and colonists live on the game as long as it lasts. We propose, therefore, to show the need for action before it is too late; to examine the measures that have been taken to insure the preservation of animals; and to consider how they may be improved and enforced to save those which are in peculiar danger of becoming extinct. The rapidity with which the whole continent has been opened up makes it urgent, if we are to do anything to save the fauna from being swept away, that we should act promptly and firmly. Animals become extinct so suddenly that there is often no preliminary warning, and no one perceives that they have even become rare.

The first of the splendid African fauna to go was the blaauwbok, a beautiful antelope, whose range was restricted to one province in the south-west of Cape Colony. By the year 1800 the last blaauwbok had been killed. The quaggas, once existing in great herds, though their northern range was limited by the Vaal River, survived about eighty years longer. The last quaggas in the Great Karroo were killed about 1865; in the Orange Free State they survived a little longer; but by 1879, at latest, the last of the quaggas had joined the blaauwbok among extinct animals. They had been destroyed, almost entirely, by hide-hunting Boers. The history of the great rhinoceros known as Burchell's, or, for some unexplained reason, as the 'white' rhinoceros, is somewhat similar. Yet the white rhinoceroses were once so abundant that the whole veldt from the Orange River to the Zambesi seems to have been

dotted over with groups of them. Travellers record having counted eighty or a hundred on a day's march. But the largest terrestrial mammal after the elephant was too easy a mark and too attractive a supply of meat to escape destruction. Whether it had been quite swept off the face of the world was for a time doubtful. Now, according to the latest reports, some twenty-five are left in Zululand, where the Natal Government has attempted to preserve them by imposing a fine of 300*l.* for their destruction. It is not impossible that a few may linger on in Northern Mashonaland which have so far been fortunate enough to escape the settlers.

A man does not need to be very old to remember when the whole interior of Africa was left blank upon the map.

‘ So geographers, in Afric maps,
With savage pictures fill their gaps,
And o’er unhabitable downs
Place elephants for want of towns.’

To the ancients Africa meant nothing but the Nile and the Desert. We do not propose to inquire whether Herodotus is right in saying that a king of Egypt sent an expedition of Phœnician seamen to circumnavigate Africa, and that they returned declaring they had done so. Neither these ancient Phœnicians nor the Portuguese navigators of the fifteenth century added anything to our knowledge of the interior. The Dutch settlers at the Cape had no enterprise for exploration, and for nearly two centuries they left the big game around them almost unmolested. One may say, without exaggeration, that the exploration of the interior only began with Mungo Park, and that more has been discovered in the last sixty years than in all the nineteen centuries before. We pass straight to the days of Livingstone, who at once took the first place among the explorers of Africa. It was less than fifty years ago that Livingstone, the first European to reach the upper waters of the Zambesi, discovered the Victoria Falls. Now the railway from Cape Town is built to the river and beyond, and Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son are advertising cheap excursions to the Falls of the Zambesi. To some of us it seems but yesterday that the great lakes were discovered. Burton and Speke in their expedition of 1857 reached Lake Tanganyika. Speke and Grant a little later got from Zanzibar to the great reservoir of the Nile, which they named Victoria Nyanza. Now the tourist by railway from Mombasa to

Port Florence is said to be greeted, as he steams into the station, with the familiar cry: 'Keep your seats for the 'boat!' which last saluted his ears at Folkestone or Dover Town. In 1864, Baker, coming from the north, found himself upon the shores of Albert Nyanza, and there is now a railway open as far as Khartoum. We may be allowed to wonder how many years must elapse before the caravans of camels in the north, the lumbering ox-waggons in the south, and the long string of native porters in equatorial Africa are quite superseded by the steam engine. Difficulties of transport and fever are more likely to preserve the big game in many districts than any human efforts.

If the warnings of the past had any weight in directing our present action we should not despair. Were any warning needed, none more awful or more pointed could be discovered than the case of South Africa, where a vast district that a little while back was likened to a natural paradise or open-air menagerie has been almost denuded of every sort of animal life. In the old books of travel or sport one can trace the stages by which the big game has been exterminated, first in Cape Colony, then south of the Orange River, then south of the Vaal, then south of the Limpopo, until the Zambesi has now become a frontier between a country where almost everything has been shot down, and a district of no longer virgin soil, but not yet wiped clear of game. The profusion of animals—elephants, rhinoceroses, zebras, buffaloes, gnus and other antelopes of many descriptions—which encountered the early travellers on the South African veldt almost defies description and exceeds belief.

One of the earliest authorities is the well-known naturalist, Le Vaillant, a Frenchman who made an expedition from the Cape in 1780. His book is chiefly interesting for the account he gives of the game in the immediate neighbourhood of Cape Town. In the course of a few miles the party found themselves surrounded by zebras, antelopes, and ostriches. 'My dogs eagerly pursued these creatures, who mingled as they fled and altogether formed one vast herd; but the moment I had called off my dogs, and they thought themselves out of danger, each different species composed a separate band and kept at a certain distance from each other. I could have shot numbers of them from my waggons, for they were very tame and seemed pleased to gaze on us.' A little further up country the traveller came upon buffaloes and immense herds of elephants, 'so amazingly numerous that we thought it inadvisable to dispute their passage—my

‘camp animals and carriages would have been pulverised in a moment.’

The first English sportsman who penetrated any distance into South Africa was Captain William Cornwallis Harris, whose book* has been so often quoted by later writers that it has become a classic. He started from Port Elizabeth in 1836, and made his way nearly to the Tropic of Capricorn—not quite so far, that is to say, as the northern limits of what is now the Transvaal Colony. The description which this pioneer among sportsmen gives of the country he traversed would be incredible were it not confirmed by others who came a little later. The landscape, to use his words, presented the appearance of a moving mass of game. In places the face of the country was literally white with springboks. Lions daily disturbed the travellers. Even south of the Vaal River the number of animals almost realised fable, and paths or roads were made, resembling highways, by the tramp of their hoofs. He mentions countless herds of antelopes, quaggas, and ostriches, none of which had ever been shot at. The Vaal River itself was teeming with hippopotami. At every pool these monsters might be seen. Harris encamped near the present site of Pretoria, at the foot of the Magaliesberg, and records his experiences in these words: ‘The country now literally presented the appearance of a menagerie, the hosts of rhinoceroses, in particular, that daily exhibited themselves almost exceeding belief. Whilst the camp was being formed an ugly head might be seen protruded from every bush, and the possession of the ground was often stoutly disputed.’ Of the country near Mafeking he writes: ‘We soon perceived large herds of quaggas† and brindled gnoos, which continued to join each other until the whole plain seemed alive. The clatter of their hoofs was perfectly astounding, and I could compare it to nothing but the din of a tremendous charge of cavalry or the rushing of a mighty tempest. I could not estimate the accumulated numbers at less than fifteen thousand, a great extent of country being actually chequered black and white with their congregated masses.’ We must desist from the temptation of making further extracts when we have quoted

* Wild Sports of Southern Africa.

† Harris doubtless meant zebras, which are often called ‘quaggas’ by the Boers and colonists, who do not distinguish between the two species.

Harris's description of the herds of elephants: 'Here a grand and magnificent panorama was before us, which beggars all description. The whole face of the land was actually covered with wild elephants. There could not have been fewer than three hundred within the scope of our vision. Every height and green knoll was dotted over with groups of them, whilst the bottom of the glen exhibited a dense and sable living mass.' All this, be it remembered, was in the Transvaal and within the memory of men still living.

Harris, the pioneer, was soon followed by others, who began to clear the hunting-grounds. William Cotton Oswell, who died as lately as 1893, was the last of the great sportsmen who remembered Africa as it was fifty and sixty years ago. It is to be regretted that he wrote little about his adventures, and nothing until near the end of his life, when he was persuaded to contribute to the Badminton Library.* He was the companion of Livingstone, and the first white man to reach many remote districts. In 1844 Oswell started with a friend named Murray from Cape Town and crossed the Orange River. From Kuruman, where he found Mr. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, already established as a missionary, he made his way to Lake Ngami. His account of the animals he saw falls little behind that of Harris. Buffaloes were going about in large herds. Near the Molopo River he had in view at one time not less than three thousand beasts, of seven various kinds. Near Lake Ngami he beheld a spectacle which certainly no man will see again in that part of Africa. He came upon at least four hundred elephants together, standing drowsily in the shade of the detached clumps of mimosa trees. 'Such a sight,' wrote Oswell, whose good fortune we may be pardoned for envying, 'I had never seen before and never saw again. As far as the eye could reach in a fairly open country there was nothing but elephants.'

At the same time that Oswell was in Africa that famous hunter, Gordon Cumming, began those travels which provided him with materials for a book which still delights innumerable readers.† Whether we consider him a sportsman or a ruthless slaughterer, his boasting and grandiloquence cannot fail to entertain. Gordon Cumming had started in 1843 on a purely sporting expedition. He reached the Limpopo River, and followed its course towards the sea. His description of

* Big Game Shooting, vol. i.

† Five Years of a Hunter's Life in the Far Interior of South Africa.

the migration of the herds of springboks which then swarmed over the veldt has been quoted in almost every book of natural history. Even in Cape Colony he declares himself utterly astounded at the accumulated masses of these antelopes. He describes the plain extending as far as the eye could see, and throughout the whole extent were herds of thousands and tens of thousands of springboks and gnus. About thirty years after Gordon Cumming's day nearly all Cape Colony was denuded of its game, though enormous herds of all kinds of animals were still to be found across the Orange River. Now everything has been slaughtered. We cannot do better than give an example of the wholesale butchery that went on, apparently without shocking public opinion. In 1860 a great hunt was organised in the Orange Free State for Prince Alfred, the late Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. A thousand natives were employed to drive the game and it was reckoned that 25,000 head were in sight together—zebras, quaggas, gnus, hartebeests, blesboks, springboks, and ostriches—which charged hither and thither in clouds of dust. Thousands were killed. The bag was put down at 6,000, and several natives were trampled to death. This was an exceptional festivity; but apart from that, every farmer and explorer was shooting right and left, in season and out of season, often leaving the carcasses to rot. In the Orange Free State and Transvaal the white-tailed gnus must have been slaughtered by thousands and tens of thousands. Now there are not more than a few hundred left.

Next in order of time to Gordon Cumming's comes Baldwin's book, which is excellent reading and shows in how few years the hunters had thinned out the really big game. Baldwin, who hunted in Africa between 1852 and 1860, was the second European to reach the falls of the Zambesi, and had the unique honour of cutting his initials on a tree immediately below those of Livingstone.* He was chiefly hunting elephants, and even at that time complained that they were getting hard to come at, though he had pressed on much further to the north and west than Gordon Cumming ever went. Forty years after Harris was in South Africa we have an account given us by Drummond of the state of the fauna.† 'Day by day,' he wrote, 'almost hour by hour,

* 'African Hunting,' by William Charles Baldwin.

† 'The Large Game and Natural History of South and South-East Africa,' by the Hon. W. H. Drummond, 1875.

‘and with ever-increasing rapidity, the game is being exterminated or driven farther back.’ Drummond protested even at that time against the wanton destruction of elephants that had been going on for many years. They were then abundant close to the banks of the Limpopo, but were being destroyed frequently at the rate of ten or twelve in a day by each single hunter. He saw it was impossible to check the native tribes, and suggested as a remedy an export duty on ivory, which would stop the profits of the traders. But he spoke to deaf ears.

The well-known and absorbing book which Mr. F. C. Selous wrote on his nine years’ wanderings, which extended far across the Zambesi, marks another epoch.* Between 1871 and 1880 the big game was everywhere being killed or driven into the far interior. Even portions of Matabeleland had been denuded. But in the northern part elephants, rhinoceroses, buffaloes, and zebras still held their own. The elephants, however, were retreating to the fly-infested country, where at least they could not be hunted on horses.

The history of the elephant’s extermination in South Africa is one of the most melancholy chapters in the long chronicle of useless slaughter. The immense herds which once ranged over all Africa, from the Libyan Desert to the Cape of Good Hope, had little to fear from the attacks of the most bloodthirsty savages. At the end of the eighteenth century great herds abounded in Cape Colony, and Sir John Barrow, who was secretary to the Governor, mentions numbers having been seen together in the neighbourhood of Cape Town. For many years after that the elephants apparently suffered no great diminution. Then came a short period when English and Dutch ivory hunters, armed with heavy muzzle-loading rifles, made a harvest, without desisting from their short-sighted methods until there were no more elephants left for them to shoot. There are no professional elephant hunters south of the Zambesi nowadays. The vast herds which ranged over all the district north of the Orange River are gone. The few which survive between the northern boundary of the Transvaal and the banks of the Zambesi are hardly worth reckoning, and will soon be gone too. Often the inoffensive missionary, who opened up the country, was instantly followed by a band of ruthless ivory hunters. In 1849 Livingstone reached Lake Ngami, and in the next year some 900 elephants are said to have been killed in

* ‘A Hunter’s Wanderings in Africa,’ by F. C. Selous, 1881.

that district. Another case will illustrate the slaughter which went on. A herd of 104 elephants wandered or were driven into a morass, and were discovered in a helpless state. In one day the Boers, regardless whether they were young or old, male or female, shot them all down. Very few indeed had good tusks. No animal so incapable of concealment and so slow in breeding can withstand this determined warfare.

We must, however, record the almost miraculous survival of one herd of elephants in Cape Colony. In the Addo Bush, not far from Port Elizabeth, some troops of protected elephants still roam about a circumscribed district in which they have been preserved by the Government since about 1830.* It is reckoned that there are from sixty to a hundred, which usually go about in two or three troops. This successful experiment in the way of establishing a sanctuary is so encouraging that we can only deplore the want of energy and foresight which did not long ago set out a few reserves in the unpeopled regions of the Transvaal or Mashonaland. Lobengula, chief of the Matabele, had a reserve for elephants, in which hunting was punished with death. It is needless to say that when the Matabele chief fell, the white men who flocked in did not pay any regard to this primitive sanctuary. The cynic may be forgiven for smiling when he perceives that the dusky savage in this respect was more enlightened than the pioneers of empire who overthrew him. In the British Protectorate of Somaliland thirty of the small remnant of elephants were, according to Mr. Buxton, destroyed by one Englishman; and all of these were females or immature males. Is it surprising that the elephant is now exterminated in that Protectorate? The same work of destruction seems to be going on in Abyssinia on one side of Africa, and in the upper basin of the Congo on the other. But the elephant is still abundant in Central Africa and Uganda, and it is here that one may hope for something to be done to save it.

After the elephant, the unwieldy rhinoceros is most likely to be among the first of the big mammals to go. It is rare now south of the Zambesi, where it was so amazingly abundant. From Abyssinia and Somaliland southwards the rhinoceros is quickly perishing everywhere. It must be

* Mr. Buxton declares that for 10% anyone may go and shoot an elephant in this preserve. If so, we hope the regulations may speedily be altered.

admitted that it is a difficult beast to protect, for it is unwilling to preserve itself ; and it is sufficiently aggressive to justify the pioneer and the settler in killing it.

The hippopotamus, though defenceless and stupid, is still plentiful all over Africa, at least from the Nile to St. Lucia Bay. A few survive in the lower reaches both of the Limpopo and the Orange River. In the rivers of equatorial Africa vast numbers exist. Sir Harry Johnstone, in British Central Africa, considered it so dangerous to navigation that it ought not to be protected until reduced in numbers. In Uganda, Colonel Hayes Sadler wrote that it must be driven far from the haunts of man. No fences are of any use to prevent a hippopotamus from entering the native grain plantations and destroying the whole crop in a night. The worst is that they seem to upset boats and destroy cultivation out of mere wantonness.

Whatever may be said against the rhinoceros and the hippopotamus, there can be no two views as to the duty of saving the giraffes. Of all the strange animals which the exuberance of Nature and the struggle for life have produced, none would be more sadly missed were they exterminated than the harmless 'camelopard.' The giraffe was quite lost sight of to Europeans between the time when Lorenzo de' Medici exhibited one to the gaping populace of Florence, and the day when Colonel Gordon, an officer in the Dutch service, killed a specimen across the Orange River, which had then just been discovered. When Sir Samuel Baker penetrated into the Soudan, he counted upon three occasions herds of over 70, 100, and 150 each ; but this is a sight not likely to be come upon again. In 1881, Mr. Selous wrote that it was still found in considerable numbers over a vast extent of country south of the Zambesi. These have nearly all been killed (for the sake of their hides, out of which sjamboks are made) by the most wasteful crew of Boers and native hunters. Mr. Bryden, writing a few years ago, made the melancholy prediction that in twenty years the giraffe would be almost extinct. Further researches into the African interior have shown, however, that there are still places where giraffes are plentiful, though the closing of the Soudan made it difficult to replace the one which died at the Zoological Gardens in March 1892. In all the game regulations the giraffe will now be found in the list of 'Royal' game, which may not be hunted by any person at any season excepting by special license.

Mr. Selous believes that if a census could have been taken

fifty years ago of all the animals existing in Africa south of the Zambesi, the buffaloes would have proved to have been one of the most numerous species. But fifty years' contact with civilised men and savages armed with civilised weapons have greatly reduced them, though a few survive in the bush near Port Elizabeth, thanks to the protection of the Cape Government. In East Africa they were exceedingly plentiful, even within a few hours' walk of Mombasa. Then came the rinderpest. In East Africa the buffalo became one of the rarest beasts, though, according to Mr. Percival, the game ranger, it has now, under protection, increased again in a fashion that seemed hardly possible and that speaks well for human regulations properly enforced.

East Africa is now the district to which all sportsmen are flocking. He who would learn something of this country as it was should turn to Sir John Willoughby's book,* which gives marvellous accounts of plains 'crawling' with game. The party were shooting in the country around Kilimanjaro from December 1886 to April 1887, and killed sixty-six rhinoceroses. Thirty-three species of game figure in their list, including under that title, however, foxes, jackals, ostriches, bustards, and alligators. No thoughts of preserving big game or observing official regulations then troubled the hunter. Now East Africa is fast becoming a highly civilised part of the world.

There are many ways in which the arrival of British Protectorate officials, bringing with them settled government, indirectly leads to the destruction of the animals. All over Africa great districts were kept denuded of human inhabitants by raids and wars. One warlike tribe massacred the other and made solitudes where wild animals could increase, unmolested by man. The great revival of game in the Soudan during the reign of terror which the Mahdi exercised is the most striking instance of this. Mr. Butler, the head of the Game Preservation Department in the Soudan, in a recent report mentions a journey he made up the river Dinder between Duraba and the Abyssinian frontier. The guides talked of numerous villages which had existed there twenty years ago; of these not a trace remained and the country was full of game. It is improbable that there was nearly as much before the depopulation which marked the Dervish rule. The best game preserver is the brutish and barbarous power which destroys the

* 'East Africa and its Big Game,' by Sir John Willoughby. 1889.

human population and makes a solitude. The *Pax Britannica* in the future can never do for African game what the Zulu, the Masai, and the Dervish have done in the past.

The invention of smokeless powder, which is a thing of recent years, and modern small-bore rifles have added enormously to the dangers to which the big game of Africa are exposed. The majority of beasts were able to avoid or to despise the naked savage with a lance, who for centuries had killed all he could without making any perceptible impression on the remainder. Oswell mentions a young bull elephant which he saw walking about unconcerned with forty assegais stuck in him. Such primitive weapons as poisoned arrows were not superseded until the white men arrived with firearms. The ancient heavy muzzle-loading rifle was a deadly but cumbrous weapon, slow to load, and with such a kick that a man thought twice before he loosed it off. Nowadays, none of these considerations avail to check the natural temptation to shoot. Cartridges are cheap and light. The rifle has an enormous range and no recoil. The misfortune is that the small bullets mortally wound without stopping a beast, and a man is tempted to fire shot after shot, destroying more than he ever retrieves. The animals which suffer most from the dangerous power of the modern rifle are those, like the larger antelopes, which graze on the grassy plains or open veldt. They were formerly difficult to stalk; with a modern Mauser they are, at all events, easy to wound. Next in need of protection, though they have less to fear from small-bore rifles fired at long range, are the large mammals, which breed slowly. They are also conspicuous, easily spoorred, and incapable of concealment. Lastly, there are the very rare animals found only in a restricted district. Of such kind is the puku, Mrs. Gray's waterbuck, the white oryx, the bontebok, and the blesbok. The last two are both antelopes which never enjoyed more than a limited distribution in South Africa, and both are now nearly exterminated. The bontebok was never found north of the Vaal River, though enormous herds existed on the karoos of Cape Colony. Now these are reduced to one single herd, preserved on an estate near Swellendam. The blesbok extended its range into the Transvaal and Bechuanaland, and once covered the feeding-grounds with innumerable legions. 'The plains,' wrote Gordon Cumming in 1848, 'exhibited one purple mass of graceful blesboks, ' which extended without a break as far as my eyes could ' strain; the depth of their vast legions covered a breadth of

‘about six hundred yards.’ The only blesboks now left are a few which have been preserved on certain Boer farms.

The convention for the preservation of wild animals, birds, and fish in Africa, which was signed at London, May 19, 1900, marks the beginning of a very important era. The parties to the Conference were Great Britain, Germany, Spain, the Congo Free State, France, Italy, and Portugal, and for the first time these high contracting Powers declared it their business to stop the threatened extermination of animals. The most effective means of so doing were by the Convention declared to be—(1) The total prohibition of the hunting of certain animals whose names are set out in a schedule. The animals which are included in this sacred list on account of their rarity and threatened extermination are as follows: The giraffe, gorilla, chimpanzee, mountain zebra, wild ass, white-tailed gnu, eland, and the little Liberian hippopotamus. Similar protection is to be extended to the females and young of certain other species. And there is a schedule of other animals of which the hunting and destruction are to be prohibited except in limited numbers. All this is complicated, but would be excellent policy were there any hope that all the Powers would or could enforce it through their respective local authorities. (2) The next recommendation relates to the establishment of reserves, within which it shall be unlawful to hunt any wild animals, except those which shall be specially exempted from protection by the local authorities. The exception, to our mind, introduces rather a dangerous temptation to allow the sanctity of the reserves to be violated. (3) Last among the most important recommendations is the prohibition of all hunting, except by holders of licenses, as to the desirability of which there can be no doubt.

The restrictions on the use of nets and pitfalls for taking animals which are also proposed raise the difficult question how far it is possible to control the killing of animals by natives. We are inclined to think that the native armed with a gun is very dangerous, and may be dealt with as strictly as any European; but the native who does not go beyond the pitfall, which he has used for centuries, may best be left alone. The application of measures for preventing the transmission of contagious diseases from domestic to wild animals seems a big task to enter upon, though there is no doubt that the wild buffaloes suffered severely in the epidemics of rinderpest which extended from South Africa right up to the Mount Kenia district. Elands, in East Africa,

and koodoos, in the Transvaal, are also said to have been more than decimated by the same sort of cattle plague. We will say nothing as to the proposed imposition of export duties on the hides of giraffes, antelopes, zebras, rhinoceroses, and hippopotami, on rhinoceros and antelope horns, and on hippopotamus tusks. What if the foreigner should pay the tax? Let Tariff Reformers rush in where naturalists and sportsmen fear to tread!

The protection of elephants from the ivory hunters naturally received much attention at the Conference. The killing of young elephants is to be quite forbidden, and severe penalties are to be established against hunters who offend. Undersized tusks are to be in every case confiscated by the Government. The returns of ivory exported from the various African ports show a fall which eloquently proclaims the diminishing number of elephants. The Congo Free State is the only district whence the supply is maintained, doubtless by methods which will soon bring the stock of elephants to an end. Mr. Buxton, in a paper read before the Society of Arts, gave some figures showing the decline in the ivory exported. For instance, the value of ivory exported from the Cape in 1887 was 16,358*l.*; in 1901 it had fallen to 567*l.** The amount of ivory imported into the United Kingdom is about 11,000 cwt. a year. Mr. Buxton calculates that this represents at least 30,000 elephants destroyed each year, a statement which, we are bound to confess, seems incredible. Although by the London Convention the Powers declared that henceforth all elephant tusks weighing less than five kilogrammes should be confiscated, small tusks, out of which billiard balls are made, still find their way into the market. By the Ordinances which apply to the Protectorates of British Central Africa and East Africa it is an offence to be in possession of tusks weighing less than 11 lbs., and in the Soudan Ordinance all cow ivory and all tusks under 10 lbs. may be confiscated by the authorities. How far all the other Powers have taken measures to protect elephants we have no information before us. But in German East Africa something has been done for some time past, and since the International Convention new regulations have been framed. The really important question,

* The trade returns from Natal, Zanzibar, and Lagos also show great diminutions, as do those from German East Africa and Portuguese West Africa. Lest our readers should be chary of accepting figures which show a diminution of exports, we hasten to add that these statistics show an *absolute*, not a 'relative decline.'

however, is not the stringent terms of the regulations, but the activity of the local officials in enforcing them. We are glad to notice, in one of the works which we have placed at the head of this article, that Mr. A. Arkell-Hardwick, who made an ivory-trading expedition into east equatorial Africa, was unable to buy the cow ivory which natives brought for sale because cow ivory was confiscated by the Government. But other sources of information lead us to believe that the authorities are sometimes very lax, and that in one Protectorate the rule has been virtually repealed, and the sale once more allowed of cow ivory and undersized tusks. The reason for this is alleged to be that so much undersized ivory was in stock before the regulations were drafted that it is unfair to forbid its sale. We need not point out how easy a thing it is to make new ivory look like old by burying it for a few weeks.

Whatever the foreign Powers may be doing—and we fear it is very little—it cannot be said that the interests of big-game preservation have been neglected in British territory. The British Protectorates in Africa are now all provided with regulations for the preservation of game, more or less based on the same model, and somewhat complicated in form.* No person is allowed to hunt animals mentioned in the schedules without a license. Licenses vary in cost and nature according as the holders are sportsmen, public officers, or settlers, and according to the kind and number of animals which may be killed. In British Central Africa, which has the most complete and effective regulations, the fee for a full license is 25*l.*, and the penalty for contravention of the law is 50*l.* and imprisonment, which may extend to two months. The first schedule contains animals which are rare, such as the giraffe, mountain zebra, and eland, which may not be hunted by any person except under special license. The second schedule contains animals like the rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and certain antelopes, the females of which are not to be killed when accompanied by young, and the young of which are not to be captured except under special license. Other schedules set out the various animals and the numbers of each which may be killed under the three different licenses. All this sounds extremely cumbersome and complicated; but it is probably the best method

* The reader who desires to examine the regulations in detail will find those for East Africa, Somaliland, Uganda, and British Central Africa printed in full in Appendix I. to Mr. Buxton's book.

of dealing with a very difficult matter, and those on the spot become familiar with the regulations, which also may be varied in different manners by the Commissioners to suit different localities. Nominally the regulations apply to natives, by whom they are apt to be despised or ignored. When the members of any native tribe appear to be dependent on the flesh of animals for subsistence, the collector of a district may authorise the tribesmen to kill animals for food, subject to minute regulations as to mode of hunting, numbers, species, and sex; all of which is excellent on paper but ludicrous in practice. But in the Protectorate of British Central Africa (where the game is vigilantly watched over by Sir Alfred Sharpe) the destruction by natives has been almost entirely stopped. This has been done, first, by the enforcement of a native gun tax, so that whereas a dozen years ago every native carried a gun, now not one in a thousand is said to do so. Secondly, very few natives take out the license to kill game, and all district magistrates punish natives found guilty of doing so without one.

There is one provision, which has been introduced into the game regulations in most of our African protectorates, that is very simple, but which appears to have a most wholesome effect on the sportsman. When a license expires, the holder is obliged to make a return showing the number and the sex of the animals killed. It is, of course, easy to make a false declaration, and difficult to convict of that offence; but if the local officials insist, as they should do, on the return being made, the probability is that correct information will be supplied to them. The sanest men seem to be seized at times with a sort of madness, or blood-fever, when they find themselves in a savage country, surrounded by, apparently, unlimited herds of game. They begin to kill for the mere pleasure of killing, without thought of feeding their followers or of securing trophies of which they may have reason to be proud. The hunter after trophies is never likely to extirpate any animal. The immature male and the female are of no value to him. For this reason one may welcome a new edition of Mr. Rowland Ward's 'Records of Big Game,' which sets a standard for the trophy hunter and invites a laudable rivalry among sportsmen. In this work, which is now too well known to need more than a passing mention, will be found a complete description and measurement of the finest known specimens of antlers, horns, tusks, and skins of all beasts that can be ranked as big game.

Far more important than game laws, in our opinion, is the establishment of reserves, or sanctuaries, in which animals can be preserved, at any rate for a time, from complete extermination. Much depends on the natural attractions of the piece of country that is selected, and on the amount that is expended on keepers to watch for depredators. A good reserve should contain an abundance of food and water, grassy plains and forests, so as to induce the beasts to remain there. It must also be sufficiently large to cover their migrations at the various seasons of the year. A stretch of country ought also to be chosen which contains as many species as possible. It is absolutely useless to mark off on the map a piece of territory which may be sandy desert, and call it a reserve. The beasts cannot live there, and when they move out they will be killed. As a believer in reserves we may quote Mr. Neumann, whose very well-written and interesting book is among those at the head of this article. He made expeditions from Mombasa as a professional elephant-hunter during the years 1893-96, and got as far as the northern end of Lake Rudolph. 'By all means,' he writes in his preface, 'let elephants and other wild animals be preserved as far as possible. But as, unfortunately, their continued existence is incompatible with the advance of civilisation, the only way to do so successfully is by making reserves in places where effective control can be exercised alike over natives and Europeans.' Prohibitions against the shooting of cows are evidently regarded by Mr. Neumann as quite useless: 'I wish one of these gentlemen would come and show us how to shoot bulls only in the dense cover in which elephants have to be sought in equatorial Africa.' We must, however, add that he does not himself seem to have made any efforts to spare cows, and pleads, as an excuse, that the ivory hunter is bound to endeavour to make as much hay as possible when he does get a little sunshine. Could any admission show more clearly the need for protection by law?

The chief matter which now deserves the attention of the authorities is the watching and guarding of the sanctuaries. A reserve may be all that can be desired, but if there is no game police it cannot be watched and becomes useless. The cost of effectively guarding the reserves would be a trifle compared with the millions which are spent on other African projects. In British East Africa, much the most important is the Kenia, or Athi Plains reserve, between the railway

and the German frontier.* There are disquieting rumours that the Boer settlers in German East Africa are in the habit of making hunting excursions from the south and destroying the game in the reserve. Perhaps the attention of the authorities will be directed to this, lest these Dutch immigrants repeat in the east what they have so thoroughly accomplished in the south of Africa. To the north of this, at the southern extremity of Lake Rudolph, a huge territory has been set aside. This we understand was done by Sir Harry Johnstone as a sudden precaution against a very large sporting expedition which threatened to invade that district. The protected area is divided by an imaginary line into the Sugota reserve and the Jubaland reserve.

In British Central Africa two reserves have been established, but they are, unfortunately, both much too small to harbour the large animals. One, the Elephant Marsh reserve, was set out in 1896, and ten years before, elephants had been numerous there. The spot is a flat plain traversed by the river Shiré, marshy during the rains but dry during much of the year. After the grass is burnt there is no protection for the game, and large bags used to be made there. However, for six months Nature provides a close time for the animals, as no Europeans can cross the district when it is marshy. The effect of the regulations has certainly been good. Buffaloes, waterbucks, and zebras increased when they were no longer hunted to death, and game from the Cholo Hills has come into the marsh on finding a sanctuary there. The increase of their prey also led to an increase of lions, which at one time gave some trouble. A small troop of elephants appeared at certain seasons. The second reserve, the Lake Shirwa, is even smaller, and has been only recently established.

In Uganda there is the Budonga Forest reserve, along the western shore of Albert Nyanza; and rather to the south of this the Toro reserve, which stretches to the northern banks of Albert Edward Nyanza.

In the Soudan a well-chosen district has been set aside in the Ghezireh between the White and Blue Niles; and though the sanctity of the reserve was not at first recognised, this has been set right. An exception was made in favour of 'all officers and civilian officials serving under or

* In vol. i. of the 'Journal of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire' will be found a map showing the present reserves in the British Protectorates in Central Africa.

‘with the Soudan Government, and residents approved by ‘the Governor-General.’ The same liberty was extended to officers of the Egyptian Army. In fact, the ‘Notes for ‘Sportsmen in the Soudan,’ issued by authority and prepared by the Civil Secretary of the Soudan Government, described the reserve as a ‘large officers’ game reserve (practically a ‘sanctuary),’ which seems to most people a contradiction in terms. This proposal to allow the game in the reserve to be shot would certainly have been disastrous. Thanks, however, to the efforts of Mr. E. N. Buxton, a memorial was presented to Lord Cromer and Sir Reginald Wingate. Much correspondence ensued, and ultimately Lord Cromer saw that his kind intention of giving more favourable treatment to the officials residing in the Soudan would have made the reserve a farce. The greater part of the district north of the Sobat River was constituted a genuine sanctuary.

It is of supreme importance to keep a reserve absolutely sacred.* Unfortunately, this wholesome rule has not always been respected. At one time the Protectorate officials were allowed to shoot in the Athi Plains reserve. This was extended so as to include all the officials of the railway, and persons came from a distance for the sake of a few days’ sport in the well-stocked reserve. At length there was probably more shooting in this nominal sanctuary than anywhere in the surrounding districts. But this was, happily, put a stop to. A very bad case of this sort took place in Somaliland, where a so-called reserve was constituted some fifteen years ago. This sanctuary became the happy hunting-ground of officers quartered at Aden, who were privileged to shoot there, with the result that the game has been almost completely shot down. The notion of the Aden garrison being permitted to destroy the game in an officially constituted reserve would be ludicrous did it not fill one with indignation. Now the old reserve has been abandoned in favour of two smaller districts. One of these new sanctuaries, the Mirzo reserve, is of particular importance, for it was intended for the preservation of the greater koodoo, the most magnificent of the antelopes and one of the most speedily disappearing of the African mammals. But the new reserve is so small (about ten miles broad by twenty long) that one can hardly expect that beasts which wander

* Mr. Buxton excellently compares a ‘sanctuary’ where a few privileged persons are allowed to shoot to a vestal virgin with *only* two or three lovers.

great distances will derive much benefit from it. Is it possible that, in spite of previous experience, the officers of the Aden garrison, when they have got leave from the Consul-General, are still allowed to shoot in this small sanctuary? Mr. Buxton would have us believe it.

Sir Charles Eliot * has dwelt on the great difficulty which is experienced in inducing sportsmen to comply with the prescribed formalities of the game regulations. This appears to us a strong argument for spending more money on watching reserves, rather than on trying to enforce regulations which are easily evaded. This view is supported by a later passage in Sir Charles Eliot's report :

‘I think, however, that in the near future we shall have to rely for the preservation of our fauna on game reserves in which nothing at all can be shot, rather than on prohibitions to shoot particular animals. By a fortunate law of distribution, white settlers have not hitherto much frequented the districts where there is most game; but when they do, I do not think it will be found possible to make them observe the present schedules, the more so as many animals, though they cannot be described as exactly dangerous or noxious, do considerable damage in gardens and plantations.’

The latest news from British East Africa is most deplorable, and almost makes one despair of the future. It is proposed to allot lands to settlers within the boundaries of the reserve, and the new game regulations for these settlers lead one to fear that the game is doomed to destruction. What is the good of creating a reserve if it is to give way at once to the encroachments of civilisation?

Matters have been, perhaps, too unsettled in Northern Nigeria for us to expect the Protectorate officials to devote their attention to wild animals. But a proclamation of the High Commissioner enacts rules of the usual kind, and we notice in his last report † that seven persons were prosecuted for offences against this law. Unfortunately, the return does not further describe the crimes nor the results of the trials; and there is no other mention in Sir Frederick Lugard's report of the game and its protection. Three small areas have been declared to be game reserves, namely, all land within three miles of the cantonments of Zungeru and Lokoja, and the residency of Zaria. It may be well for many reasons to stop shooting in the neighbourhood of

* Reports of British East Africa Protectorate for the years 1902 and 1903.

† No. 437. Presented to Parliament November 1904.

settlements, but it is absurd to give the title of 'game reserve' to a bit of land only six miles broad in any direction. A very useful work has, however, been started by the Hon. Oliver Howard, sometime British Resident at Bornu. This capable official has established a reserve, twenty-five to thirty-five miles wide, along the whole western shore of Lake 'Tchad. We can only hope that the reserve is not neglected.

The officials of the British South Africa Company declare that game of all kinds is strictly preserved under the Game Preservation Ordinances, and that the laws are on the whole well observed by the white population. But they would, probably, not deny that large quantities of animals are yearly destroyed by the natives, who are not deterred by penalties. Two reserves at least have been established.* But more are needed; and, above all, watchers are required.

Under the new rule in South Africa the need of game preservation is fully recognised by the British officials and the more intelligent Dutch farmers. Even under Mr. Kruger's rule there was a nominal close time from September 15 to February 1, and elephants and hippopotami were absolutely protected. In the Orange Free State the close time was from September 1 to January 20. Both cases show how easy it is to make regulations too late and to countenance their constant evasion. In the Transvaal Colony a reserve has been established in the angle between the Oliphant's River and the Portuguese frontier near Barberton. The penalty for killing any game within the reserve is 100*l.* fine, or six months' imprisonment in default. The chief occupants of the reserve, it is interesting to learn, are described as:

'One old rhino (full of lead), one small herd of elephants, a fair stock of ostriches, five to nine giraffes, a nice stock of wildebeest, a great lot of impala, two or three nice lots of a dozen or so each of buffalo, a nice stock of Burchell's zebra, a nice stock of klipspringers where there are kopjes, plenty of waterbuck, a nice stock of kudu, a few sassaby, a few roan antelope; sable antelope doubtful, eland doubtful if any left.'

We believe that the Transvaal reserves are the best managed of any in Africa. There is now a Transvaal Game Protection Association, and though the game suffered

* Government Notice No. 51 of 1903. The second is in the Luangwa district of North-east Rhodesia, and dates from December 31, 1904.

fearfully during the war, there is a good prospect of saving what remains, though many beasts have been almost exterminated.

In Cape Colony, steps were taken to save what survived of the game whilst the Boers farther north were still shooting everything they could; and there was a time when there was probably more game five miles from Cape Town than 600 miles up country. In the Colony regulations were made by which elephants, hippopotami, buffaloes, zebras, koodoos, hartebeests, and other large antelopes, might only be shot by those who held a Government permit. We regret to hear of an agitation in the Cape Press to destroy the last of the elephants in the Addo Bush, which ought to be turned into a national park and preserved from settlers. A large tract of country in Bushmanland has been already set aside as a reserve. The last reports from the Cape show that buffaloes and gemsbok are reduced in numbers and koodoos only just holding their own. On the other hand, bonteboks show a slight increase, and blesboks in the Steynsburg district form a herd of over 600 head. Zebras are said to be more numerous, and gnus are becoming fairly abundant again in Bechuanaland and Griqualand West. The elands are now reduced to a herd of ten, preserved on private property in the Graaf Reinet district.*

The big game of Natal has never been so harried as that of Cape Colony. In the Drakensberg even a few elands and mountain zebras have been preserved by the Government. Mr. A. D. Millar, of Durban, has organised a Natal Game Protection Society, and the authorities are fully alive to the duties which they owe to posterity.

To sportsmen one might appeal with frankness not to waste the game, lest there should soon be none for them to hunt. Herr Schilling's book, which contains some very remarkable instantaneous photographs of big game, shows that a sportsman may employ himself with a camera as well as a rifle. But the love of killing, and the value of the animals when killed, are great, and we have no hope or wish that photography may supersede shooting.

Although Great Britain was the last of the nations to awake to the scramble for Africa, she has been to the fore in preserving the precious fauna. It has been well known that the preservation of big game is a subject in which Mr. E. N. Buxton takes an interest, and it is mainly

* See 'The Field,' February 11, 1905.

owing to his efforts that a meeting was held in December 1903 at the Natural History Museum. The result of this meeting was the formation of the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire,* a body which numbers among its members a small but distinguished company of naturalists and sportsmen. It is much to be hoped that the Society will be vigilant and active, for the present moment is an excellent one for advancing the objects they have in view. The civilised world has been shocked by the appallingly rapid destruction of animals. The conference held at London shows that the support of foreign Powers can be hoped for. Pro-consuls and lesser officials, in different parts of the Empire, are mostly willing to turn sympathetic ears to remonstrances against the unrestricted butchery of animals in their provinces. Much may be done by bringing the public opinion of persons at home to the notice of officials on the spot. At the Foreign Office in London Sir Clement Hill was always ready to help. But now, since April 1, 1905, the Colonial Office has taken over the last remaining African Protectorates which hitherto were under Foreign Office rule. A deputation of persons interested in saving the big game waited upon the Colonial Secretary in February last. He listened with sympathy, but dismissed them without any hope that money would be spent on watching the reserves, or even that the reserves would be protected from the depredations of settlers. Africa is a big country. It does not seem much to ask that, out of the ten million square miles in that great continent, a few thousands should be set aside, even at some inconvenience to settlers and some cost to the national exchequer, to preserve for a few centuries longer the splendid African fauna.

* Mr. Rhys Williams, of 2 Temple Gardens, Temple, E.C., is the honorary secretary of this Society.

ART. VII.—THE STUDY OF GREEK.

1. *Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts auf den Deutschen Schulen und Universitäten &c.* Von DR. FRIEDRICH PAULSEN. Leipzig: 1885.
2. *Geschichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.* Von ADOLF HARNACK. 4 vols. Berlin: 1900.
3. *First Report of the Studies and Examinations Syndicate.* Cambridge University Press. 1904.
4. *Discussion of the First Report of the Studies and Examinations Syndicate.* Cambridge University Press. 1904.
5. *Greek and its Humanistic Alternatives in the 'Little-Go.'* By KARL BREUL. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co. 1905.

THE recent decision of the Senate of the University of Cambridge to retain Greek, as a subject to be taken by all candidates for a degree, might well seem to portend the shelving of the entire question for another fourteen years. The enthusiastic supporters of the *non-placet* demonstration have, however, already become aware that the Syndicate whose recommendations they have rejected has not been dissolved, but has been invited to continue its labours, with the co-operation of four new members, until June 1906. It is consequently by no means improbable that the grievance which has been distinctly recognised by a majority of the resident voters may yet be redressed—possibly by the expedient which has already been suggested in more than one influential quarter, a modification of the requirements of the 'Little-Go' and the creation of a new bachelor's degree.

But whatever may be the immediate result of further deliberations at Cambridge, it is scarcely probable that either of our ancient Universities will be able much longer to maintain that uncompromising attitude in relation to the requirements of non-classical students which the recommendations of the Syndicate were designed to modify; and while the widespread interest excited by the recent contest at Cambridge is still fresh in the minds of many—an interest almost unprecedented as displayed in connexion with a purely academic question—it may be not inopportune to place before our readers some account of the remarkable

changes which Greek as a study has undergone during the past four centuries. However imperfect as an historical outline, the retrospect may yet serve to suggest considerations calculated to qualify or illustrate some points in the controversy recently waged with so much ardour and such sincerity of conviction by the contending disputants.

The value of the study of a language and its literature, it must be borne in mind, cannot be looked upon as a constant quantity, an unchanging asset, in every scheme of education. It is otherwise with mathematics. So long as science and civilisation continue to advance, we can conceive of no condition of society wherein it would not seem desirable that geometry, trigonometry, and algebra should form part of the mental training of each rising generation. The utility of such studies is too obvious to be gainsaid; the mental benefit derived from their pursuit is attested by long experience. The same, although in a less degree, may be urged on behalf of logic. And originally, the study of the two classic languages stood on very much the same footing. On the direct use of Latin to the monk, the priest, the chronicler, and the educator in mediæval times, it is unnecessary here to enlarge; while we have to remember also that it eventually became the medium of intercourse between the educated class throughout Europe. But it is not until the Renaissance of learning, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that we find Greek beginning to assume in Western Europe an importance at all comparable to Latin; while with respect to both languages their value, like that of every other language, was necessarily a variable quantity according as they came into competition with other acquirements, and more especially with those which, while also affording a large amount of mental training, were essentially progressive in their tendency, conducing to fresh theorisation and developements in fields of research of which Aristotle never dreamed. But while, by the Latin races, Latin itself could hardly be regarded as a foreign tongue, it was otherwise with Greek; and when we consider how the study which had once shone with a certain lustre in both Ireland and France in the ninth century subsequently died out, there seems little probability that it would have revived again had not the estimate of its value become materially enhanced. To put it as concisely as the case admits—*ancient Greek was again studied in Western Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries mainly because it was believed that its newly discovered literature enshrined nearly all that*

was knowable or worth knowing in history or in science, and most of what was deserving of imitation in poetry or prose. Prior to the appearance of Georg Voigt's admirable researches in the history of the Renaissance, this broad fact appears to have been almost overlooked, or at least not adequately grasped, by English writers. It is, however, indisputable that those Greek scholars who first taught Greek in Italy found that what was demanded at their hands was not so much the teaching of the language as the making known its thought—and hence the appearance of numerous translations. For these a kind of precedent already existed in the shape of translations of Latin authors into the Italian. We find, for example, the eminent notary, Brunetti-Latini, in the thirteenth century, translating some of Cicero's orations, probably for certain of his patrons among the merchant princes of Florence; while, as late as the fifteenth century, Candido Decembrio sought in a similar manner to ingratiate himself with Duke Philip of Milan by rendering the 'Life of Cæsar' by Suetonius, and that of Alexander the Great by Quintus Curtius, into the dialect of Lombardy. But notwithstanding the wonderfully rapid developement of the early Tuscan vernacular, there was an aristocratic prejudice in favour of Latin, which, combined with its greater linguistic resources and more extended use, led both author and translator ultimately to adopt that language as the medium whereby they were most likely to secure not only the favour of noble patrons but also the widest circle of readers. Hence it was in Latin that Francesco Barbaro and Poggio and Valla essayed in the fifteenth century the task of introducing to their countrymen a knowledge of the masterpieces of Greek literature, an endeavour successfully advanced a further stage in the next generation by Filelfo and culminating with Politian. It was a movement which has recently been sketched by Sir Richard Jebb with his customary felicity in the first volume of the 'Cambridge Modern History,' and was one which undoubtedly exercised a potent influence over the subsequent intellectual developement of Italy. For our present purpose, however, it will be sufficient to note simply those aspects of this movement which seem to illustrate its character as compared with the history of Greek scholarship elsewhere, at a later time and in other lands. It is easy to see that, from the days when Leontio Pilato turned Homer's verse into very indifferent Latin prose, there were certain factors in the Italian

Renaissance which largely aided its success. The intimate linguistic connection between the universal Latin and the vernacular dialect made the comprehension of the former much easier. The equally intimate literary connection between the classical Greek literature and the Latin no less facilitated the intelligent apprehension of the thought embodied in the former. The Latinity of the Humanists themselves, becoming, as time went on, more accurate, expressive, and polished, rendered it eventually not inadequate to the reproduction of the deepest and loftiest thought that belonged to the classical era in Greece. It is, indeed, in this continuous advance, as regards both intellectual culture and refinement of language, on the part of the teachers of the Renaissance and those whom they found themselves called upon to instruct, that we may discern the true explanation of much of that enthusiasm which characterised the whole movement. But it would be a serious misapprehension to suppose that all those to whom Greek literature and Hellenic thought were thus, in a measure, brought home, themselves became familiar in any adequate sense with the Greek language itself. Their actual acquaintance with the chief classic authors was mainly derived from that translation literature to which we have above referred. It originated in curiosity and rested for the most part on but a narrow basis of scholarly appreciation, but it was throughout the outcome of a disinterested thirst for knowledge—a desire to know, realise, and admire whatever ancient Hellas had known, valued, and applauded. Such was, for the most part, the character and degree of the attainment of those who crowded the lecture-rooms of Manuel Chrysoloras, Filelfo, and Politian. They acquired only such a knowledge of Greek as would now be deemed inaccurate and superficial, and, if called upon to render the verse of Petrarch or the thought of Machiavelli into Greek iambs or Platonic prose, would only have been able to send up compositions which would excite the laughter of a sixth-form boy of Harrow or Shrewsbury in the present day. They managed, however, to acquire a certain knowledge of Greek history and biography from such versions as they could procure of Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plutarch; they gathered some conception of the subtlety and profundity of the Hellenic intellect from versions of Plato and of the New Aristotle; and if the effort to appreciate the beauties of Homer through a like medium was not altogether successful, they could at least understand how the whole drama of

the 'Iliad' and the varied interest of the 'Odyssey' must come home to the scholar who was able to study those immortal productions in the original setting of a diction surpassing that of Vergil or Lucan in fervour and expressiveness. But as regarded that diction itself, these worshippers in the Outer Temple were probably satisfied with a comparatively uncritical acquaintance. Their main object, a knowledge of the achievements of this wondrous Greek race, and of the ideas which had moved them to their performance, was attained; and they might console themselves with the thought that the Greek himself had never cared to study any language save his own. As for the Greek spoken in that New Rome, which some of them saw surrender to the forces of Mahomet, no one save a trader from Pisa, Genoa, or Venice could discern any profit in learning it.

The 'New Learning'—to use the designation by which, as the sixteenth century dawned, the study of Greek had come to be denoted—was destined, as is well known, to encounter considerable difficulties when it crossed the Alps, and more especially when its teachers sought to gather together an audience in the seats of learning of Teutonic Christendom. It was there no longer attended by those favouring conditions above referred to, which aided its progress in Lombardy and on the banks of the Arno and the Tiber. Both at Oxford and at Cambridge 'Greek' and 'Trojan' waged many a conflict, not always purely argumentative, before the day arrived when Oxford gave Duns Scotus to the flames and the 'useless books' were sold by the authorities of the University Library at Cambridge. If we may credit D'Aubigné, there were those in the monasteries who fiercely denounced Greek as 'full of thorns' 'and briers and parent of all the heresies.' At first, the conception of the study in England corresponded very closely to that which prevailed in Italy; and of this we have an interesting illustration in the 'Utopia' of Sir Thomas More, written in 1516, only three years before the memorable exertion of his authority on behalf of Greek with the academic rulers of Oxford. The admiration of the Utopians, we learn, was by no means confined to the strictly classical authors in Greek literature. Herodotus and Herodian shared with Thucydides their attention to the historical writers; they were 'delyted with Lucian's mery 'conceytes and jestes'; they regarded Hippocrates and Galen with especial esteem, holding, as they did, that a knowledge of physic was 'among the goodlyest and most

‘profytable partes of philosophie.’ Theophrastus was not less valued ‘for his researches in botany.’ It is evident, in short, that the Utopians set much store by Greek, but that they did so chiefly on account of the knowledge to which that language was the key. In short, the study of Greek, as it made its way in England in the sixteenth century, was recommended, as elsewhere, largely by its presumed utility. If, indeed, the spirit of Sir Thomas More could revisit our Universities, it would doubtless not a little surprise him to find one of the dissentient members of the present Syndicate (Mr. Bateson) actually defending a universal requisition of Greek on the ground that ‘a man by being forced to read ‘the Greek Classics’ is for once brought into the presence ‘of things which are beautiful and have no “use.”’

At nearly the same time that the ‘Utopia’ saw the light, there is to be noted a twofold appearance of the Greek New Testament, that of Erasmus, and that in the Complutensian Polyglot of Cardinal Ximenes. The theologian could now no longer venture to call in question the orthodoxy of the Greek version; so that, from being ostracised in the fifteenth century as associated with heresy, it gradually became recognised as a verbally inspired text, until, in the eighteenth century, it could seem to the fervid spirit of Alexander Knox, as he expresses himself in a letter to John Wesley, nothing less than ‘a permanent philological as well ‘as moral miracle.’

The relevancy of the foregoing features in the earlier history of the study of Greek to the whole current of classical learning in subsequent times does not need to be explained to the well-read scholar. But for our present purpose it is sufficient to note that, in the first instance, this study was chiefly pursued as the key to a literature of the highest value in relation to that pursuit of knowledge which underlay the whole theory of university culture. In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it began, however, to be clearly perceived that the curriculum of the ancient *trivium* and *quadrivium*—the respective courses of study for the bachelor’s and the master of arts’ degree—required to be modified in order that fuller scope might be afforded for the studies to which the ‘New Learning’ had rendered such important aid. And it was an unquestionable gain both for Oxford and Cambridge when, by the Edwardine Statutes and Injunctions of 1549, ‘grammar’ (by which we must understand *Latin*) was omitted from the earlier course of studies. It was thenceforth to be assumed that the

undergraduate had gained elsewhere that elementary knowledge which enabled him to understand the dictated outlines (subsequently appearing as text-books) of the various subjects; and the youthful learner was accordingly called upon to give his first attention to 'mathematics,' a term which, in those days, included 'cosmography' (or what we now term *geography*), arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy; these were succeeded by dialectics, and dialectics by philosophy. The *quadrivium*, or course of study designed for bachelors reading for a master of arts' degree, was altogether recast, provision being made for the teaching of Greek, together with higher philosophy and astronomy. But the most noteworthy effect of the Edwardine Statutes was the manner in which they stereotyped for centuries the character of both universities as schools of professional training. It was long before, either at Oxford or at Cambridge, the fact became distinctly recognised that universities were designed not merely to hand down accepted traditions of learning, but also, from time to time, to revise them and, if it seemed desirable, rescind or augment them. Among the earliest to foresee the degeneracy that might ensue if a function of such paramount importance were ignored, was Roger Ascham—perhaps the most discerning judge alike of the advantages and defects of contemporary learning that England can claim down to the time of the great Verulam :

'I know,' he says, in a letter to Cecil written from Brussels in 1554, 'I know *Universities be instituted* onelie that the realme may be served with preachers, lawyers, and physicians, and so I know likewise all woodes be planted onelie eyther for building or burnyng; and yet good husbandes, in serving, use not to cut down all for tymbre and fuell, but leave alwaise standing som good big ons, to be the defense for the newe springe. Therefore if som were so planted in Cambrige, as thei shold neyther be carryed awaye to other place, nor decaye there for lack of living, *nor be bownd to professe no one of the three, but bond them self holie to help forward all*, I believe, preachers, lawyers, and physicians shold spring in nombre, and grow in bignes, more than commonlie thei do.'

The subsequent appropriation of certain fellowships to specific studies and the foundation of additional professorial chairs served to remedy only very partially the deficiency which Ascham deplored. And from his time downwards the view became very generally accepted that the design of a university is to train for the professions, and, as a necessary corollary, that studies were to be estimated mainly by their relevancy to one or other of the professions. Pro-

professional bodies are, however, essentially conservative; and this too often not in the best sense, that of maintaining their own reputation and efficiency, but of regarding with jealousy the creation of other professions and the recognition of new studies, and more especially all innovation which seems likely to trench on their own particular curriculum. It was thus that the teachers of Roman law succeeded in ousting the Lombard law from Pavia and the other chief Italian universities; that it was not until the year 1679 that French law gained admission into the universities of France; that German law was first lectured on in Germany about the year 1707; and that, notwithstanding the pleadings of John Wyclif in his day, more than four centuries elapsed before a chair of the Common Law of England was established at Cambridge. How much, indeed, mere adherence to tradition has prevailed over considerations derived from the abstract value of a study or the needs of students is illustrated by the facts that while, in the first decade of the nineteenth century the University of Edinburgh protested against the introduction of Greek into the High School of that city on the ground that it would be an infringement upon the monopoly of the professor of Greek, the first decade of the twentieth century finds the University of Cambridge hesitating to allow Greek to be optional, for fear that the necessary pressure upon the public schools, whereby the latter are enabled to keep the study alive in their class-rooms, would thereby be withdrawn. In neither case is it quite clear that the benefits to be derived from the study or the interests of the learner have been the primary consideration.

In Germany, the tendency of the universities to become mere schools for the professions went on much the same as in England. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Christopher Friedrich Nicolai, in his amusing narrative 'My Education as a Scholar,' tells us it was an axiom with both teacher and taught, in the University of Halle, that a student of theology should learn both Hebrew and Greek; of medicine, simply Greek; of law, only Latin; although Greek, it was held, would do the jurist 'no harm.'

Long, however, before Nicolai's death in 1811, this narrow though highly practical conception of the main design of university culture had been boldly challenged, and seemed, at one time, likely to be in some measure discarded under the influence of the so-called 'Illumination' in Germany, where the theory was formally advanced, and invested with an importance never vouchsafed it in England, that much

of the benefit to be derived from the study of the classics might be still preserved by a judicious use of translations. Did our limits admit, it would be no irrelevant digression to seek to trace the progress of this interesting movement (as it well deserves to be styled) from its first commencement in the days of Christopher Damm, the celebrated rector of the Kölner Gymnasium in Berlin, whose labours as a Greek lexicographer are still mentioned with respect by competent scholars, and whose endeavours to render Homer more accessible to his countrymen by versions of the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' in German prose gained for him a wide popularity,—to tell of that illustrious succession of scholars whose enlightened learning, combined with the highest practical sagacity, preserved Germany from the lethargy which descended upon the universities of England — of Steinbart, at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, the interpreter of John Locke to his countrymen, of J. C. Wolf, of John Joachim Spalding, and of Zedlitz in Berlin, the latter the chief adviser of the Great Frederick in all questions of educational reform, and of Berlin itself, with its Court and its growing Academy of the Sciences, already famed in Europe as a centre of intellectual activity, where new theorisation and original conceptions in relation to every scientific question could be urged with a freedom and were likely to receive an attention such as awaited them in no other capital save Paris. It was by Spalding that Frederick Gedike, the disciple of Steinbart, was first brought under the notice of Zedlitz, and by the latter under that of the King himself, with the result that those famous enactments were shortly after promulgated in Germany which ultimately gave a new direction to the whole current of learning throughout the realm. And although a century and more has since elapsed it is easy to understand how they must have startled the traditional pedantry of the time. Greek and Latin, logic and rhetoric, were still to hold their time-honoured supremacy as forming the staple of instruction in the State schools of the realm, but in connection with the two classical languages it now seemed desirable that the old method should be rendered less laborious and more intelligent. All the best classical authors were to be translated into German, Xenophon and Demosthenes among the Greek being specially named. The design, indeed, was simply the outcome of the main idea by which Frederick was actuated, *de faire bien raisonner*, a process which, as it appeared to him and his advisers, had been permitted to fall lamentably into neglect

by the teachers of those days. To the shrewd monarch it seemed that an intelligent acquaintance with the masterpieces of ancient Greek thought, even if gained only through the medium of translations, was far more likely to arouse the learner to intellectual sympathy with his author than the mechanical and arbitrary method then in use. As indeed each feature of the existing curriculum was subjected to careful scrutiny, it was soon evident that the old scholastic dispute concerning 'words' *versus* 'things' was about to be renewed and that too with singular ardour. With Gedike it had already become axiomatic that in the work of instruction words and things should ever go together, while he also held (a novel view in those days) that philology itself was entitled to rank among the subjects included in scientific knowledge, and that the etymology of each word, together with its meaning as conditioned by the context, should always, as far as possible, be explained in the study of a classic text.

Notwithstanding the determined opposition of the great majority of the theological faculty in Berlin, the royal example, combined with the potent influence of the minister and the enthusiasm of the scholar, carried the new measures into practical effect. Not a few of the clergy, indeed, on perceiving that their influence as a body over civic education was threatened with serious diminution, began to reconsider their position, and eventually manifested a desire to divest themselves of their orders and to join the ranks of the scholastic profession, which now began to rise considerably in public estimation. And concurrently with this change of attitude in relation to classical learning there was to be noted an enhanced sense of the value of the study of the now fast-growing national literature. Throughout the Prussian realm was to be heard the voice of the teacher, inspired by leaders of thought such as Gellert, Klopstock, and Lessing, insisting that Germany's own great authors should no longer be suffered to rest under the reproach implied by complete exclusion from the schools, inasmuch as the formation of sound taste and critical discernment in relation to this literature was an essential element in the education of the people. It is, however, especially deserving of note that, notwithstanding the attractions of this new study, Greek continued to thrive; and Gedike expressly assures us that, although here and there a few students would prefer to take up mathematics, natural science, or commercial subjects, the number who did so was comparatively small, and

Greek was nearly always offered by those who presented themselves for the final examination. He adverts, however, with evident satisfaction to the fact that the Greek New Testament was never made one of the text-books of instruction, as was the common practice elsewhere; he was, indeed, wont to censure unsparingly the custom of selecting a volume composed in Hellenistic Greek, and of small literary merit, for such a purpose, as calculated to deprive the student of the intellectual benefit and æsthetic training which might result from the study of a classic author.

Gedike died in 1804, when still under fifty, and five years later a university arose amid the scenes where he had sown such precious seed. In 1808 the war with France and the Peace of Tilsit had desolated Jena and scattered the University of Halle. The professors of the latter, in sore distress, had sent a deputation to Frederick III., then holding his Court at Memel, to implore his permission to reassemble their students in Berlin. The Prussian monarch had, however, already decided that the interests of learning in the capital of his dismembered realm called for the creation of an entirely new university. He had been heard to declare that what had been lost to Prussia in respect of material resources must be compensated by intellectual accessions; and he and his advisers were already contemplating a scheme of education drawn on lines very different from those inculcated by the teachers of Halle. It is certain that the latter were unable to bring together their classes until after the Peace of 1815, when, whatever sense of compensation might be derived from the absorption of Wittenberg must have been largely counterbalanced by the consciousness that, for the preceding seven years, Berlin had been attracting round her professorial chairs, or within the walls of her re-created Academy, a steadily increasing throng, which even Halle could scarcely hope to divert from their allegiance. The spectacle which graced the palace of Prince Henry in Berlin on that notable day of inauguration in 1809 was of good augury for the future. It was not simply that the gathering of savants and professors was imposing, and that admiring students could recognise among their future instructors a Fichte, a Schleiermacher, a Wolf, and a Wilhelm von Humboldt, but the teachers themselves could not but be aware of an inspiring consciousness that to them it was now given, unfettered by ancient statutes and unpledged to precedents, to draw new outlines in philosophy and science for the education of their race.

‘ And why should Spanish, French, and other Nations
Rather than wee, make use of such Translations?
Why should not Courtiers read what Courtiers write?
And Souldiers know what Souldiers do recite?

Farnaby's allusion to the Spanish nation may serve to remind us of the observation of Cervantes in 'Don Quixote' on the translation literature known to Latin Christendom in

the sixteenth century, that it was 'like viewing Flemish 'tapestries on the wrong side, the brilliancy and softness of 'the fabric being no longer visible, although the designs are 'clearly to be traced.' As a matter of fact, however, we find that in England, as in Germany, there have been highly competent scholars who have held that, inasmuch as the primary requisite in the study of an author is the ability to grasp his meaning, the use of translations may not only largely aid the scholar in his endeavours to understand the Greek text, but may even, in some cases, serve as a substitute for a direct knowledge of the original. 'If,' wrote the distinguished pedagogue, Dr. Samuel Parr, to a personal friend, 'you desire that your 'son, though no great scholar, should read and reflect, 'you should put into his hands the best translations of 'the best classical authors.' And in his own school at Stanmore he practically introduced the principle of alternatives by allowing boys to whom he found that Greek and Latin versification was mere torture to send up English verses instead. His words were echoed in Berlin, half a century later, by Bonnell in a 'Programm' composed in 1855 at the Friedrichs Gymnasium; while within the last twenty years Dr. Paulsen, the eminent professor of philosophy at Berlin, in bringing to a conclusion his admirable work, the '*Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts*,' insists very emphatically on the genuine aid that might result both to teacher and to taught in school class-work if the use of translations were made permissible. Dr. Paulsen, indeed, ventures to ask (a query, perhaps, yet more pertinent to our present inquiry) whether the translations of Homer by the famous J. H. Voss, 'the morning star' of German poetry, have not delighted a far larger circle of German-speaking readers than the originals themselves? As the counterpart to this query we may cite the observation of the Master of Trinity, in the discussion held last December at Cambridge: 'He believed they had yet to see what was the 'part to be played in bringing home to English men and to 'English women the life and genius of the Greek people 'through translations. He had watched most eagerly during 'the last twenty or thirty years the issue of translations in 'prose and verse, and they appeared to him to be telling 'largely upon the minds of their countrymen and country-women.'

When, however, the use of translations is advocated as a substitute for the original text, and not merely as an

adjunct to its interpretation, it is evident that the question assumes a popular rather than an academic character, and we find accordingly that in England the use of such aids has always been discouraged in the public schools, whose curriculum (where anything worthy of such a designation existed) was professedly preparatory to the universities, just as the universities in turn prepared for the professions. And as among those studying for the professions by far the larger proportion were looking forward to taking holy orders, Hebrew and Greek necessarily had for them an obvious utility—the former as enabling the student to read his Old Testament in the original, the latter as rendering him a like service in relation to the New.

Gradually, however, Hebrew, deposed by the investigations of Leibniz from that eminence in the esteem of the learned which it had before occupied, as the supposed parent tongue of all other human speech, fell into comparative neglect; its philological importance seemed to have almost disappeared, and its only recognised utility was that which it preserved in connection with the Old Testament. But as the generation which succeeded Leibniz passed away, we find mathematics, slowly but surely, rising into prominence in Cambridge. They were little taught at the public schools—at Eton not until a century later; and students at a distance from Cambridge requiring such instruction generally had recourse to a private tutor. The establishment of the Sadlerian lectureships at several of the colleges (1710), the examples of Isaac Barrow and Newton, and the influence of Bentley had served, however, to invest the study with an importance which now began to be recognised in all the colleges; and while scholarships were still mainly apportioned out among the well-drilled young classics, who, in increasing numbers came up from the public schools, fellowships became more and more frequently the prize of the maturer mathematicians. In this manner, as Mr. Rouse Ball's interesting researches have shown us, mathematics, some years before the nineteenth century dawned, were already 'the dominant study in the University.' If we adopt the same writer's conclusion as to the real commencement of that 'Senate-house examination in mathematics' which in 1753 developed into the Tripos, we must place the commencement of the Classical Tripos nearly a century later than that of the mathematical. But in the years 1822 to 1824, the growing demands of classical studies led to the institution of both a compulsory and a voluntary examination

in Greek. The 'Previous Examination' was established in which the study of a Greek classic became, along with other subjects, *compulsory*; while the Classical Tripos, established at nearly the same time, was open only to those who had already taken honours in the Mathematical Tripos. This condition, in many cases an irksome one, continued to be insisted upon down to the year 1850, during which time, that is to say, for nearly an entire generation, classics were in a kind of bondage to mathematics, a relationship the influence of which is, perhaps, still discernible. In 1850, however, the classical student was released from the obligation of serving so lengthened an apprenticeship to a calling which he felt was not his vocation, and was thenceforth permitted to present himself to be examined in classics without undergoing a three days' humiliation in the Senate house as a candidate for honours in mathematics. But already, as early as 1833, Adam Sedgwick had expressed his opinion that, for fifty years past, the classical studies of the University had been 'too critical and formal.' 'We have,' he wrote in his afterwards famous 'Discourse on the Studies of the University of Cambridge,' 'sometimes been taught to value the husk more than the fruit of ancient learning: and if of late years our younger members have sometimes written prose Greek almost with the purity of Xenophon, or composed iambics in the finished diction of Attic poets, we may well doubt whether time suffices for such perfection—whether the imagination and the taste might not be more wisely cultivated than by a long sacrifice to what, after all, ends but in verbal imitations—in short, whether such acquisitions, however beautiful in themselves, are not *gained at the expense of something better.*' This bias once imparted, still, however, remains; and the stress of the Classical Tripos, at least in Part I. (with its four papers of Greek and Latin prose and verse composition), continues to be on the language rather than the literature, while the whole examination retains a character which cannot be said to be inviting to students who have been unable, before entering the University, to give at least four or five years to Greek and Latin composition.

Such being the case, it is easy to understand the feelings of the student who is looking forward to a career in which his linguistic requirements will be limited to modern languages, and whose mental equipment will have to be sought in subjects directly connected with the natural or applied sciences, when he finds himself called upon to take

up Greek! Here a tyranny like that which the Mathematical Tripos formerly wielded over the classical scholar reappears, and that, too, in an intensified form. The student of science will often discern in Greek a subject for which he has no aptitude, while he feels that even to acquire the rudiments of the language will involve a serious curtailment of the available time for study in the special curriculum already mapped out before him. He possesses, probably, a modicum of Latin which he intends to keep, for he is aware that it may prove useful in connection with French, Italian, or Spanish. But the strange characters, the paradigms of nouns and verbs, and the endless rules of syntax fill him with dismay. Elementary Greek, indeed, may be said to differ inversely from elementary mathematics. It is rarely that a student possessed of sufficient mental capacity to justify his adoption of a professional career is not conscious of a certain benefit from a study of geometry and of elementary algebra and trigonometry; but it is more frequently the case that, after this elementary training has been gone through, and he endeavours to pass on to applied mathematics, to dynamics, and the differential calculus, he finds the effort a painful one. The path becomes more rugged, his progress slower and slower, and he begins to suspect that acquirements, at once more profitable and more congenial, are being sacrificed to the absorbing demands now made on his mental powers. In the study of the classics, as at present carried on in English schools and universities, it is rather the reverse that takes place. The schoolboy acquirements once made, the student who is possessed of a certain faculty of imitation and retentiveness of memory may find composition a pleasing pastime, and in the Greek literature itself a great reward.

In 1870, the consideration of facts like the foregoing led at Cambridge to the appointment of a Syndicate, who were to report on the question 'whether any, and if so what alterations might be made with advantage in the system of University Examinations to enable persons unacquainted with the Greek language to obtain degrees.' The immediate occasion of this measure had been a communication from the Endowed Schools Commission, intimating their design of establishing schools in which Greek would be *excluded* 'in order to provide adequate test and encouragement for the study of Modern Languages and Natural Science.' In March, 1871, the Syndicate made its report, recommending that, in the Previous Examination, candidates

should be allowed to substitute French *and* German (both being taken) for Greek. The examination in these two modern languages was to include unprepared translation *from* both, but translation *into* only one. No change in the General Examination was suggested, and the proposed exemption from Greek was consequently limited to candidates for Honours or for medical degrees. Among the eighteen Syndics who signed this report were Dr. Thompson (the Master of Trinity), Dr. Westcott, Dr. Kennedy (the Professor of Greek), Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. R. C. Jebb (the present Professor of Greek), Mr. H. A. J. Munro (the editor of 'Lucretius'), Mr. W. G. Clark (the Public Orator), and Mr. Robert Burn (well known by his writings on the antiquities of Rome). The Grace for giving effect to the recommendations in which these distinguished scholars all concurred was, however, thrown out by a purely residential vote of 51 non-placets to 48 placets.

Before 1871 had passed away, a fresh Syndicate was appointed, charged with a more definite inquiry—'to consider the Regulations for the Previous Examination and the General Examination, and whether any, and, if so, what alterations may be made in them with advantage.' Late in April in the following year another report, extending over eighteen pages (in which certain collateral questions were discussed), recommended that both in the Previous and the General Examination 'a sufficient knowledge of French and German' should be accepted as 'an equivalent for either Greek or Latin.' Their recommendation was, at first, accepted so far as Greek and the Previous were concerned; but ultimately, on an Amended Report appearing (February, 1873), the proposal was rejected by 90 votes to 81.

It would be altogether unjust to those members of the University who had from time to time been charged with the duty of conducting the above examinations to infer that, in their disapproval of the proposed alterations, they were actuated by no loftier sense of duty than was manifested by those ἀργυροκόποι at Ephesus, whose effusive display of feeling had so frequently come under their notice, and to whom Professor Maitland made amusing allusion in the Discussion. It was perfectly natural that those among their number whose experiences as private tutors or examiners extended over more than thirty years, should feel that something like a vested interest would be placed in jeopardy by these proposals becoming operative. Five more years were, however, suffered to elapse before these efforts

were renewed ; and with the lapse of those years the question had assumed an increasingly practical importance, and an influentially signed Memorial was published by the Vice-Chancellor (December 3, 1878), in which it was stated that the requisition of Greek in the Previous Examination had the effect 'of excluding a large and increasing number of 'able and deserving students from the benefits of a university education.' Again a Syndicate was appointed and another report followed, wherein it was recommended that the substitution of French or German 'for one or other of 'the classical languages' should be allowed, but only in connection with candidates *for Honours*. The proposal was consequently virtually identical with that which was recently rejected by Oxford in December, 1904. It was rejected in December, 1880, by 185 votes to 145. In the meantime the recurrence of these efforts had led to the organisation of a party of resistance, and when, after a lapse of eleven years, another Syndicate had been formed, 'to consider whether it 'be expedient to allow alternatives, and, if so, what alternatives, for one of the classical languages *in the Previous Examination*,' a fly-sheet, circulated at the commencement of the October term, 1891, gave expression, on broader grounds, to the reasons whereby a formally appointed Executive Committee justified the course which they proposed to take. Simultaneously, however, with the appearance of this manifesto, the late Dr. Henry Sidgwick had issued a fly-sheet, 'Compulsory Classics,' in which he drew attention to the fact that 'the Victoria University, founded in 1880 to 'provide the highest academic training for the great towns 'of Lancashire and Yorkshire,' had 'decided not to make 'more than one classical language a part of the preparation 'for an Arts degree'; he further expresses his belief that a like conclusion could hardly fail to follow upon the deliberations of the Scottish University Commission, appointed two years before ; while, in referring to the class of students for whose relief the proposed innovations were designed, he urged that 'to admit the existence and importance of this 'class, and yet to say that Cambridge need not concern 'herself with its requirements, appears to me inconsistent 'with the whole line of policy which we have systematically 'and successfully pursued for nearly a generation.'

Concurrently with the academic discussion, two well, though differently, equipped antagonists appeared in the arena—Dr. Welldon, who, educated at Eton, had been a master at Dulwich College, and also headmaster at Harrow,

and Freeman, then occupying the Chair of Modern History at Oxford.* The former thus brought to bear upon the main points at issue a practical experience which the latter altogether lacked, as well as a freedom from prejudice in which the Professor was no less wanting. Dr. Welldon seems to us to have stated the several points with admirable force and terseness—‘an increase in the number of educational subjects had made it impossible for anyone to learn ‘them all’; it was consequently ‘evident that some sacrifice ‘must be made’; the increasing complexity of ‘the educational problem’ called for ‘the recognition of a good many ‘subjects as optional rather than compulsory’; the question of ‘allowing boys who have *no aptitude for the classical ‘languages to substitute for one of them such other subjects as history and geography, French and German, or ‘natural science,’ was one which, he considered, ‘invites ‘consideration.’ The Professor, on the other hand, preferred to direct his criticisms at the present mode of teaching Greek rather than the broader question at issue. A writer in ‘Macmillan’s Magazine’—Mr. Wright Henderson—had observed that ‘Latin and Greek are taught now nearly ‘as they were taught one hundred years ago.’ Freeman grasped at this admission, declaring that it was ‘the very ‘root of the matter,’ and ‘what made the whole controversy ‘possible.’ ‘For fifty years past or more,’ he added, ‘the ‘headmasters in the public schools have had every opportunity of learning a better way of teaching Greek, but ‘they have refused to use their opportunities.’*

In 1891 and 1892 two unsuccessful attempts to bring about the appointment of a Syndicate were made, and it was not, accordingly, until another twelve years had elapsed that a similar proposal was brought forward, but during that period events had largely tended to impart additional force to the movement. Not only had three new Triposes been established—those of Oriental Languages, Mediæval and Modern Languages, and of Mechanical Sciences—all three acquiring increased importance when considered in connection with political events abroad, but the varied phases assumed by the whole question of education throughout the country, together with numerous discussions and addresses of considerable significance, served to invest with exceptional force the proposal to appoint a Syndicate ‘to consider ‘what changes, if any, are desirable in the studies, teaching,

* Contemporary Review, vol. lx. 1891.

‘and examinations of the University’; and when, on November 26, 1903, the Grace was read in the Senate House, it was carried by a majority of 170 to 79. A Syndicate of twelve was thereupon appointed, and it was not before nearly a twelvemonth had elapsed that the results of their deliberations were made known. During that time, however, their inquiries were almost entirely restricted to the Previous Examination; and, in order to arrive at a satisfactory estimate of the views taken by schoolmasters throughout the country, representatives of the Headmasters’ Conference, of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters, and of the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters were invited to hold interviews with them at Cambridge. This judicious procedure may certainly be regarded as investing the conclusions arrived at by this Syndicate with special value. They may be briefly summed up as follows:

The Previous Examination was to be divided into three Parts, to be taken by all candidates for a degree, but ‘not necessarily at the same time,’ and subject to certain exemptions. In the First Part languages were to be the main subject; in the Second, mathematics; in the Third, English.

In Part I. both ancient and modern languages were to be included, and either Latin or Greek was to be obligatory, but not *both*—and a candidate might take French or German instead of either, or he might take French *and* German instead of either, but in the former case, *composition* was to be required in addition to the translation of unprepared passages, ‘so that there would be no temptation to choose the examination in a Modern Language as being the easier course.’ But ‘for the benefit of students to whom the power to read French and German is of greater importance than a more special knowledge of one language only,’ candidates were to be allowed to take the translation papers in both languages instead of both the papers in one language.

In Part II., Geometry, Arithmetic, and Algebra were to retain their place; but Paley’s ‘Evidences’ were to be no longer required, as ‘this work is not now accepted as a satisfactory statement of Christian Apologetics.’

In Part III. a paper in English Composition was to be obligatory; and a candidate was to be required to take *any two* papers of the following four:—1. On one of the Synoptic Gospels together with the Acts of the Apostles in English; 2. Outlines on a period of English History, certain periods being prescribed from time to time; 3. Experimental Mechanics and other parts of Elementary Physics; 4. On Elementary Inorganic Chemistry.

During the interval between the publication of this Report and the discussion that ensued some important pronouncements had been made of widely divergent sig-

nificance. On January 21, 1904, the Vice-Chancellor received from the Royal Society a communication to the following effect: 'That the Universities be respectfully urged to consider the desirability of taking such steps in respect of their regulations as will, so far as possible, insure that a knowledge of science is recognised in schools and elsewhere as an essential part of general education.' On the other hand, Oxford had considered the question whether Greek should be made optional in candidates for Honours other than the theological and classical, and had decided in the negative. And when the Report appeared, Professor Jebb, the President of Queen's, and Mr. Bateson appeared as dissentients, Dr. Chase concurring in the exemption of certain students from examination in Greek, but reserving his assent on certain other points; while Mr. Chawner, the Master of Emmanuel, was also a dissentient on more special grounds—namely, the opinions which he had been at the pains to collect from no less than eighty-eight headmasters with respect to the results that might ensue if Greek were no longer a compulsory subject at the Universities (a) for candidates for Honours; (b) for candidates for a degree.' These opinions he subsequently published in a quarto pamphlet of sixteen pages, and he must be allowed to have thereby made a material contribution to the evidence laid before the University. The dissimilar conditions under which the study is pursued at different schools may be to some extent inferred from the fact that out of the above number of Heads no less than fifty-six considered that, if Greek were made optional with all candidates for a degree, the study would run the risk of being altogether extinguished in the great majority of schools. On the other hand, more than twenty, including those of Aldenham, Carlisle, Christ's Hospital, Harrow, Manchester, Oundle, Norwich, Repton, Tonbridge, Wellington, Winchester, and University College School, London, gave it as their opinion that no great change would result, and that if the number of those taking Greek diminished somewhat, the standard of the work done would be raised.

The discussion in the Senate House, which commenced on December 1, was opened by Dr. Chase (now Bishop of Ely), as chairman of the Syndicate. In a speech of singular interest he expressed his assent to the demand that 'certain students should be exempted from examination in Greek'—'without one shred of remaining hesitation he had come,' he said, 'to the conclusion that some substantial

‘concession ought to be made in this matter.’ Sir Richard Jebb followed, in a speech mainly devoted to emphasising the alarmist view of the schoolmaster. He dwelt with his wonted eloquence on ‘the claims of the Greek language and ‘literature’; cited evidence to show that it was believed in New Zealand that if Greek went, Latin would soon follow; stigmatised that less advanced mastery of a modern language implied in such a degree of attainment as would enable the student simply to read the literature as ‘inferior French’ and ‘inferior German’; while on the other hand, he considered that when it was suggested ‘that students of ‘science who had done Greek in the Little-go often never ‘looked at it again,’ a like argument might be used against ‘demanding even a minimum of mathematics from a literary ‘student.’ The Master of Peterhouse (Dr. A. W. Ward) expressed himself as ‘wholly and unreservedly in favour of ‘the recommendations of the Syndicate,’ and proceeded to suggest that the widening of the whole field of research within recent years called for recognition by a corresponding extension of University training, ‘as not only an introduction to different branches of letters or science, but also ‘as a preparation for a share in the public life of the ‘country at large.’ He failed to recognise in the proposals of the Report that ‘premature specialisation’ which had been alleged against them, while he cited, with considerable effect, the opinion of the Headmaster of Winchester (Dr. Burge) that, ‘unless there was *variety* in the Entrance ‘Examinations of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, ‘they would begin to attract fewer students.’ Greek might be left to stand on its own merits, possessing, as it did, ‘an inherent vitality which was guaranteed by its universal ‘recognition as an unequalled instrument of culture.’ Dr. Gow, formerly Headmaster at Nottingham High School, submitted that the term ‘compulsory’ was no more applicable to Greek than to any other prescribed subject; all such subjects were equally compulsory, and ‘when compulsion was removed the subject itself dwindled and ‘died.’ He pointed out that Latin, having been made optional for admission to Woolwich and Sandhurst, and being the hardest among the ‘options,’ had been dropped altogether by the Army students ‘in Clifton, Rugby, ‘and other of their public schools.’ The Master of Trinity, while expressing his sense of the value ‘of ‘the remarkable speech of Dr. Gow,’ proceeded to state his reasons for dissenting from some of the conclusions

drawn by the speaker. While fully admitting what had been said about 'the magnificent teaching power of the 'Greek language,' he could not but consider it an error to assume that that superb training, so unrivalled for those who were well fitted for it, was applicable equally to the mass of boys at any public school. Greek, in addition to Latin, and in addition to all the other subjects which they ought in those early days in part to master, was *too heavy a burden*, even for 'a very large proportion of boys of intelligence and the 'highest character.' Acting under this conviction, he had authorised at Harrow the institution of a Modern Side, from which Greek, but not Latin, was excluded; and he believed the result had been, 'in the case of a large number of boys, 'an education not ideally so strong as the more strictly 'classical, but one which suited the needs of the learners 'much better and gave them a more intellectual life than 'they would otherwise have enjoyed.' He believed 'it would 'be found increasingly necessary to give what they believed 'to be a really liberal education, but one from which, *for 'want of time, the great language of Greece was excluded.*' Professor Allbutt urged that, speech and thought being organically connected, Latin should be taught in schools as a spoken language. Professor Westlake could not but think that many of those who opposed the recommendations of the Syndicate were 'not aware of the large proportions which 'modern knowledge and modern ideas had now reached; 'many of them were also ignorant of the great literatures, he 'would not say of their own country, but of France, Germany, 'and Italy.' He held that 'modern civilisation had already 'absorbed what was best in the ancient cultivation and had 'added to it cultivation from other sources.' 'The fact was, 'that in the growth of knowledge specialisation had become 'a necessity, and even classical study was now a specialism.' Professor Ridgeway thought that the real source of the trouble lay in the fact 'that Greek was not taught at the 'public schools in the best possible way,' and for this he held the Universities responsible. Two headmasters of schools in Cambridge took opposed views. Dr. Maitland, in a highly amusing and original speech, described his own early experiences. He had passed eight of his early years in learning Greek and never learnt it, after all, but only 'to 'hate it and its alphabet, its accents and its accidence, its 'prosody and all its appurtenances,' so as to be led to vow that 'never again would he open a Greek book or write a 'Greek word.' Sir George Young pointed out the broad

fact that, Greek being now excluded from the regular curriculum of the second grade schools of England, so that it had no place whatever in their teaching, a breach of continuity had been created between the older Universities and the secondary middle-class education throughout the country. He considered, however, that there were those who might learn Greek at the University if not excluded by its being required on entrance. He was for the open door. Dr. Breul, in defending the Report, referred to his own personal experience in 'one of the best Hanoverian schools,' where *all* the scholars were required to take Greek, Latin, French, and English, and he testified to the enthusiasm with which Greek was there studied by some of the number. He pointed out that neither the French nor the German classical drama could be properly studied and appreciated without some knowledge of the best Greek literature. An able and cogent defence by Dr. Forsyth of the principles by which the Syndics had been guided in constructing their scheme was followed by some striking observations (the outcome of an experience extending over half a century) from Professor Liveing, who held that the real evil lay in the examinations, 'which,' he said, 'they were bound to set themselves to reform,' and he warmly welcomed the Report before them 'because it did try to effect a reform in the right direction.' The *doyen* of the Cambridge professoriate concluded with a singularly felicitous rejoinder to Sir Richard Jebb's complaint that 'the Syndicate were making bad German and 'bad French combined an option as against good French 'and good German singly.' 'The University,' Dr. Liveing retorted, 'was now doing the same thing with respect to 'Latin and Greek, preferring absolutely useless Latin *and* 'Greek to good Latin alone or good Greek alone.'

On the concluding day the discussion was largely taken up by explanations from speakers who had already spoken, or who had issued fly-sheets. Dr. Jackson, however, was listened to with the attention due to one who for more than a quarter of a century had, as he himself stated, 'been teaching and studying Greek and nothing else.' He declared that the Syndicate had placed the University under considerable obligation by their Report, which was one that had 'at last dealt with the matter broadly and boldly.' Mr. Glover, whose experiences as a professor in Canada lent additional weight to his testimony, while he admitted that ten years before he would have voted against the proposals of the Syndicate, declared that since then 'he had realised

‘the power of the Greek literature as he never had before,’ and it was his conviction that ‘whatever they did, Greek ‘was going to hold its own.’

In compliance with certain suggestions brought forward during the discussion, an amended Report was issued by the Syndics, in which certain alterations were introduced; in the proposed Part I., an author (or a portion of an author) was to be substituted for ‘unseen’ in translation into English; in Part III. a candidate was to be allowed to choose between (a) one of the Synoptic Gospels *and* the Acts of the Apostles in *English* or (b) one of the Gospels in *Greek*, the design being that those who might have chosen Greek instead of Latin would thus be enabled a *second time* to take advantage of their knowledge of the former language. As this advantage was not allowed in connection with any of the other three languages, it afforded a certain counterbalancing influence in the competition of the most difficult of the four languages with the rest. At nearly the same time, however, the Bishop of Bristol (whose signal services to the University during the lengthened period of his residence gave especial force to his opinion), in conjunction with the Professor of Hebrew, Mr. S. H. Butcher, and Dr. Rendall, urged the rejection of the Report on the ground that, if it passed, ‘all hope of compromise would be gone ‘and the mischief done would be irretrievable.’ In the end, notwithstanding the above-mentioned concessions, the Syndics found their proposals rejected after two days’ voting (March 3 and 4) by a poll, unprecedented in the history of the University, of 1,527 to 1,063 on the vote for rescinding the existing regulations for the Previous Examination, and 1,559 against 1,052 on the vote for the acceptance of the new proposals.

Whether considered in relation to the weight of argument on either side, or to the tendencies (too obvious to be ignored) and the changes in actual operation both in the Old World and the New, it is difficult to understand how Cambridge can rest satisfied with this result. And that no such satisfaction is felt by that resident body by whom the condition and needs of studies in the University are best understood has been to some extent attested by the facts to which we referred at the commencement. If we turn once more to Germany—that Germany whence learning, and especially classical learning, have in the past derived, and still derive, so much of guidance, inspiration, and co-operation in all that relates to further progress and

developement—the evidence is such that it may be said to amount to a positive warning. A quarter of a century ago, it is true, some misgivings were felt with respect to the working of the innovations resulting from the admission of students from the *Realschulen** to study in certain faculties in the Universities, and the Minister of Education was actually petitioned by the theological faculty in Berlin to revoke the permission that had been accorded. No answer, however, was received from the Minister, and students in Germany have continued to enter the Universities without any knowledge of Greek down to the present time. Neither in natural science, in geography (a study there invested with an importance greater than that in England), nor in modern languages (understanding French or English), is Greek any longer required. Even in law and in medicine it is no longer required by the Universities of Prussia and Würtemberg; and with respect to the philosophical faculty generally, since 1895 it may be said that, with the exception of those studying classical philology, a testimonial from the *Real-Gymnasium* suffices for admission to the examination for the doctorate.

In France, reforms identical in some respects with those in Germany, and all tending in a like direction, have been for several years in progress, and in 1901 the *Lycées* were remodelled by the studies being arranged in two cycles—one of four years, the other of three. The first cycle offers two alternative courses:—(1) Classical course, with obligatory Latin throughout and optional Greek from the end of the third year; (2) scientific course, without Latin or Greek. The second cycle offers four different courses:—(1) Latin, with Greek; (2) Latin, with extended study of modern languages; (3) Latin, with extended study of sciences; (4) Modern languages and science, without Latin.

Professor Gabriel Compayré, writing to a correspondent in America, recently pointed out how closely this scheme resembles that now in operation in the States. ‘It is needless,’ he adds, ‘to dwell upon the significance of this reform. It was our aim to give the pupils the means of choosing the instruction best adapted to their capabilities and their presumable vocation, and also to the economic

* Schools of secondary education in Germany are now of three kinds: the *Gymnasium*, where Greek is taught as well as Latin and the Modern Languages; while the *Real-Gymnasium* and the *Oberrealschule* teach only Latin, together with French and English.

needs of the district in which they live. They will now be able at their pleasure to take one road or another, and so work more effectively and more enthusiastically, *and succeed better in studies which they have of their own accord preferred to others.*'

Most of the universities and colleges in North America have, in fact, already made Greek optional, and the majority have arrived at a like decision as regards Latin. The University of Texas now admits to its B.A. degree without requiring either, but Harvard still requires elementary Greek or Latin at its entrance examination. Notwithstanding this, however, Greek still maintains its ground in the schools, rising in 1901, in New Hampshire, with 48 schools, to a percentage of 13 of the entire number of scholars; but dropping in Pennsylvania, with 144 schools, to 4.49.

To sum up the main arguments in favour of the changes already proposed—changes which can hardly fail to be re-demanded, although probably in somewhat modified form, by the newly constituted Cambridge Syndicate—it may be urged that they involve, as Professor Compayré points out, that recognition of *individuality*, or special aptitudes, which, according to Herbart, must be the starting-point of all education, rightly so termed, and that they consequently embody a principle which is asserting itself with continuously increasing force among the leading peoples, both of the Old and the New World. And, in the next place, they involve the recognition of an imperative necessity for better methods of teaching. To some, at least, it must have seemed rather startling, in the recent discussion at Cambridge, to hear of 'the magnificent teaching power of the Greek language,' and next to listen to the same eminent authority insisting, almost in the same breath, upon the unsatisfactory results exhibited by many of the learners as attributable to Greek not being better taught in the schools. The question naturally suggests itself, 'How is it that a language thus 'fraught with the genius of instruction fails to impart so 'little of its "teaching power" to those who are its professed interpreters?' And finally, the concessions so strongly advocated within the University itself are in harmony with those national requirements with which it should surely be more and more the endeavour of the older Universities to keep in touch. And at a time when England is looking to those ancient homes of culture for aid in relation to her more practical needs, for the training of those who by

their scientific insight shall give direction to her strenuous endeavours to man her citadels, 'to hold the Main,' while her forges thunder at Bellona's call, and when Cambridge, on the other hand, is making her appeal to England to aid her in her efforts more adequately to provide for the equipment alike of the teacher and the learner—it would seem to be no unfitting juncture for both Universities to lay aside every restriction, the survival of a pedantic Past, which may cause the seeker after scientific knowledge to turn away from their gates or may retard his progress when enrolled within. And if Oxford still falters and holds back, Cambridge may do well to take courage and advance alone.

ART. VIII.—NAPLES AND NAPOLEON.

1. *La France, l'Angleterre et Naples de 1803 à 1806 : Lettres de Napoléon et de la Reine Marie Caroline de Naples, d'Alquier, Gouvion Saint-Cyr, Talleyrand, Elliot, Lord Whitworth, &c.* Par CH. AURIOL. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1905.
2. *Une Ennemie de la Révolution et de Napoléon : Marie Caroline, Reine des Deux-Siciles, 1768-1814 ; d'après des documents inédits.* Par ANDRÉ BONNEFONS. 8vo. Paris : Perrin et Cie. 1905.
3. *Napoléon et l'Angleterre, 1803-1813 ; d'après des documents inédits.* Par P. COQUELLE. 8vo. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1904.
4. The same. Translated from the French by GORDON D. KNOX ; with an Introduction by J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D. 8vo. London : George Bell & Sons. 1904.
5. *Select Despatches from the British Foreign Office Archives relating to the formation of the Third Coalition against France, 1804-1805.* Edited by JOHN HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D. 8vo. London : Royal Historical Society. 1904.
6. *England and Napoleon in 1803 ; being the Despatches of Lord Whitworth and others.* Edited for the Royal Historical Society by OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. 8vo. London : Longmans. 1887.

IT almost looks as if it were to mark the centenary of the great events which fill the history of the opening years of the nineteenth century that we have here to record the recent publication of a number of works, similar in character and relating to this period ; all, too, based more or less on original documents. The English volumes we have named are exclusively so, and, issued under the sanction of the Royal Historical Society, are of the highest value in the solution of the many vexed questions which the history of the time presents. The correspondence of Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador to Paris in 1802-3, which relates in detail the negotiations whose failure resulted in the declaration of war (May 16, 1803), has a particular interest ; and though the conclusion which Mr. Browning arrives at—that the English Government was guilty of a breach of faith in not surrendering Malta—does not commend itself to our judgement, this does not, in any sense, depreciate the value of the work, which rests entirely on the text of

the original documents. The diplomatic correspondence which Dr. Rose has edited is of equal and perhaps more general value, illustrating as it does the causes of the war which extended to the whole of Europe. These are commonly much misunderstood and misrepresented, especially by French writers, who have described the Continental war of 1805-6-7 as due solely to the intrigues and the gold of the accursed Pitt; as if two, or rather three, great nations—Austria, Russia, and, later on, Prussia—plunged into war with a dangerous enemy such as France at the mere suggestion of an English minister, or on the promise of a subsidy in aid—not by any means in full payment—of expenses which they had no reason to incur. If they could only put national or political prejudices on one side, these writers would not need to have the absurdity of such a notion pointed out to them.

Of the French volumes mentioned above, that of M. Bonnefons calls for no especial notice. We are not sure that the claim made on the title-page—*d'après des documents inédits*—should be taken without large reservations; for though there are a few references to the *Archives nationales* and to the *Archives des Affaires étrangères*, there are none to any other unpublished sources, while the choice of those that have been published seems to have been determined by the convenience rather than by the judgement of the author. He has been, generally, more intent on the biography of his subject than on the history of the time, his sketch of which, depending on second-hand or ill-informed authorities, is often inaccurate. But it is impossible to separate the life of Marie Caroline from the history, and M. Bonnefons' judgement of her conduct is thus warped and depreciated.

Though less pretentious in its form, the little book of M. Coquelle is of exceptional interest, from the more extended view that the author has taken of the position. Although a Frenchman, and with all a Frenchman's warmth of patriotism, he is still able to balance the conduct of Bonaparte and that of the English ministers. He does not pose as an anti-Bonapartist; but as little as a blind admirer and sworn defender of all Bonaparte's actions, incapable of admitting that even an Englishman might have rights. 'Napoléon,' he says in his preface, 'appartient à l'histoire, et ce n'est pas porter atteinte à sa gloire que de ramener ses actes à leurs justes proportions.' It is this judicial attitude which gives to his criticisms—whether favourable or unfavourable—more weight than we can allow to the more fully elaborated but almost openly partial opinions of M. Auriol, who stands before us very much in the position of

that bishop whom Ranke refused to recognise as a brother historian because he was a Christian. For a man to be an historian, in Ranke's sense, he must be able to enter on the field of research with an open mind; and M. Auriol is saturated with the prejudices not only of a Frenchman but of a partisan. He is almost more Bonapartist than Bonaparte himself; and when he undertakes to write a history of the diplomacy of these critical years, it is with the intention of describing it as the struggle between the powers of light and darkness—the former represented by France and Bonaparte, the latter by England and England's ministers and ambassadors.

He devotes, for instance, several chapters to the rupture of the Peace of Amiens; but no reader, without a previous acquaintance with the subject, could possibly gather from them that there was any point in dispute other than the treacherous refusal of the English to evacuate Malta, or that the terms of the treaty had in any way been carried out except by the French, who, with the guilelessness of childhood, had at once withdrawn from their several positions in the south of Italy—a step with which the Treaty of Amiens had nothing to do. He would be necessarily led to suppose that all other articles of the treaty were of little or no consequence; that its main provisions referred exclusively to the withdrawal of the English from Malta, of the French from Tarento; and that whilst the French had immediately and loyally fulfilled their engagement, the English most dishonestly refused to fulfil theirs. This result is obtained by the very simple method of omitting, or only mentioning in the most casual manner, such articles of the treaty or correspondence as do not refer to the points which the author professes to elucidate, but which, in reality, he obscures.

Nor is it possible to admit that he does not do this of set purpose; for he wrote with a full knowledge of Mr. Browning's volume of Whitworth's correspondence, from which, indeed, he quotes such passages as suit him; and he, by inference, accepts Bonaparte's insolent assertion that the affairs of the Continent were no concern of England's, although he knew that this was not for a moment admitted by the English ministers, and though he had, in '*England and Napoleon*,' the letter in which Lord Hawkesbury enclosed his instructions to Lord Whitworth, and wrote, in so many words: 'You will state most distinctly his Majesty's determination never to forego his right of interfering in the affairs of the Continent on every occasion in which the interests of his own dominions or those of Europe in general may appear to him to require it.' This as a general principle; but he was more particularly directed to point out that it had

been proposed by his Majesty, and formally recognised by the French Government as the basis of the negotiation of the treaty, that

‘If the French Government would not relinquish the Continental acquisitions which they had obtained from other Powers in the course of the war, his Majesty would claim the right of keeping part of his conquests as a compensation for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent. . . . The terms of the treaty were negotiated in conformity to this basis, and it appears, therefore, clear that the then existing state of possession and of engagements as respect the Continent were the foundation of the peace itself; and that his Majesty has, therefore, an undoubted right to interpose, in consequence of the treaty, in every case in which the state of possession may appear to him to have undergone any material alteration, or in which the engagements which were then subsisting had been violated to the prejudice of his Majesty or of the other Powers of Europe.’

In face of this clear and decided statement it is ridiculous to urge that England was debarred from any interference with the affairs of the Continent, because it was Bonaparte’s good pleasure that she should be. To those Continental powers whose armies he had crushed, or whose rulers had meanly truckled to his will, Bonaparte might claim to speak as *de haut en bas*; but England did not come into this category, and it is far from clear that the dispute and the war which followed it did not arise out of the First Consul’s inability to recognise the difference. But, coming to details, Whitworth was directed to urge that the annexation of Piedmont by France, the renunciation of the Duchy of Parma in favour of France, the violation of the right of the Swiss to choose their form of government, the invasion of Switzerland, and the continued occupation of Holland—‘an obvious violation of the independence of the Batavian republic,’ as to which ‘his Majesty has a peculiar right to interpose, as he consented to make numerous and most important restitutions (in South America, the Cape of Good Hope, Malacca, and the Spice Islands) to the Batavian Government in the treaty of peace, on the consideration of that Government being independent, and not being subject to any foreign control’—all made ‘a most material alteration’ in the state of Europe, and added ‘most considerably to the influence and power of France.’ Of all this M. Auriol practically says nothing.*

* We are compelled to add that M. Auriol has sinned not only as an historian but as an editor. A great many names—not by any means all English—are misspelt; Haugwitz, for instance, appears

M. Coquelle, on the other hand, without a brief on either side, describes the position of affairs much more clearly. He recounts the insulting speeches which Bonaparte showered on Whitworth, whom the quality of ambassador ought to have protected. He refers lightly, but, at the same time, honestly, to the Whitworth correspondence, and occupies himself mainly with the complement of it, the correspondence of Andréossy, the French ambassador in London. On March 4, 1803, Bonaparte had sent him a note, most insolently worded, to the effect that, though by the Treaty of Amiens, Malta was to be evacuated within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, ten months had passed, and the English troops were still at Malta. The French, who were, on the other hand, to withdraw from the territories of Naples and Rome, had not waited for the expiration of the three months, but had left at once. How was this delay on the part of the English to be justified?

‘Vu le caractère de cette note,’ says M. Coquelle, ‘Andréossy ne la remit pas immédiatement au cabinet britannique, et prit sur lui de voir venir les événements.’ By the 10th, however, he made up his mind to deliver it, and on the 15th he received Lord Hawkesbury’s answer. Of this, M. Coquelle gives us an abstract. It dwells on the acquisitions made by France since the signing of the treaty, and insists that England is, by the spirit of the treaty, entitled to a counterpoise. Her claim is strengthened by the virtual refusal of the French Government to give any satisfactory explanation of the extraordinary publication of Sebastiani’s report. And, further, the several conditions of the withdrawal from Malta were still unfulfilled, notably by the refusal of Russia and the silence of Austria, who were to guarantee the new state of things; and on all these considerations his Majesty felt himself justified in suspending the evacuation. But further, ‘the evacuation of Taranto by the French has no connection whatever with that of Malta; the French Government, by their treaty with the King of Naples (at Florence, March 28, 1801), having pledged themselves to evacuate the kingdom of Naples at a still earlier date than they did.’ Andréossy’s comment on all this is:

‘Elle est longue, mal écrite, entortillée, mais elle développe assez clairement la situation d’esprit des ministres and du conseil. Ce n’est pas tel ou tel fait, c’est l’ensemble de tous les faits dont se

as Hangwitz; and a considerable proportion of the letters have wrong—not unfrequently, impossible—dates, which do not look like mere typographical errors; but if they are, there are far too many of them.

compose la gloire du Premier Consul and la grandeur de la France qui les effraye.'

It is difficult to see where he found this in Hawkesbury's letter; and M. Coquelle, while admitting that there is some truth in it, and that England was jealous of the 'economic 're-establishment' of France, holds that this consideration, by itself, would not have decided her to declare war; the real grievances were the occupation, by the French troops, of Holland and Switzerland, and the annexation of Piedmont.

In point of fact, England had, up to a certain point, loyally carried out the terms of the treaty: she had restored Minorca to Spain—important as the position would be in case of a renewal of hostilities; she had withdrawn from Elba; she had given back to France Martinique and all the sugar islands, Gorée, Saint-Pierre, and Miquelon, and, above all, the isles of Saint Marcouf. She would have surrendered Malta with the same blind trust, had not the hitch about the stipulated guarantees prevented her doing so till her suspicions, presently amounting to certainty, of the bad faith of Bonaparte, warranted further delay.

Unquestionably England was aggrieved, the moneyed interest of England was enraged, by the actual or virtual prohibition of English manufactures; but as the Government had made no direct provision for the regulation of trade, it was left to Bonaparte to settle it as he judged best. And his idea of 'best' for France was antagonistic to the views of English manufacturers, as it is to the present-day views of English economists; but that alone could not have been put forward as a reason for war. It is not necessary to see hostility in his commercial policy; but in reading of the overbearing, bullying, and insulting conduct, gestures, and speeches of Bonaparte during the months immediately preceding the declaration of war, we are compelled to believe either that he meant war, or was very far from being the clear-sighted man that he is admitted to have been. Yet Mr. Browning thinks that, 'while determining to develop the internal resources of France on the one hand, and to be the first power in Europe on the other, he sincerely desired peace, and was reluctant to begin a struggle which he knew would be internecine;' and M. Auriol, in a brilliant paragraph, which would lose too much by translation, sketches the position of France and Bonaparte at the time.

'Napoléon,' he says, 'avait atteint, en effet, le point culminant non de sa puissance, mais, peut-être, de sa gloire. La France, à peine sortie du chaos de l'anarchie et des dangers de l'invasion, se trouvait, comme par enchantement, victorieuse au dehors, pacifiée

au dedans. Ce fut une des plus belles heures de notre histoire, heure trop courte, hélas, pour l'Europe comme pour la France qui, pour la première fois depuis dix ans, jouissait d'une paix complète. Le ciel paraissait serein, sauf quelques légers nuages du côté de l'Angleterre, qui mesurait mieux, chaque jour, ce qu'avait gagné son adversaire. Le Premier Consul ne demandait alors, certainement, qu'à voir se continuer l'ère glorieuse et calme qui s'ouvrait devant lui. Mais, fort de succès sans précédents, et désireux d'en voir se développer toutes les conséquences—confiant en son avenir et trop peu ménager des susceptibilités de ses rivaux—il devait, moins que jamais, être disposé à supporter les mauvais procédés d'un allié mécontent, ou l'inexécution prolongée des clauses d'un traité solennel.'

We are thus expected to infer that the renewal of the war was entirely due to the refusal of the English to withdraw their troops from Malta ; and it may perhaps be said that this is the very general belief, not only in France, but even in England. It seems to be forgotten—if we should not rather say unknown—that it was England, not France, which declared war ; it was England, not France, which delivered the ultimatum ; it was France, not England, which refused the terms demanded. And the text of the ultimatum shows pretty clearly that M. Coquelle is right in his contention that it was not the prolonged occupation of Malta by the English, but the prolonged occupation of Holland by the French that was the direct cause of the war. This appears the more certain when we remember how in all previous great wars, whatever other causes of quarrel there may have been, the determining cause was the fear of French or Spanish influence in Holland or the Low Countries. So was it in the time of Edward III. ; so was it in the time of Elizabeth ; so in the time of William III. and of Anne ; so again in 1793, and so—we agree with M. Coquelle—in 1803.

Of course here, as on former occasions, there were many other reasons. The occupation of Switzerland, the annexation of Piedmont, the formation of the kingdom of Etruria and of the Ligurian Republic under the practical control of France, were all held, rightly held, to be infringements of the treaty, as a counterpoise to which England retained Malta—a poor equivalent for the important Continental acquisitions, if the development of the internal resources of France had been Bonaparte's chief aim. To Bonaparte, Malta was, in the hands of France, a base of operations towards the east ; in the hands of England, a dangerous check on any such operations, which seemed to thwart his hopes or dreams of eastern empire. Hence the irritation, the threats, the insolence, and his fury when his bullying tone was treated with calmness or contempt. But

the English Government were rightly indignant at the official publication of such a paper as Sebastiani's report, at the silly denials of it, and at the persistent attempts to read the language of the treaty in the spirit of a pettifogging attorney; and behind the Government was English public opinion and the strain of trade prohibitions. On both sides every index pointed to war, and it may very well be that neither side was particularly anxious to avoid it; but the actual determining cause was—Holland.

Naturally, however, M. Auriol will none of this. For him, Holland, at that time at any rate, had no political existence. The only question of any importance was the English occupation of Malta, in which he sees a deep-laid and disloyal scheme for dominating Egypt. He does not, or perhaps it would be more correct to say he will not, see that the English refusal to quit was based on a determination to keep the French out, quite as much as on the wish to hold it themselves. He is really much too shrewd an inquirer not to see how utterly false to the words and still more to the spirit of the treaty was the proposal on which Bonaparte and Alquier, the French ambassador at Naples, insisted—that Malta should be given up to the Bailiff Tommasi, whom the Pope had nominated Grand Master. For he quotes from the text of the treaty the *ipsissima verba* of the article relating to Malta, in which are the sentences :

‘2°. Les gouvernements de la République française et de la Grande Bretagne, désirant mettre l’Ordre de l’île de Malte dans un état d’indépendance entière à leur égard, conviennent qu’il n’y aura désormais ni langue française, ni anglaise, et que nul individu appartenant à l’une ou à l’autre de ces puissances ne pourra être admis dans l’Ordre.

‘3°. Il sera établi une langue maltaise, qui sera entretenue par les revenus territoriaux et les droits commerciaux de l’île. . . . Les preuves de noblesse ne seront pas nécessaire pour l’admission des chevaliers de la dite langue : ils seront d’ailleurs admissibles à toutes les charges, et jouiront de tous les privilèges comme les chevaliers des autres langues. . . .’

And, on the other hand, he quotes from Alquier's reports on Tommasi, and of his conversation or letters.

‘Le Grand Maître,’ he wrote, ‘paraît avoir accordé une confiance particulière à deux Commandeurs, MM. Delverme et Dupeyron. Le premier, né à Plaisance, . . . a servi en France dans le régiment Royal-Italien ; il en sortit, en 1792, avec le grade de capitaine. . . . Le second, M. Dupeyron, âgé de 34 ans, est né dans les environs de Moulins ; il a été rayé de la liste des émigrés, et est rentré en France, avant l’amnistie. . . . C’est un homme doux, modeste, très dévoué à la France, et parfaitement honnête. . . . V.E. croira

sans peine que M. Tommasi porte aux Anglais toute la haine qu'il leur doit. Le Premier Consul est, à la fois, l'objet de son admiration, et le point d'appui de toutes les espérances qu'il conserve pour le rétablissement de son Ordre. . . . M. Tommasi s'est expliqué très ouvertement sur la création de la langue maltaise ; ses expressions ont été soigneusement recueillies : " Cette langue maltaise ne peut pas exister ; il est impossible que des hommes distingués par leur naissance, et par des principes d'honneur, vivent avec de la canaille, des esclaves affranchis, des galériens et des bâtards de nos chevaliers et de leurs laquais. Cette auberge de Malte serait composée de coquins enrichis par l'Angleterre, et formerait toujours une faction anglaise." . . . M. Tommasi dit ouvertement que l'éloignement des Chevaliers Français est le plus grand obstacle au rétablissement de l'Ordre. " Il n'y a que ceux-là de bons ; ce sont les seuls qui aient des talents et un vrai courage. Ceux qui restent forment une grande partie de la langue russe. Nous pourrons, par ce moyen, conserver les bons, sans que les Anglais aient rien à nous dire. Aux mauvaises têtes, à ceux qui sont contraires à la France, nous opposerons le Traité d'Amiens." "

It is not possible that Alquier, who, though boastful, conceited and wanting in tact, was very far from being a fool, could not see the incongruity of the Grand Master's aims with the terms of the treaty, and how entirely justified the English were, on these grounds alone, in refusing to recognise his nomination. He, however, persisted in representing this as everything that was right, and the action of the English as false and disloyal, though he remained in some doubt as to whether the real offender was the English minister in England or the man he was pleased to speak of as the English minister in Naples—Sir John Acton.

It is not to be denied that Acton's sympathies were with the English ; that he had favoured the English in the last war, had given Nelson a letter addressed to all governors of Neapolitan ports, by virtue of which he was able to water the fleet at Syracuse previous to the battle of the Nile ; and that he had shown his friendship on many other occasions. Alquier and, following him, M. Auriol habitually speak of him as an Englishman. In reality, though he had succeeded to an English baronetcy, he was the son, by a French mother, of an Englishman settled in France ; he was born in France, lived in France as a boy, in Tuscany as a young man, and had been for many years in the service of Naples.* It does not appear that he had ever been in England, and his letters are a proof positive that the English language was not quite familiar to him ; though it is, of

* It may be noted that he was the grandfather of the late Lord Acton, Regius Professor of History at Cambridge.

course, possible that he spoke it better than he could write it. He was thus not nearly so much an Englishman as the late M. Waddington, who was successively French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Premier, and Ambassador in London, without being accused of sacrificing French interests to his English sympathies. And we know of nothing in Acton's conduct which contradicts the belief that he held his first duty to be to Naples, the country of his adoption ; that he was friendly to England because he recognised in her the best support of Naples against the fury of the Revolution, and against the aggression, the insolence, and the tyranny of the French.

The incapacity of Alquier and, still more, of Bonaparte and the French Government to understand this, to realise that friendship between Naples and France under a revolutionary government was out of the question ; to see that the enmity to France which underlay all the negotiations was the child not of Acton but of the Queen, is perhaps the strangest of the many strange problems which the diplomacy of this period presents. That they should believe in the possibility of winning the daughter of Maria Theresa to the cause of the Revolution, the sister of Marie Antoinette to sympathy with the Jacobins, is astounding, and is one of the many details which suggest a doubt whether Bonaparte's genius was really as universal as is generally believed.

It seems, however, quite certain that he did entertain the idea that the Queen of Naples might be persuaded that France was her friend, not England ; and that he authorised, if he did not dictate, the remarkable letter from Talleyrand to Alquier, of March 14, which, after saying that peace could not be preserved if the English refused to evacuate Malta ; that the First Consul would defend the honour of France and of all the Governments which, being parties to the treaty, were insulted by the violation of it ; that if war should break out, one of the first measures would necessarily be the reoccupation of those positions in Southern Italy which the French had evacuated in the belief that the English were evacuating Malta, continued :

‘ Cette violation de la foi promise par un traité solennel est une offense à la dignité de sa Majesté Sicilienne, autant qu'à celle de la France, et sa Majesté ressentirait mal cette offense, si elle ne désirait pas l'exécution d'une mesure également réclamée et pour son honneur et pour sa sûreté. . . . L'atteinte qu'une injure aussi peu déguisée porte à sa Puissance et aux Droits qui lui sont acquis par le Traité d'Amiens, est trop frappant pour qu'il soit permis de penser que sa Majesté Sicilienne hésitera un seul instant entre l'Angleterre et la France.’

In answer to this, Alquier wrote, on March 29, that he was not astonished to learn that the English had openly refused to leave Malta ; for his correspondence had all along convinced him of their intention to remain. He was not, however, so sure as Talleyrand appeared to be that the Court of Naples would side with France ; for though their proper course was clearly indicated by their interest, their honour, and their safety, and though they might be sure that Sicily was lost if Malta remained in the hands of the English, still nothing was to be expected from them but delay, hesitation, and bad faith, unless very plain and sharp measures were taken, and any demands made on them were backed up by an army on the frontier. But the first demand must be the dismissal—the banishment—of Acton and all his family. Without that, there could be no concert between France and Naples, and all the resources of the kingdom would be at the service of the English, as had been the case previous to the Peace of Amiens. He was sure that the entry of the French troops would produce very great excitement : the Government has plenty of enemies, who will find their opportunity in it ; and the intrigues of the English will aggravate the disturbance, and attribute it all to the French. The only way to prevent it would be to put a strong garrison into Naples. It would preserve peace, check the schemes of the English, and compel the Court to remain true ; otherwise, no dependence could be placed on them.

M. Auriol cites or refers to many other letters of similar purport ; and when England declared war, Bonaparte had already made up his mind. On May 23 Berthier, the Minister for War, wrote to Saint-Cyr, appointed to command the troops, directing an occupation of the south-eastern coast-line, from Pescara to Otranto and round to Taranto. These two last were the key of the situation from which Bonaparte was prepared, or pretended to be prepared, to act in Albania, or the Morea, or Egypt, as opportunity might offer. The troops, to the number of 12,000 men and 2,500 horses, were to be fed, paid, and clothed by the Neapolitan Government, and Alquier was directed by Talleyrand to make the necessary arrangements. Saint-Cyr, on his part, was instructed to issue a proclamation to the effect that as the King of England had refused to execute the Treaty of Amiens in respect of the evacuation of Malta, the French army was obliged to reoccupy the position which it had quitted in virtue of the treaty.

‘ *L’ambition démesurée de l’Angleterre se trouve démasquée par cette conduite inouïe ; maître de l’Inde et de l’Amérique, elle veut encore le Levant. Le besoin de maintenir notre commerce et de*

conserver l'équilibre nous oblige à occuper ces positions dans les Etats de Naples, positions que nous garderons tant que l'Angleterre persistera à garder Malte.'

M. Auriol considers, rightly enough, that, as far as the Court of Naples was concerned, the effect of the invasion was altogether bad, and that, whilst they would willingly have remained neutral, they were by this forced into the arms of England. He is under no more delusion now than Alquier was then; and indeed, from whatever point of view it is to be judged, the aggression was unjust, unprovoked, and purposeless. Without a ship or the possibility of having one at Otranto, the pretensions 'de maintenir notre commerce,' 'de conserver l'équilibre' were absurdities too gross even for the Neapolitans; and it seems not improbable that Bonaparte's real motive was, as M. Auriol suggests,

'à détourner l'attention des Anglais de ses préparatifs sur les bords de la Manche. Il tenait également à donner le change sur la destination de la flotte de Toulon, et rien ne pouvait mieux réussir que le bruit de préparatifs pour le Levant, l'esprit public étant mis en éveil sur le compte de l'Egypte par les récentes discussions.'

Much of the correspondence that follows is from Saint-Cyr, referring partly to the difficulties of his position, being obliged to treat the Neapolitans as friends while in reality they were bitterly hostile; partly also to the state of affairs on the opposite side of the Adriatic, and in Corfu where a large force of Russians was gathering, though whether it was intended to act against the French or the Turks, in Italy or Albania, was a question that greatly puzzled him. For at this juncture the interference of Russia began to be a contingency to be guarded against. Within a few weeks of the armed occupation of Southern Italy, a French force of some 25,000 men, under Mortier, was marched into Hanover; and though the King of Prussia meekly represented that Hanover was not English territory, and that this invasion violated the neutrality of Germany, Bonaparte answered that he would evacuate Hanover and Otranto and Taranto when the English evacuated Malta. So far as the King of Prussia was concerned, the matter might be considered settled. It was not so much that he was fearful of the power of France as that he was suspicious of Russia, jealous of Austria, and greedy of territorial gain, which he fancied might come to him out of a broken neutrality. Unquestionably he had his eyes fixed on Hanover as a possible acquisition.

Russia held very different views. Whatever land-hunger she may have had, it was certainly not in the direction of

Hanover; but the Tsar, young, ambitious, and possibly chivalrous, was eager to pose as the arbiter of Europe, and had already guaranteed the neutrality of Germany. Its violation by France called on him to interfere; and the invasion of Naples urged him still more strongly, for the neutrality and independence of the kingdom had been the subject of a secret convention (October 10, 1801) between him and the French Government, by which

‘La République Française s’engage de maintenir, d’après les bases du traité de paix du 28 Mars 1801, l’intégrité des États de sa Majesté le Roi des Deux-Siciles, ami et allié de sa Majesté l’Empereur de toutes les Russies. Les troupes françaises qui occupent le pays de Bari et d’Otrante, et celles qui pourraient être amenées dans les États de sa Majesté Impériale pour relever les dites troupes, n’y demeureront que jusqu’à ce que le sort de l’Égypte soit décidé. Il est convenu entre les parties contractantes, que le Royaume de Naples sera considéré comme puissance neutre, et jouira de tous les bénéfices de la neutralité, après que le sort de l’Égypte sera décidé.’

On the other hand,

‘Les deux parties contractantes reconnaissent et garantissent l’indépendance et la constitution de la République des Sept-Îles-Unies; et il est convenu qu’il n’y aura plus dans cette île de troupes étrangères.’

M. Auriol asserts, without, however, adducing any evidence, that Bonaparte had always reserved to himself the right of taking against England such measures as appeared to him to be necessary. If so, the reservation was private, in his own mind, and Alexander, the other party to the contract, knew nothing of it. To him the violation of the agreement was not only palpable but insolent, and he felt himself freed from the engagement respecting Corfu; the more so as he learned that the French were intriguing with the malcontent Albanians and Greeks, with a possible view to the disintegration of the Turkish Empire, which Bonaparte even then believed was existing only on sufferance. But if the end was coming, Alexander’s views as to the legitimate succession were as clear as those of his brother fifty years later, and he sent troops, and ever more troops, till the Russian army in Corfu attained a respectable and perhaps formidable aggregate.

Neither Saint-Cyr nor his Government had any clear idea of what Russia intended; but the Russian *chargé d’affaires* at Naples very openly professed extreme jealousy of Elliot, the English minister, and of the suspected designs of the English on Sicily. Whether this was real or not may be doubted; but

Elliot believed that it was, and Alquier wrote of the bitter antagonism between the two; so that though the Czar had protested against the occupation of Hanover, and more lately against that of Otranto, Bonaparte did not think that there was any immediate probability of hostile interference on his part. The Queen of Naples, too, did not see that there was any hope of assistance from Russia. On July 21 Alquier wrote that Acton had shown him the note of Markoff, the Russian ambassador in Paris, 'inviting the First Consul to recall his 'troops from Naples,' and added :

'La Reine m'en a parlé et m'a dit ces propres mots : " Quoique la Russie s'annonce très bien pour nous, je sais ce qu'il faut penser du jargon diplomatique, et sur cet objet-là il n'y a plus rien à ajouter à mon éducation, depuis que j'ai vu les notes foudroyantes par lesquelles ce même Cabinet protestait qu'il ne ferait jamais la paix si on ne rendait pas le Piémont au Roi de Sardaigne."

Alquier assumes throughout that Maria Carolina always meant what she said, and frequently comments on her rash, unguarded utterances. But she had had a long and cruel experience of the wickedness of diplomatists, of the brutality of the Jacobins, of the greed of Bonaparte, and may have learnt that an almost childish frankness was the surest way of concealing her true opinions. On the other hand, it is not difficult to understand that, in view of Russia's apparent acquiescence in the spoliation of the King of Sardinia, she was not prepared to attach a high value to the implied promise of Russian intervention. And yet she keenly felt the want of it; for notwithstanding the impudent suggestion that the occupation of the Neapolitan coast towns was done in the interests of the King, who was grievously insulted by the English refusal to surrender Malta to him, the King had not felt the insult, and the Queen, who was most literally his 'better half,' did feel very much aggrieved by the violation of their territory, and even more by what was practically an order to pay the expenses of it. Acton had formally refused to accede to the French demands that their troops should be fed, paid, and clothed by the Neapolitan Government; and Alquier, in reporting this, wrote that the finances of the kingdom were in a very bad state, and that, though the policy of hesitating between France and England could scarcely be acceptable to the First Consul, he really did not think that they were able to pay. The Queen, too, wrote with her usual impetuosity :

'L'entrée des troupes françaises dans notre royaume, qui se trouve en paix avec la France et suit exactement les règles de la plus parfaite neutralité, cette entrée nous ruine et nous détruit, surtout

par le poids énorme et inattendu de défrayer les troupes. Notre pays n'a que trop souffert de la guerre, de l'anarchie, des dépenses très considérables à la paix, et de plusieurs années de mauvaise récolte, pour être dans l'impossibilité de soutenir ce nouveau poids. Je laisse à part toute discussion de justice et de droit. J'ai trop d'opinion de votre esprit pour n'être pas convaincue que vous sentez la force des raisons que je pourrais dire. . . . Je vous demande de nous décharger de ce poids des troupes dans un pays neutre, et de l'affreuse charge de les entretenir.'

Whether yielding to the Queen's remonstrances or to Alquier's assurances, the First Consul did withdraw the order to pay, but he did not recall the troops, and Saint-Cyr remained—a cause of much embarrassment to the Neapolitan Government. The English ministry, too, could not see it with indifference; and as, without an efficient army, it could not offer any direct opposition on the mainland, the questions that came before it were how to ensure the personal safety of the King and Queen, and how to prevent the French invasion extending to Sicily. For the first, Nelson, who had now assumed command of the fleet, undertook to keep a ship at Naples, ready to receive the royal family if the necessity should arise; for the second, preparations were made for garrisoning Messina, and, as a check to the French approach to Reggio, for the immediate arming of the peasants of Calabria.

M. Auriol laments that he has not been able to see Nelson's instructions. This is curious, for they are printed in that not very rare work, 'The Despatches and Letters of Lord Viscount Nelson,' edited by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas—a work, too, to which M. Auriol occasionally refers, we must suppose, at second-hand. There is, indeed, much evidence that he has confined his study too narrowly to the volumes, printed or written, which refer directly to Neapolitan affairs, and has taken most of the collateral branches of the story on trust. He cannot, of course, deal with Naples during the war without speaking of Nelson, of his watch over Toulon, and of the French fleet there. From this he is almost of necessity led to tell of other measures which Bonaparte was taking to push the war against England, and of how England defended herself. But in nearly every line of all this he shows that he is merely repeating the traditional story of the text-books; that he has neither made any independent research nor any exact study of the best writers, even of France. He tells how Bonaparte at once made up his mind to invade England; and though in this we quite agree with him, we cannot admit that he is qualified to detail the history of the attempt without having made himself familiar

with the very important work of Major Desbrière,* which he does not seem even to have heard of. He considers that everything done in the Mediterranean was but a blind. The Toulon fleet was a blind; the occupation of Otranto was a blind; the intrigues in Albania were a blind. The English were to be made to believe that an expedition to Egypt or the Morea was in contemplation, and their attention to be distracted from the real object. This is quite true of the later movements of the Toulon fleet; but it does not seem improbable that at this time, the summer of 1803, Bonaparte did really meditate some eastern expedition—if opportunity offered. But as in the Mediterranean, so also in western waters. The threat of an expedition to the West Indies was to draw the English fleet to Brest or to Rochefort, and leave the Channel free for the flat-bottomed boats. Through all M. Auriol follows the Napoleonic notion that the English were everywhere puzzled, and refers to Mahan † as his authority for saying :

‘ Comme l’on ignorait quelle serait très réellement la nature du danger, et que l’on se demandait si les préparatifs ostensiblement faits à Boulogne, n’étaient pas une feinte, lord Saint-Vincent, pour parer à toutes les éventualités, avait résolu d’appliquer un principe qui seul paraissait répondre aux difficultés de la situation : bloquer les principaux ports militaires où pourrait se former une expédition de quelque importance, de manière à empêcher qu’aucune opération d’ensemble, ou aucune concentration ne pût se faire sans que l’on en fût averti.’

But Captain Mahan nowhere says that the English Government had any doubt what the preparations at Boulogne meant; and there is nothing in his work referred to, or anywhere else, to correspond with the phrases ‘ pour parer à toutes les éventualités,’ ‘ les difficultés de la situation,’ and, above all, ‘ sans que l’on en fût averti.’ It is unnecessary to follow this investigation further. We call attention to it only to show that, imagining that the story of a very important chapter of the war could be written without examining other sections of it, he has been almost inevitably led to present a distorted view of the subject of his own particular inquiry.

His account of what was doing in Naples is fairly complete, though his hatred of the English, his suspicion of treachery and

* ‘ Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Îles Britanniques.’ Par Edouard Desbrière. Cf. ‘ Edinburgh Review,’ January 1903.

† Influence of Sea-Power on the French Revolution and Empire, vol. ii. pp. 119 et seq.

guile, his inability to fathom the real honesty of the English ambassador or the effusiveness of the Queen, all combine with his ignorance of what was going on elsewhere, to blur the picture. He is thus led, as it appears to us, to lay undue stress on incidents which, though of some importance, had not the far-reaching effect that he supposes. The arming of the peasants of Calabria, though well imagined, was a mere temporary measure ; for assuredly neither Elliot nor Acton ever dreamt that Bonaparte would allow his policy to be altered or stayed by a few countrymen with knives. It was, however, sufficient to allow time for completing the defences of Messina if the situation were pressing ; time for bringing in a sufficient body of English troops ; time for gathering an English squadron on the east coast of Sicily.

Similarly we may think that too much is made of Acton's dismissal, though it really was an event of considerable importance, and was supposed by the French to be of more than it was. For years they had urged that the presence of an Englishman at the head of the Neapolitan ministry, the chief adviser of the Crown, was prejudicial to French interests, and, in time of war, destroyed all confidence in the neutrality of Naples. Alquier had repeatedly called attention to it, and the representations of Saint-Cyr brought it home to Bonaparte, who, in answering the Queen's letter of July 5, wrote :

‘ Je veux répondre par une confiance sans réserve à celle de votre Majesté. Comment veut-elle que je considère le royaume de Naples dans ses rapports géographiques et politiques, lorsque je vois à la tête de toutes les administrations un homme étranger à son pays et qui a centralisé en Angleterre ses richesses et ses affections ? Cependant le royaume de Naples se gouverne moins par la volonté et les principes du souverain que par ceux de son premier ministre. J'ai donc été décidé par une sage prévoyance à considérer Naples comme un pays gouverné par un ministre anglais. Il me répugne beaucoup de me mêler des affaires intérieures des autres États ; ce n'est que pour être sincère envers votre Majesté que je lui donne la véritable raison qui justifie toutes les mesures prises envers Naples et dont elle pourrait avoir à se plaindre.’

The Queen was at first inclined to keep the letter secret from Acton, but finally showed it to him on Elliot's advice. Acton at once offered to retire, but the King positively refused to allow it—he would sooner abdicate himself ; and Elliot wrote to the Queen, enumerating the various measures by which the Neapolitan Government had been strengthened and supported in consequence of his representations. English assistance had been so freely rendered, and the disposition of his Government

so friendly, that he had been on the point of despatching a courier to London to propose further pecuniary aid :

‘ Mais, Madame [he continued], j’ose en appeler à votre équité, à votre sagesse, serais-je justifié à demander des secours quelconques à ma Cour, si le Général Acton abandonnait sa place à des personnes qui lui succéderaient par ordre de Bonaparte, et qui n’auraient d’autres vues que de seconder les projets de la France, de mettre ce pays sous sa dépendance, et de contribuer à votre ruine et à la nôtre. En honnête homme, et comme ministre qui voit les intérêts de son gouvernement, je ne saurais donc me décider à faire un seul pas en avant, sans recevoir les assurances positives que l’insolence de Bonaparte ne portera aucun changement, ni dans les dispositions du Roi à l’égard du Général Acton, ni dans les résolutions de ce digne ministre de ne pas céder aux menaces de ce monstre d’iniquité.’

The result of this letter was that Acton remained in office some eight or nine months longer, when Alquier, who had never ceased his representations as to the danger to French interests of allowing an Englishman to be the Prime Minister in Naples, virtually forced their hand by grossly insulting Acton in the course of a discussion on the alleged enlistment of French deserters for the English service. It is not impossible, though perhaps not very probable, that Acton—an old courtier—lost his temper and retaliated. Each complained to the King ; each wrote that he would have no further intercourse with the other. The Queen tried to smooth the matter over ; but Alquier, having made the position, was not going to lose the advantage of it, and insolently demanded the dismissal of the Minister. It was felt that Acton must retire ; and the King nominated as ‘ Directeur des Affaires Etrangères,’ which Elliot translated ‘ sous-secrétaire,’ the Chevalier Micheroux, a ‘ Mr. Facing Both Ways,’ who seems, so far as the matter has been cleared up, to have been the man really guilty—if, indeed, anyone was guilty—of treachery in connection with the surrender of the Jacobins in June 1799.* Acton remained Prime Minister in fact if not in name ; but to soothe the wounded feelings of the French he withdrew to Palermo, whence he conducted the business of the State by the interchange of letters. On June 25, 1804, Elliot wrote that this was very inconvenient, and could not last ; but the King was determined to have him back within a few months, though the Queen, who was conducting the foreign affairs with remarkable ability, was in no hurry for his return. Actually he did return in the autumn.

Meantime the royalists of France, aided by some republicans,

* H. C. Gutteridge, ‘ Nelson and the Neapolitan Jacobins,’ pp. ci. et seq.

had attempted to restore their own views of order by assassinating the First Consul. M. Auriol says that this attempt stayed the departure of the French fleet, then on the point of sailing on the expedition against England. It was the object of England to gain time, in order to bring about the coalition of European Powers; and for this end, as he suggests, the English Government hatched the plot and hired the assassins who were to execute it. This, as is well known, was the lie launched by Bonaparte; but it ought not now to be repeated by a reputable historian, without a tittle of evidence to support it. It may, indeed, be admitted that the Government knew that a plot was on foot among the French royalists for the subversion of the existing Government; and it is quite certain that Captain Wright had secret orders from the Admiralty to co-operate with them—to the extent, at least, of carrying them over and landing them on the coast of France. Dr. Rose,* too, is inclined to think that our Government cannot be held altogether guiltless, because he has accumulated evidence that it was paying ‘fifty-four royalist officers, many of them of good old French families,’ at the average rate of 3*s.* a day, which scarcely seems a fair market-price for murder. The so-called pay was, of course, the sustenance-money which was allowed to many *émigrés*; that some of them abused the hospitality we afforded them, and made England the base of their murderous schemes, is the fault of our laws, not of any particular administration.

That Bonaparte was excessively angry is not to be wondered at; and he was only acting after his kind when, with an entire disregard of the law of nations, he retaliated by the seizure and cold-blooded murder of the Duke of Enghien, which was rightly described by Fouché—himself the most unscrupulous of men—as worse than a crime: it was a blunder. Even so devoted a partisan as M. Auriol can only speak of it as ‘acte aussi impolitique que cruel.’ He holds that, in the eyes of Europe, England was so discredited by the abortive plot that Bonaparte had an enormous moral advantage, which would have made an alliance with Prussia easy. The seizing Enghien—‘chez l’électeur de Bade, contre tout droit’—more almost than the murdering him, completely changed the situation, and tended to bring about a concord that before seemed hopeless. It would be going quite too far to say that it was the cause of the third coalition, which had indeed been germinating for some months, and required still more than a year before the growth was apparent; but it assuredly was one of the causes which led to it.

* Life of Napoleon I., chap. xix.

Its growth, from the first proposal made to England by Russia in November 1803, is fully traced by Dr. Rose in the 'Select Despatches.'

To the Tsar personally, too, the assumption by Napoleon of the title of Emperor was extremely distasteful, though, as Austria and Prussia were, for their own reasons, willing to recognize it, Russia could not very well object to it. But in the Adriatic, independent of any diplomatic stress, the situation was always threatening. The Russian forces in Corfu had continued to increase, and there was no certainty that they might not be landed on the heel of Italy. A simple arrangement with the English would ferry them over without difficulty. And as to Naples, it was in the cruel position of being crushed between the two hostile powers; not allowed to be strictly neutral, for neither of the belligerents dared to leave to the other the chance of dashing the neutrality to one side; unable to link herself to either without the certainty of being immediately despoiled by the other; and the correspondence, at once interesting and curious, of the respective ambassadors with their Governments, which M. Auriol now puts before us, is the best of all possible commentaries on the story of the time.

And here the personality of the two ambassadors comes more prominently into the field of vision. The English minister, Hugh Elliot, younger brother of the better-known Gilbert Elliot, first Earl of Minto, was born in 1752, had been partly educated in France, and in 1773 had entered the diplomatic service. Since then he had been constantly employed in Germany or Denmark, till, on the renewal of the war in 1803, he came out to Naples, where he very soon gained much influence over the impulsive Queen. His career had been a brilliant one, but at Naples his conduct and letters give the impression of his being rather a man of good common sense and sterling honesty than of any particular genius. As, however, his chief antagonist, though of good ability, was certainly not a genius, and was eaten up with conceit, it was no great triumph for Elliot to win diplomatic victories, which were always apt to come to naught, as the Frenchman had behind him the aggressive and unscrupulous character of the French Government.

Like his rival, Alquier was also born in 1752. A native of Talmont, in Vendée, he was, in 1789, 'Procureur du Roi' at Rochelle. As a member of the Constituent Assembly, he threw in his lot with the Jacobins, and voted for the death of the King. Afterwards he was successively appointed ambassador at Munich, at Madrid, and, in 1801, at Naples. But in every old Court of Europe it was remembered against him that he

had been a Jacobin and was a regicide—memories which tended to lessen any personal influence he might otherwise have had. He was, too, a man of overweening conceit, which may be gauged by his estimate of some of the illustrious men whom he had occasion to mention; as, for instance, of the Pope, Pius VII.: ‘*tout ce qu’il y a de plus médiocre* ;’ of Cardinal Consalvi, the negotiator of the Concordat: ‘*niais et médiocre* ;’ and—which will appeal most strongly to English readers—of Nelson, who ‘*ne vaut quelquechose que par son expérience de la mer, et est sous les autres rapports de tous les hommes le plus médiocre et le plus irréflechi*.’ *

We may thus better evaluate his criticisms of Elliot, always unfavourable, and of the Queen, who, if we were to believe him, was a garrulous idiot, but who seems to have fooled him to the top of his bent, pouring into his ear false confidences of her admiration of Napoleon, her suspicion of Elliot and the English, her hatred of Acton, her jealousy of the Russians; all which M. Auriol comments on as if they were her real sentiments; as if she could possibly feel anything but loathing and detestation of the Jacobin spirit, and of Napoleon as the incarnation of it.

When Acton had been banished to Palermo, Alquier found, not without surprise, that the Anglophile sentiment still continued: he had attributed it entirely to Acton, and now realised that other influences were at work. It slowly dawned on him that their well-head was the Queen. During the whole year he had been trying to bring about a decided anti-English policy: he had proposed direct hostility; he had proposed that English ships, alike men-of-war and merchant ships, should be excluded from Neapolitan harbours—ignoring the serious financial loss it would cause to the Neapolitans and the Neapolitan Government; he had urged that Naples should declare war against England, should confiscate all English property, should imprison all English subjects. That a French occupation of the capital did not immediately follow the Queen’s refusal must be attributed to the new Emperor’s unwillingness to dissipate the forces which might be wanted for the expedition to England, or possibly for a campaign in Germany.

That it was from no tenderness for Maria Carolina, as Queen or woman, was plainly shown in his violent outbreak at Milan on the occasion of his being crowned King of Italy (May 26, 1805). Some of her letters, it is said, had come to his hands: she had written that for the French in Naples there would be a second

* Bonnefons, p. 236.

Sicilian Vespers. It is not impossible. Always rash, impulsive, acting on the whim of the moment, she may have felt sure that the downfall of her kingdom was determined on, and have written as she thought or hoped. And Napoleon took the opportunity, when the eyes of all Europe were on him, to denounce her in the most brutal manner. His language is described as vile beyond the susceptibility of print,* but it was strangely softened, though still sufficiently brutal, in the version of his speech which he ordered Talleyrand to send to the French ambassadors throughout Europe. He had been obliged, he said, to point out to the Queen of Naples that her threats would be ridiculous if their atrocity were not revolting; and that, unless she moderated her conduct and her language, it was not an English man-of-war in the bay that would save her.

Alquier, who was at Milan for the ceremony, and had presumably heard the real speech, was entrusted with a similar message which he was to deliver personally to the Queen. This he did on or about July 14, 1805, in a rude and insolent manner. Among other threats, wrote Elliot, to whom the Queen had told it, he said that if the Court of Naples continued to show the same secret hostility to France, Saint-Cyr would march on Naples and proclaim the hereditary prince as king under the title of Francis I. The Queen, Elliot added, begged that this might be considered most confidential, as much evil might result from its being publicly known. The French ambassador had also been instructed to put an 'absolute veto' on the nomination of the Marquis Circello to the office of Foreign Secretary. He had lived many years in England, and was known to be devoted to English interests. Alquier's insolence and the insulting messages with which he had been charged made the Queen very ill, but did not induce her to change her policy; rather they threw her more decidedly into the arms of the English; but on July 23 Elliot wrote that he did not think any reinforcement would be sent to Saint-Cyr whilst the attitude of Vienna continued so formidable. It was by his own action in annexing Liguria, in the early days of July, that Napoleon had brought about that coalition between Russia and Austria which diplomacy had vainly endeavoured to effect.

But, as an armed force, a coalition is always weak, and the whole of the month passed away without any active measures being taken for the prosecution of the war which they must have known was now imminent. The Russians at Corfu and the English at Malta were arranging to occupy Sicily with an effective

† Bonnefons, p. 323.

garrison, to land a strong force in Calabria, to guard Sicily the more thoroughly, and to drive the French out of the kingdom. Naples, too, was arming throughout the whole country, under popular leaders whom the French denounced—rightly, we may be sure—as brigands.

The coalition was entirely of Napoleon's making, for a little common prudence and temper would have prevented it; but now that it was made, the difficulty of waging two great wars, west and east, at the same time, might well be puzzling, and it was probably his wish to let Naples alone for the present. But he could threaten, if he could not act; and the small States of Europe had learnt to accept his threats as realities. On July 26 he wrote to Talleyrand :

‘Je désire que vous communiquiez cette lettre à M. de Gallo ; que vous lui fassiez sentir que ces levées de milices ne doivent pas avoir lieu, et que *vous lui demandiez enfin si l'on veut m'obliger à détrôner le Roi de Naples.*’

And this letter, translated into diplomatic language, was sent to Gallo on the 29th, the day after Villeneuve, retiring from his unsuccessful action with Calder, had put into Vigo. On August 15 Napoleon had an order sent to Saint-Cyr to put a stop to the Neapolitans organising their militia. It was this very day that Villeneuve ought to have come off Brest, the very day on which he turned southward to Cadiz. The news reached Napoleon on the 26th, though for some days he had been preparing for it. It depended on this which course he would take. One of the two, the eastern or the western campaign, must be postponed. It is quite clear that the western—if it could be gone through with—was the more important. We believe that it could not possibly have succeeded; but M. Auriol is of a diametrically opposite opinion. Austria, he says, only gave in her formal adhesion to the coalition on August 11, and even then did not venture to avow it. On September 3 she was still professing to be only a mediator. But

‘à cette heure-là et depuis quinze jours [August 19] le sort de Londres eût pu être décidé. Dès lors, cette capitale, le trésor, le nerf de toute coalition, se trouvant saisie, et probablement Pitt ayant été forcé de capituler, Napoléon eût impérieusement dicté à l'Autriche les conditions qui eussent convenu à sa politique.’

For a French writer of this calibre, it seems impossible to distinguish between facts and fancies, or to realise that, in this concrete instance, behind Cornwallis there was Keith. It is very probable that Napoleon had cherished delusions similar to those of M. Auriol; but he was quick to see that the oppor-

tunity, if it ever existed, had passed, and at once determined to carry out the eastern campaign, intending, when it was finished, to return and complete the western. The eastern campaign, as everyone knows, was brought to a satisfactory end at Ulm and Austerlitz, though Trafalgar effectually prevented any renewal of the threat against England.

But it is only in studying the history of the year as a whole that we see the connection between these great battles and the events in Naples. It is possible that Napoleon, angry though he was at Villeneuve's retiring to Cadiz, would have allowed him to stay there peaceably if he could have at once sent to Saint-Cyr a force sufficient to overpower all resistance. But with the army of the coalition in face of him, he could not spare the men, and conceived that Villeneuve, who had failed him off Brest, might at least take an effective part in the reduction of Naples. He therefore imperatively ordered him to go to Naples Bay and to co-operate with Saint-Cyr, who was now advancing on the capital. As we are especially reminded in this month of October 1905, Villeneuve did not bring to Saint-Cyr the assistance that was expected, and the troops from Malta and Corfu were able to hold the French at bay for some weeks. It was only when Napoleon was dictating terms to Austria after Austerlitz that he was able to give serious attention to the affairs of the south. Masséna, with an army of 30,000 men, was ordered to depose the Bourbon, who, in presence of so overpowering a force, withdrew, with the English troops, to Sicily; the Russians returned to Corfu; and for the next eight years the kingdom of Naples was partitioned between Joseph Bonaparte or Murat and Fra Diavolo with his numerous partisans.

ART. IX.—MR. TREVELYAN'S 'STUARTS.'

England under the Stuarts. By G. M. TREVELYAN, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Methuen & Co., 1904.

THE division of history into 'periods' marked off by some common characteristic may be arbitrary, but it is inevitable so long as the human mind occupies itself with finding in the elements of likeness and unlikeness a motive of tragedy or epic, or a ground of generalisation. Periods may be named by some ruling interest which affected the lives of a generation of men: the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Wars of Religion, are convenient frames in which is set much that has no special relation to the title chosen. Or they may be marked by great names: the age of Elizabeth, of Cromwell, of Walpole or of Pitt—such are sufficient designations of acts in the drama. 'England under the Stuarts' is a drama in itself, with a fate-motive running through it, a world-chorus to comment upon high action and high passion, a climax and a *peripeteia*, and at the end the moral of the Greek poet:

'Many are the shapings of divinity,
many the unlooked-for decrees of the gods;
and that we thought is not accomplished,
and for that we thought not, God finds a way;
such was the issue of this matter.'

Mr. Trevelyan is more of a philosophical essayist than an annalist; he writes for thinkers rather than learners. His narrative is flowing and spirited; but he is so familiar with the actors and the spirit and temper of the time of which he is writing that he sometimes leaves the narrative to take care of itself, and the portrait gallery contains sketches or silhouettes where we expect finished pictures. A complete history should be in the first place a narrative. His volume is rather a guide to the history than a history of the Stuarts in England; it does not fill the whole canvas like the voluminous works of which Macaulay's 'History' is the type and Gardiner's 'History' the latest instance, nor yet is it a mere abridgement of the period. The cautious reader may say that Mr. Trevelyan generalises too much. Mr. Trevelyan knows enough to justify generalisation, and he generalises soundly; but the ordinary reader wants to see more of the evidence for the how and why than Mr. Trevelyan sometimes gives him, having to pack much into a small compass. So fluent a pen may sometimes run into common-

places and laxities of phrase, for it is not everyone whose sentences can stand up of themselves like those of Gibbon and Johnson, where every word is expressive of the thought, and the fine clothes only set off the figure. But redundancy is more instructive than dryness, and Mr. Trevelyan is never dry.

We begin with one of those unwholesome levels or flats of history in which mean men take the place of men famous for wisdom or valour; we pass from Elizabeth to James, from Raleigh and Cecil to Somerset and Buckingham, from Shakespeare and Spenser to the Church poets and *concettisti*. As it was said of Chatham, so it may be said of Elizabeth, that she made men braver; her subjects would dare and endure anything for her, not because she was wiser or stronger or more courageous than they, but because her majestic approval glorified their wisdom and strength and courage. When James came to wear that royal robe, a world too wide for him, Englishmen, who had been accustomed for half a century to look to their sovereign for the direction and correction of their own efforts, certain that she was above all the patriot queen who chose to be served by the best men in her kingdom, now found in her place a king with nothing royal about him but his title and an inordinate conceit of it, an alien, a schoolmaster, a statesman whose idea of statesmanship was management through personal friends.

'The patriotism of Eliot repelled him; the large political wisdom of Bacon appeared to him a rushlight rival to his own royal beam; the daring and unquiet genius of Raleigh was opposed alike to his peaceful instincts and his pedestrian intellect. Turning from all this varied wealth of excellence, he deliberately chose Carr and Villiers. One who thus judged of persons was not likely to understand the real problems with which his kingcraft had to deal.'*

And in fact he misunderstood and mismanaged all he undertook, except (an important exception) the attempted Union with Scotland, in dealing with which he showed more good sense and good feeling than his subjects on either side of the Border. Elizabeth's continental policy, which with all its vacillations kept England at the head of the forces that made for enlightenment, gave way to a meddlesome statecraft which disquieted and angered all parties, and under the cloak of the peacemaker helped to bring on the most calamitous of wars, the Thirty Years' War.

At home, James I., not understanding how the English nation will obey a wise and masterful rider, but will throw off one who rules not by instinct but by theory, imagined

that he could govern the Church by bishops' injunctions, and the State by proclamations and regulations of restriction. Burleigh had done the same, but Burleigh was acquainted with every county and every parish in England, and knew the limits of command and obedience. Robert Cecil, a smaller man, had some of his father's good sense and industry, and knew the people; and as long as he lived he dissuaded James from ignorant experiments in arbitrary government. Both in Church and State James I., left to himself, tried to govern by repression, not by encouragement; he played off one party against the other in the interest of monarchism; he had no intelligence of the nature of the people committed to his charge, in whom a national character, like but unlike that of the Middle Ages, had been developed under the Tudors. As Mr. Trevelyan well says:

'The England created by the Elizabethans lasted with considerable development, but with little change, down to the industrial and social revolution that ushered in our own world a hundred years ago . . . a state of society so healthy in its general influence that it made life strong and good for large masses of men and women, and produced out of a small population a proportion of great men unmatched either in the earlier ages or in our own generation as at present ordered.' *

Mr. Trevelyan goes on from the passage quoted above to say that between 1603 and 1640 'a deep change of temper had taken place, due to great political events.' It might be truer to say that it was not so much a change of temper as an awakening of temper brought about by misgovernment in an atmosphere charged with elements of discord. Mutual toleration is inherent in the English character; Elizabeth's discipline tended on the whole to local harmony and unity; but James I. and Charles I. taught Englishmen to quarrel by representing government and liberty as irreconcilable principles, and treating the friends of liberty as enemies of government.

James I.'s interference with the Puritans, and his action after the Hampton Court Conference, drove out a number of the Puritan clergy, variously estimated at from forty-nine to three hundred. This is one of the chief public acts by which nonconformity became an established religion. James confounded Puritan doctrine with anti-episcopal politics. If the Puritan clergy had been let alone they would have come into line, the desire for 'parity' between bishops and priests would have been kept in the background; if they were put under a

ban they would become open enemies of the Church, instead of remaining within her pale as 'nonconformists' or discontented 'conformists.' James was not alone; he was supported by Robert Cecil and by all who approved the Elizabethan discipline. Only Bacon protested. As yet 'men did not recognise that 'there were vigorous variations in English religion; that either 'the Church must be widely comprehensive, or else cease to be 'the national Church of all English Protestants.'*

We are inclined to doubt whether the distinction of religious opinion between town and country at this time was so sharp as Mr. Trevelyan makes out. That religious feeling in the great towns was strongly Protestant is beyond dispute; nor can it be reasonably doubted that here and there, especially in the northern and western shires, or where great Catholic landowners bore sway, Protestantism made more show in the churches than in the farmhouses and cottages.† Official returns, however, show that the whole number of recusants on the books was less than nine thousand, while the Anglican communicants numbered more than two millions; and less than twenty wealthy Catholics paid the fine of 20*l.* a month.‡

We cannot agree with Mr. Trevelyan that 'the translated 'Bible, the Church service, and the Puritan propaganda had not 'had time to do their work;' modern experience shows us that much may be altered in fifty years, both in ritual and doctrine. True, opinion moves faster now; but then, the pace was quickened by the fear of punishment, temperately and uncertainly administered, but not ineffective.§ It was understood that some measure of toleration for Roman Catholics was to be looked for, and in fact the fines for recusancy were for a time remitted. This lasted for a few months only. The recusants showed a greater numerical strength and more organisation than the Government had suspected. Severities were resumed. A few desperate men thought to unite all Catholics by a bold stroke. The Gunpowder Plot was devised and failed. Sharp justice overtook the plotters, and with them some innocent men suffered; but the comparative leniency of the Government showed that the danger had not been critical—the Roman Catholics were neither strong enough in numbers nor sufficiently united in policy to sanction violent measures and provoke civil war. The result of the Gunpowder Plot

* P. 81.

† W. H. Frere, 'The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.'

‡ P. 98.

§ See Gardiner, vol. i. 228 sqq.

was to hasten the process by which Popery had already become discredited before the fear of Jesuit machinations made it detested. The Gunpowder Plot and its suppression were not a cause, but a test, of decline.

Elizabeth would never have been so foolish as to claim for herself any political power which she could not exercise effectually. James I. thought that he could become an absolute monarch by saying so; but when he told his first Parliament that kings are gods and Parliamentary privilege the sovereign's gift, they answered by asserting 'the ancient general and undoubted right of Parliament to debate freely all matters which properly concern the subject and his right or state.' It was all very well for James to tear out pages from the order book of the House of Commons: the people of England, court and country, orthodox and Puritan, landowners and tenants, were unanimous in their resolution to have a voice in their own affairs. Self-government is the security for redress of grievance, not the good intentions of kings. But to the Stuart mind the mirror of good government was the machinery of Star Chamber and High Commission, which gave the King the idea of personal government and seemly order and discipline, whilst all the time he was training his subjects for rebellion.

The Petition of Right summarised grievance in the body politic; the religious grievance was still unredressed, and Charles, like his father, had set his heart upon the suppression of Puritanism.

Mr. Trevelyan recalls to us the right meaning of the misused word *Puritanism*.

'That word, so variously and often inaccurately defined,' originally signified 'the religion of all those who wished either to "purify" the usages of the Established Church from taint of Popery, or to worship separately by forms so "purified." '* It may be compared with the word 'serious' as used by the Evangelicals, or 'religious' in our own time, denoting a temper of mind quite as much as a scheme of doctrine. Sir Symonds d'Ewes's county neighbours in Suffolk, who held prayer-meetings and valued lectures, were churchgoers and Episcopalians. So were Oliver Cromwell and his friends in Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire, and the Pym and Hampdens, men of the world, country gentlemen of standing, and a majority of the clergy. The next class were those who did not love the Prayer Book and favoured the Scottish Presbyterian system, but were loyal subjects, and willing to accept episcopal government and the

Prayer Book too, if the bishops would leave them a reasonable measure of freedom. These two classes formed the strength of the resistance to Charles I. The last class was that of the Independents and other 'sectaries,' among whom were to be found most of the grim fanatics and sour precisians familiar to us from Royalist literature, but even more from Sir Walter Scott's popular version of it. These were the head of the hammer which in Cromwell's hand shattered the ancient fabric of royalty. Cromwell could hold them in by spiritual sympathy and military discipline, but there was no cohesion and no constructive power in them. They had their day; and when the Restoration came they were cast out, to become a 'remnant.'

The secular quarrel, of which the Petition of Right and the murder of Buckingham were determining incidents, was embittered by the mischievous activity of Laud and his suffragans. The popular creed of the early seventeenth century was Calvin's rigid necessitarian system: the court and the high Anglican divines adopted the Free-will doctrine of Arminius. 'The excitement produced seems now almost incredible;' but at the side of the theological difference was the certainty that the victory of Free-will 'would establish coercive and despotic government, a sacramental and priestly religion; while Predestination implied privilege of Parliament, liberty of person, Protestant ascendancy, and the agreeable doctrine of exclusive salvation.'* In Eliot's famous Three Resolutions of March 2, 1629, with which Parliamentary government came to an end for eleven years, 'innovation in religion' was set side by side with unlawful taxation as the mark of 'a capital enemy to this kingdom and the commonwealth.'

Foreign affairs are often the pivot on which domestic affairs turn. They affect the popular imagination; and their mismanagement empties the national purse and wounds national pride. The Stuarts, father and son, blew hot and cold, and the nation saw blood and treasure wasted without knowing on which side they were declared. Buckingham's action at La Rochelle, directed first against and then in favour of the Huguenots there, led to the necessity of a forced loan, and created the anger with which it was resisted, increased by fear of militarism and the belief that Charles was scheming to erect in England a despotism on the model of the French monarchy; 'continental methods, without the continental conditions for success. He employed no trained bureaucracy, and his subjects were without traditions of obedience.' Rightly under-

* P. 154.

stood, the bond of rule is not obedience, but consent, implying the right to disobey, as all the wise rulers of England know, accepting the limits within which they can command.

When Charles I. determined to do without Parliament, he accepted the corollary of doing without an effective foreign policy. He had no money to pay for fleets and armies; and from 1629 to 1649 England had no weight in the scale of European politics. The impecunious King 'hawked his unvalued friendship round the courts of Europe,'* in the hope that someone would be so good as to restore the Palatinate to his sister and her husband. He negotiated with France, with Sweden, with Spain, even proposing the partition of the Dutch republic; thus 'reversing the central idea of British policy, and outraging every aspiration of the people whose sole leader and representative he declared himself to be.'†

It is remarkable, and it has not been sufficiently remarked, that Charles's domestic tyranny was endured for ten years chiefly because the Tudor sovereigns had broken down local opposition and brought the royal power to every man's home, and no means existed of organising resistance. In the Middle Ages, as at the present day in Turkey, the central power could inspire fear, but not apply discipline. Highway robbery, burglary, kidnapping, and all kinds of violence were commonly practised by lords and gentlemen in Merry England when ways were few and foul, heaths and forests vast, and when lords dwelt alone in their castles and manors with men in their liveries to obey their orders. Pipe Rolls, Paston Letters, and all manner of historical documents show how weak was mediæval administration, though the king's sword might be long. It was always in the power of a country justice of the peace to 'bear out a knave against an honest man.' Now all was changed.

'Juries were no longer overawed or corrupted wholesale by great lords; judges no longer sat in fear of riot or resistance; indeed, throughout the seventeenth century the courts erred much more on the side of bureaucratic tyranny than of subservience to local interests. The Star Chamber of the Tudors had secured respect for the Assize Court of the Stuarts.'‡

All this power, executive and judicial, was gathered into the King's hand, and a counterpoise could be found nowhere but in Parliament.

'When Parliament was not sitting there was no method of constitutional protest possible, except the merely passive resistance of

* P. 162.

† P. 163.

‡ P. 165.

Hampden. There was no party organisation, no right of public meeting, no freedom of the press. . . . Since the last of the fighting barons had perished, no subject who happened to disagree with his king had the right of free speech, either in theory or in custom.'

Clarendon's wise observation that the Stuart government 'rather angered than grieved' * the country is illustrated by Cromwell's saying that 'men love what they know;' and both are intelligible when we consider that the government of England at this time was largely patriarchal, a matter of custom, not of regulation.

'The rural districts were governed neither by the feudal rule of the landowner on his own estate and in his own right, nor by royal bureaucrats sent down from the Crown, and yet it was in effect local government and squirearchal power. This mutual dependence of the central and provincial administrations is the key to the history of the Stuart epoch.' †

Mr. Trevelyan's account of Laud and his administration of the Church helps us to realise how successful 'Thorough' might have been in religious matters if it had been possible in politics. It nearly did succeed; for as Mr. Trevelyan reminds us in an eloquent passage, ‡ the discontented folk found so large an outlet by emigration that 20,000 Englishmen fled from Laud's persecution to America, till reviving hope made Puritans like Cromwell turn from the thought of emigration to the design of destroying root and branch the system under which they would not live. They had not much longer to wait.

'The year 1637 is the first of the revolutionary epoch. The demonstrations round the pillory in Palace Yard, the universal interest in Hampden's ship-money case, and the rising of Scotland against the Prayer Book form in an ascending scale of importance the first three steps of the popular movement which brought Charles to the scaffold.' §

But the time was not ripe:

'the English in 1637 did not know how to move against government, because the custom of raising war had gone out, and the art of political agitation had not come in. . . . Harry Percy's spur was cold, but the more politic methods of Pym and Shaftesbury had yet to be invented. So the hour belonged to Charles and his counsellors.' ||

When the attempt to rule Scotland as England was being ruled had brought about the Covenant and the Bishops' War,

* Book I. p. 36: Oxford, 1843.
§ P. 180.

† P. 22.
|| P. 184.

‡ P. 174.

and Strafford's expedient of a Parliament had failed, the hour struck. Strafford's scheme of 'Thorough' toppled down in a moment, dragging him with it ; but, when the issue was declared, it seemed not to be that of security of life, liberty, and property against the court, but 'Root and Branch,' the counterblast to 'Thorough'—'the abolition of episcopacy with all its roots and 'branches.' When the city petition for this came before the Commons, the first debate 'was a friendly exchange of opinion 'between men still acting together like brothers in a struggle 'for law, liberty, and life ; but on whichever side each leader 'spoke about the treatment of the petition, on that side he 'afterwards fought in the Civil War.* What caused this brotherly assembly, a year later, to sheathe their swords in each other's bowels ? All parties agreed to the attainder of Strafford, the abolition of Star Chamber, High Commission, of unparliamentary revenue of all kinds. It would seem that there was nothing left to quarrel about ; nor was there, if the King could be trusted to keep his word. The fatal divergence declared itself when the Irish rebellion called for the sword to decide it, and those who would not trust the sword in Charles's hand drew up the Grand Remonstrance as the test of thoroughness. The passing of that revolutionary document, the two-handed engine which was to strike down the Church and the Crown, was a challenge to civil war, and was answered by the impeachment of the five members. The King's blow fell aslant ; Charles left London, and the war began.

There is no doubt on which side Mr. Trevelyan's sympathies are ; but he does not solve or even raise the moral and political problems involved in the breach of peace, problems which must have darkened the counsel of many besides Falkland, which even now are insoluble, whenever the doubt arises whether the necessity is sufficient to justify the terrible decision of civil war. Was it impossible to put restraint upon Charles, as kings of England before him had been restrained, and to maintain order without destroying monarchy ? Was the extreme Puritan model of religion that which was best suited to the English temper, or was it possible for Puritanism and Episcopacy to exist side by side in the Church as in the Elizabethan times ? Probably not, for Puritanism, as well as Episcopacy, was aggressive. But English good sense should have found some medium between the spiritual tyranny of the Long Parliament and the spiritual tyranny of Clarendon. English good sense was found at fault in the matter of the Popish Plot, and when William III.'s

* P. 206.

Comprehension Bill was thrown out and the intolerance of the Toleration Act set up instead; and we are always liable from time to time to outbreaks of ill-temper which we call zeal for religion, and which, as long as they last, completely obscure good sense. A notable instance in later times is the 'Papal Aggression' of 1850. The religious question was foremost; but the secular question was as critical as the religious question. We do no injustice to Pym and Hampden in thinking that they cared more for the control of the sword than for that of the Prayer Book and pulpit, though the latter was the more politic argument to use with the people, and above all with the Scots, whose Bishops' War had helped the popular cause, and whose army the Puritan chiefs meant to employ to beat down the King's power—that very army which Charles, with the perverse folly which sometimes possessed him, thought he could bring into England to coerce the Parliament. The breaking-point, at all events, was neither the episcopal establishment nor the Prayer Book, but the control of the militia and the strong places, which the King would not give up, 'No, by God, not for an hour.'

What Mr. Trevelyan does not make quite clear is that while on the secular side the issue was tolerably simple, on the religious side so great was the complication of opinions and interests in the three kingdoms, and so exclusive the sectarian spirit in each, that nothing could end the strife but the armed domination of one sect over the rest; a sentence to which no sect would submit without a trial of strength. If Charles had given up the militia, and so disarmed himself, he must have accepted Pym as his minister; Parliamentary government, the responsibility of ministers to Parliament, would have been set up forty years earlier; the fabric of the Church of England would have been destroyed with Prelacy and the Prayer Book; though the rigid Presbyterian organisation would in all probability not have been forced upon the parishes. What was demanded was no less than a revolution; and the other party could argue that Parliaments were not meant to govern, but to check unjust government.

'What a task had Pym!—to replace the old-world ideals and associations of kingship by some stronger emotion which had yet taken no form, and had yet no history or tradition. . . . Without the Puritan religion it could not, in that age at least, have been accomplished.'*

The outbreak of the Civil War turned the Parliament into an

executive, and put into the same hand the voting of supplies and the laying out of the money raised. Excise on the sale of ordinary commodities, and a new monthly assessment of estates made the rule of Parliament from the first unpopular.

The war was at first carried on irregularly, without definite plans of campaign. One such plan there was, perhaps the invention of Prince Rupert, the only one of Charles's quarrelsome captains who had the capacity to plan a campaign. Three armies were to converge upon the home and eastern counties, where the strength of Puritanism in wealth, organisation, and geographical position had always lain, and crush London, the head of the rebellion. This plan, difficult of execution with an army of irregular levies, was checked by the necessity of besieging Gloucester, and ruined by Essex's relief of that town (February 5, 1643). After that there was no clear strategy, but confused marching and countermarching, till the New Model Army was formed.

The issue of the war was mainly decided by cavalry. 'Rupert could only lead, Oliver could handle, cavalry, and he who could handle cavalry could win the war.'* The cavalry were the English yeomen, hostile alike to royal despotism and religious coercion. They found their leader, the King's levies never did.

Disputes of commanders are part of the history of every war. There was no unity in the Parliamentary armies, and responsibility was shared by soldiers and Parliament men. The King was his own general, and after his fashion transferred his confidence from one of his captains to another. After two years' desultory fighting, the war was wearing itself out in disgust and sickness of heart, and this was working for the royal cause, if the energetic party in the Commons had not seized power by an astonishingly bold stroke.

Mr. Trevelyan gives only a few lines to the Self-denying Ordinance, that masterpiece of Parliamentary management by which the Presbyterian majority of the House of Commons by a single vote deprived members of both Houses of military and civil office, thus with its own hand giving away the executive power which it had assumed, while it seemed to be strengthening it. The Commons 'had become possessed of the sole authority to issue commands in England. Confused by this height to which they had been suddenly raised, they made the quite illogical deduction that any commands that they chose to issue would be obeyed.'† We do not take the Machiavellian view of Cromwell, or suppose that he deliberately prepared this

* P. 251.

† P. 275.

trap for the Presbyterians, and by false representations set on good Mr. Zouch Tate to make the motion which was to ruin them. We believe that it was a military motion from Cromwell's side to get rid of Essex and Manchester, and make way for a single commander and a single army instead of half-a-dozen. But no man was ever quicker than Cromwell to see and use the moment. In his own person he ignored the Self-denying Ordinance, and set about reorganising the army as if no such vote had been passed. The New Model Army, and especially the cavalry, was full of 'sectaries.' The Commons, when the war seemed ended at Naseby, proposed to disband the New Model Army without payment of its arrears, and set up Presbyterian government as the only recognised form of Church authority, abolishing popery, prelacy, and all other sects. The army would not hear of it. The mutinous and levelling spirit which Cromwell found among the soldiers, when he went down to treat with them in the camp at Newmarket, threatened anarchy. He had not stirred up the Agitators to revolt: but he put himself at the head of the disaffected soldiers, with whose grievances, especially religious, he sympathised; and so began that course of putting force upon Parliament which at last made him King of England in all but in name. Military government had begun; and military government, except for a moment, is impossible in England.

Mr. Trevelyan has an interesting passage in which he describes the leavening of the army with republican and indifferentist ideas:

'Parliament, when it defied the army, probably calculated that some Presbyterian feeling would show itself in the ranks. In the New Model, at its formation two years before, had been zealots among the cavalry who were generally sectarians; but in the infantry ordinary men were serving by impressment or for the sake of hire. . . . The private soldiers might easily have been led into the stricter way if the orthodox * chaplains had stayed with the regiments, and if Parliament had paid the men their arrears. But the Presbyterian clergy had hurried back from the hardships of campaign to secure the tithes and rectories from which the Anglicans were being turned out. By the time of Naseby the soldiers seldom heard a sermon except from latitudinarian clergy like Hugh Peters, or from the very captains and colonels who had led them to victory.' †

And who fostered the vindictive and fanatical spirit against which Cromwell strove in vain. The cry of 'Justice upon delinquents' was more in harmony with the Hebrew fierceness of

* *I.e.*, Presbyterian.

† Pp. 279, 280.

the Cameronians than with the merciful English temper. Thus the Presbyterian party spread a net for itself.

We pause for a moment to draw attention to the Presbyterian St. Bartholomew of 1646, by which 2,000 Anglican clergy were turned out of their livings, not less full of fate than the St. Bartholomew of 1662; for by the first 'the quarrel between squire and parson which Laud had created was adjusted by the busy zeal of the Puritans. Common sufferings gave the gentry an entirely new attachment to the Anglican clergy,'* sufferings of which the partial and garbled but still real account may be read in that uncharitable book, Walker's 'Sufferings of the Clergy.' The second knit closer the tie between parson and squire, consolidated dissent, and gave it the promise of future political power which comprehension would have destroyed and toleration blighted. A modified episcopacy or a modified Presbyterianism would have contented England; but the saints had got into the saddle, and would 'give the law to King and Parliament too.'

'The Cavaliers had surrendered [1646] in a spirit open to conciliation. Two things were requisite—to allow some form of toleration for the Prayer Book service, and to leave untouched all their property that had escaped the ravages of war. . . . But the idea of granting religious toleration and financial immunity at the end of a fierce civil contest was not considered to be in the region of practical politics. . . . All true professors agreed that the Prayer Book had in these latter days become the most abominable idol in the land.'†

It is strange that this 'abominable idol,' when restored in 1660, should so soon have recovered its place in the affection of the nation, and deepened its influence for two hundred years. That this opinion is not a mere piece of modern Anglican sentiment, fostered by the 'Christian Year' and reflected by the class of books of which 'John Inglesant' is the flower, is proved by contemporary evidence. Though the Anglican service was disliked in the towns, the country parishes were content to pray in language as familiar as sweet and solemn; and Bishop Hall's 'Humble Remonstrance for Liturgy and Episcopacy' was well received.

Mr. Trevelyan understands and appreciates the value of the Prayer Book sentiment:

'It is probable that the moderate Cavaliers would not long have posed as defenders of men whom they detested, had not the fate of another institution, which they loved more heartily, been

* P. 274.

† P. 274.

involved in the fate of the episcopate. This proscription of the Prayer Book service was eventually the ruin of the Puritans. . . . It soon became apparent how difficult it was to supply a good alternative service every Sunday in every church. Country gentlemen and their wives who had supported Pym and the Puritan cause were often disgusted when they had to listen in their own parish to "a very strange service, and in such a tone that most people do nothing but laugh at it." *

The Prayer Book question already in 1641 divided the parties which were soon to be armed enemies. 'The attack upon the Prayer Book,' says Gardiner, † 'was the commencement of the Civil War.'

[1641.] 'The alliance of Pym's partisans with the Root-and-Branch men involved them, before they were well aware, in an attack upon the Prayer Book. When at the close of the summer session, soon after Charles's arrival in Scotland, ordinances were being passed with apparent unanimity to suppress ritualism and to move the tables down into the naves, a member suggested changes in the service itself. The prayers were at once defended with an affectionate warmth which no one had expressed for the bishops.' ‡

Things would have gone better if Cromwell could in 1647 have stepped into the position which he held a few years later.

'The treaty known as the Heads of the Proposals, which Cromwell and Ireton laid before Charles, would have afforded a noble and permanent settlement. It would have been the settlement of 1689 with a larger flavour of democracy and of Puritanism.

'The protection of the Cavaliers' estates from ruinous sequestration, the retention of the episcopate shorn of all coercive power, and the use of the Prayer Book in church by those who wished, stood to reconcile one-half of England; while religious toleration for all, equal electoral districts, large security for the control of royal power by Parliament, should have satisfied the democrats if they had been wise enough to approach their ends by slow, sure steps from generation to generation. The scheme was wrecked by its very merits. It was drawn up to conciliate all parties; but it came too late. All parties were now inflamed, and it displeased all alike.' §

Too late, perhaps, to be tried as an experiment, but also, perhaps, too early to succeed; for it spelled toleration, and most religious Englishmen of that day thought that 'if the 'devil would choose what religion he liked best, it should be

* P. 203.

† History of England, vol. x. 15.

‡ P. 218.

§ Pp. 284, 285.

'toleration.' If such a combination were possible as Charles on the throne and Cromwell as commander-in-chief and mayor of the palace—and there was a time when it did seem possible—our country might have escaped both the Protectorate and the Restoration. But the fanaticism of the army and the insincerity of the King, resulting in what is called the Second Civil War, drew Cromwell into counsels of bloodshed and military rule which the country never forgave.

'By the "dark lantern of the spirit" Cromwell saw that the providences of God, the preordained victories in Essex, Wales, and Lancashire, pointed the road to a deed for which there was no human law. He did not, like many of his colleagues, think a republic necessary to civil and religious freedom. He had long striven to preserve monarchy; but, once persuaded of the practical necessity and divine sanction of a new order, he led the revolution, and carries through all time the responsibility which he then accepted without fear and bore without remorse.'*

Philosophical historians are subject to the temptation of balancing right and wrong till both disappear. We are not clear how Mr. Trevelyan regards the 'enormous deed' of January 30. Either it was an act of rare public virtue, or it was an abominable crime, excused neither by justice, necessity, principle, nor religion. 'Flunkysm, cant, cloth-worship, or whatever ugly name it has, has gone about incurably sick of it ever since,' we are told by the father of violent generalisations. Mr. Trevelyan holds that 'the mean admiration of mean things, which has ever since the Restoration been at the root of the worst evils of English society, . . . gained a fresh life and popularity by the deed that was meant to strike them dead for ever.'† But he goes on to hint that it may have been a blow to flunkysm after all, and borne fruit in America; and we cannot consent to his holding both opinions. For our part we agree with most historians in thinking the execution of Charles I. as great a solecism in morality and politics as in law. The only good we ever heard come of it is that the thought of his father's head may have made James II. keep his own on his shoulders by conveying it out of England.

To make a martyr of Charles I. was to make a deliverer of Charles II. His father's blood, as Cromwell said, stood between the regicides and all hope of uniting all parties in one free monarchy. But the task of government must be attempted, and it was taken up by the regicides with a firm hand.

'It seemed in 1649 that one of two things must happen. Either the British power would be dissolved into its component parts, . . . or else the King would reconquer his father's throne by the sword and by foreign aid, and would build up the British Empire again as a regal despotism. Cromwell prevented both the disruption of the British Empire and its reunion by Cavalier conquest. It is this supreme consideration that takes the sting of irony from the failure of so much heroic effort, spent in enterprises so often ill-conceived; that renders not vain in the eye of history the truceless war of plague-stricken and hungry men spearing each other on the islands of the Irish bogs; the smoke of Blake's cannoneers hanging in the sunlight of the Spanish seas, or drifting along the misty waters of the coast of Holland; and the fury of the radical saints as they scatter their fellow-Puritans over the edge of the Lowland moor, or come thundering in upon the flight through the tumultuous streets of Worcester.' *

A fine passage, and a fair defence of that time of lawless yet able and splendid government, during which the English nation, if their liberty was curtailed, were restored to their right place in Europe, and ruled by a master whom it was an honour to serve. But the curse of Macbeth was upon Cromwell: 'he must shed much more blood . . . to make his title good.' The slaughter of Drogheda and Dunbar, and the retributive bloodshed on the scaffold in 1660, rests on the head of those who would have no compromise in 1648.

We look in vain for some appraisal of Cromwell's most questionable acts after the execution of Charles: Pride's Purge, not directly ordered by him, but at least condoned, the dissolution of the Rump, the nomination of a Parliament instead of a free election, the horrors of Drogheda. An historian is not at liberty to express no opinion on such acts. Even if he abstain from judging motives, he ought to tell us what the world said at the time, and discuss alternatives.

But his general conclusion is just, and as a moral judgment carries the details with it: 'In all that he did of good and of evil in the three kingdoms, it was too much his way to trust that the Lord would support him in everything that he undertook. What he judged to be necessary for the present, that he thought to be predestined for the future.' †

Mr. Trevelyan's estimate of the 'Little Parliament' is more favourable than Gardiner's and less fantastic than Carlyle's, with which it in the main agrees. It was subject to the weakness that attaches to all revolutionary governments which would hurry society into new forms without regarding the dead-weight

* Pp. 295, 296.

† P. 327.

of custom. Fanaticism makes such governments terrible or ridiculous. When Cromwell saw that the saints were in danger of becoming ridiculous, he accepted their resignation and established the only possible alternative, his own sovereignty. The excellent designs of the Assembly of Saints were barren, because the general voice called them unpractical. Such were the designs which dealt with the care of lunatics and of imprisoned debtors, civil marriage, the reform or abolition of the Court of Chancery and of tithes and ecclesiastical patronage; and some of these reforms are still waited for.

The Parliament of 1654, the first of the Protectorate, was as unmanageable as its predecessor.

'Oliver was determined to save England from religious intolerance and from the omnipotence of an irresponsible assembly. The members were determined to save her from despotism and military rule. . . . He knew that war and anarchy would raise their heads if, while factions were still so divided, he resigned to an assembly the power of the sword. They knew that as long as he retained it constitutional government was a farce. Both were right. There was no escape from the situation which the Long Parliament had created when it refused to reconcile parties after the First Civil War.* . . . In that general wreck of powers and parties † Oliver saved the British Empire from partition, the civil liberties of England from Royalist reconquest, the Free Churches and freethinkers from destruction by those of the narrow way. Those deeds outlived him; and the lovers of England, of civil liberty, and of free thought will for ever be grateful for such benefits, though all else for which he fought perished with him.' ‡

But at the time, the evils of the Cromwellian system were more conspicuous than its advantages.

'Whereas the adhesion of the landed gentry to the new order of things was necessary for its permanence, a large proportion of that small but important class was being driven into sympathy with Anglicanism by social, political, and financial oppression. . . . The rule of the major-generals, the closing of the theatres, the frequent interference with sports, the occasional punishment of vice, the arbitrary arrests, imprisonments, and banishments, the effacement of the old leaders of society, the ubiquity of soldier and saint, and the Englishman's latent sense of humour, were all secretly preparing an incredible resurrection of things killed and buried.' §

When, on landing in England on May 29, Charles II. graciously received the English Bible from the hand of the

* P. 307.

† Viz., in 1648.

‡ Pp. 327, 328.

§ P. 316.

Mayor of Dover, and said that it was the thing he loved above all things in the world,

'the worthy Mayor was enchanted at so honest an answer, for he did not perceive that the comic spirit had landed on our coast. The wittiest company of comedians that history records had come to tread the stage for a while, as little appreciated, on the whole, by the English people as were the great tragedians who had played their piece and were departing, undismayed by the howling and the fury, wrapped in the dignity of self-dependent virtue, Republicans without fear, without repentance, without hope.'*

The work of the Long Parliament as it endured after the Restoration, is well summarised.† The Cavalier Parliament of 1661 seemed to have laid all England at the feet of Charles II. But it was not so. What the country would have given to Charles I. in 1641, if they could have trusted him, they gave to Charles II. in 1661 because they could hold him. There was to be no standing army. 'There was to be no financial independence 'on the part of the crown.' Charles II. never attempted to levy unparliamentary taxes; the excise and the new assessment of the land tax, Pym's war measure, became fixed like our modern income tax, because controllable by Parliament and not unfair in incidence. 'There was to be no more pride of clergy.' The Church passed out of the hands of the King into the hands of Parliament, which would not allow bishops to persecute non-conformists, or encourage the parsons to set up themselves over against the squires. The squires had won the game, and they held the winnings till chimneys began to rise in Lancashire, and the winds of equality blew from France and America. 'There was to be no more *droit administratif*.' The Tudor and Stuart administration through Council, Star Chamber, and High Commission was not revived. Instead of Burleigh's all-searching activity, or the centralised bureaucracy which Lewis XIV. was perfecting in France, England experienced the lazy local rule of Justice Shallow and Squire Western, which outlived the Reform Bill and is not extinct yet. The squires ruled England. But in the apparent reconciliation of Royalist and Roundhead a root of bitterness was planted,

'The Presbyterians did not foresee that a restoration in religion would follow from the restoration in society and politics. They did not know that in re-establishing squirearchy they were setting up a persecuting Anglicanism; for the squires whom they remembered had been haters of parsons and bishops. . . . Absorbed

* P. 330.

† See pp. 337-340.

in hatred of the sects, the orthodox Puritans did not consider that the class for whom they were now forging power was led by men whose religion and estates they had themselves proscribed at the close of the First Civil War.*

No action of Charles II.'s dishonest life was more dishonest than the dirty trick by which, after regaining his crown by the consent of the Presbyterians, he postponed the ecclesiastical settlement till the election of the Cavalier Parliament in 1661 enabled him and Clarendon to exclude them, with the other sectaries, from the re-established Church of England. The 'Clarendon code,' that set of bad laws which excluded the Puritan clergy from the service of the Church, and the Puritan laity from the service of the State, perpetuated the division of England into Church and Dissent. The nation in general, magnanimous too late, may have forgotten this time of persecution, but the dissenters remember it; and when we wonder at the stiffness of the 'political dissenter,' and echo Matthew Arnold's sarcasms on his slow reception of ideas, we should not forget the circumstances that created him. The Puritan gentry conformed, and became the Whig party. But in the middle and lower classes enough remained nonconformists or discontented conformists to be a distinctive element in society, and even in politics. Yet Puritanism was not wholly extinct, as Carlyle would have us believe.

'Puritanism left deep marks on the laity of the Established Church. In the reign of Charles II. the whole people, Whigs and Tories, were passionately Protestant. The altar was again moved to the east; but the ritual movement of Laud made but little further progress. To the devout Englishman, much as he might love the Prayer Book service and hate the dissenters, the core of religion was the life of family prayer and Bible study which the Puritans had for a hundred years struggled, not in vain, to make the custom of the land.' †

The Sabbath-keeping, churchgoing, on the whole decent and moral life of England in the following centuries was not only the inheritance of the Middle Ages, but also a result of the revolt against the Middle Ages which filled the century between the two Cromwells, Thomas and Oliver.

We believe the old-fashioned view of Charles II. to be nearer the truth than that which describes him as 'one of the greatest 'politicians who ever succeeded in the struggle for power in 'England.' ‡ He did not succeed, for he left James II. to be his

* Pp. 335-336.

† P. 344.

‡ P. 350.

heir, and prepare the way for the Whigs. His success, such as it was, rested entirely on his personal popularity. He was not, like Edward IV., both man of pleasure and man of action. His ambition was not to have power for its own sake, but to have plenty of money and little trouble. He got the first by becoming the humble servant of Lewis XIV.; the second, by employing ministers who had no consistent policy, but saved him from the necessity of fencing with Parliament. Charles II. was clever enough to use the wits of others for his own ends; but no man ever made himself an absolute sovereign without intense application, and application, next to emigration, was what Charles II. most hated. He was clever enough also to know that his schemes to establish Popery were liable to be scattered at any moment by a Protestant wind, and that his subjects would not permit England to become permanently an appendage to France, as to Spain in the days of Mary Tudor, or to sit aside from Europe, as when his father attempted to reign without a Parliament. Mr. Trevelyan himself shows how he allowed the submissive Parliament of 1661 to become the imperious Parliament of 1678. They had had time to 'grow their beards,'* and lift them too, against the royal absolutism. The very cleverness by which Charles tacked as winds shifted is not the characteristic of a man of fixed intention. True, he was not such a weathercock as to do everything that the Whigs proposed at the time of the Popish Plot fever. He sent Papists to the pillory and the gallows, whilst knowing and saying that they were innocent; but he would not put himself in Shaftesbury's hands, nor give up the control of the militia, nor divorce his wife, nor exclude his brother from the succession. Charles II., who knew as much about men and parties as any of his subjects, and about foreign politics more than most of them, who lacked neither readiness nor courage, and who had a clear view of what he wanted for the moment, and was absolutely unscrupulous about means, was neither a gambler like Richard II. nor a fanatic like his brother James, nor by turns weak and obstinate like his father. He knew, if he ever cared to moralise, that

He that would keep
Power, must resolve to cling to it through life;
Else it deserts him, surely as he lives.

That was the Tudor principle, to keep power by taking infinite pains. Probably Charles II. did not consider the uncomfortable precedents of kings who had not taken pains, but remembered

only that his father had failed through yielding and standing stiff at the wrong times. Popularity was the best horse in his stable, and on that he put his stake; he was ready to try any experiment—Tory Ministry, Whig Ministry, Cabal, Temple's new Privy Council scheme, and to enter into any engagement—Treaty of Dover, Triple Alliance, war with France, alliance with France, alliance with any power that would help for the moment; but he would never have risked his popularity by trying to set up Popery by military government and rule without a Parliament. 'By making many concessions,' says Mr. Trevelyan, 'he avoided any surrender.' He would not assent to the Exclusion Bill; but he offered when hard pressed in 1681 the 'excellent plan' of a Regency. This adroit gamester, strengthening his personal authority at the expense, in the long run, of the royal power, was not likely to need the heavy-handed militarism of the Protectorate, even if he could have got soldiers and major-generals to carry it out.

If this is true, the 'second Stuart despotism' was no real despotism. Charles II., though he called no Parliament after 1681, though he remodelled the corporations, packed the juries, increased his army, and got a revenue from Lewis XIV., never tried to play his father's game, and so realise that idea of 'sovereign power' which was blasted by Pym and Coke in 1628, but to which Charles I. seemed to revert, when even upon the scaffold he protested against subjects having 'a share in the government; that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clear different things.' *

Mr. Trevelyan draws a parallel between the powers of the Tudor kings and those to which James II. succeeded. The balance is apparently in favour of James: but the Tudor power rested on the reality of monarchy, that is, the consent of the governed, and the power to punish quickly and effectively. The monarchy to which James II. succeeded, though it might be effective in a strong hand, was at bottom a parliamentary government, and so James II. found to his cost.

Macaulay's prose epic of Monmouth's rebellion cannot be rewritten or improved upon. The story of Monmouth rises above politics into the region of poetic action, and the Somerset yeomen and peasants stand in our memory by the side of the Highlanders who fought for Prince Charlie, and the Vendéans of 1793. The sacrament of personality, the worship of a cause embodied in a hero, even though the hero be unworthy, is one of the things which exalt humanity.

'For these peasant followers of Monmouth the dark Puritan faith glowed in all the colours of personal romance; they loved the young man more than they loved their lives. Of Monmouth, as of Napoleon, tales were told at nightfall beneath the thatch, and his return was still expected long after he was dead. . . . The record of this brief campaign is as the lifting of a curtain; behind it we can see for a moment into the old peasant life, since passed away into the streets and factories, suffering city change. In that one glance we see not rustic torpor, but faith, idealism, vigour, love of liberty, and scorn of death. Were the yeomen and farm servants in other parts of England like these men of Somerset, or were they everywhere else of a lower type? The curtain falls, and knowledge is hidden for ever.' *

As in the previous generation, religious and secular politics were never divorced. James's attempt to set up the Roman religion in the place of the English was what inflamed the zeal of his subjects; but to the statesmen who led the Revolution the worst danger was the heresy of the dispensing power, by virtue of which the two Declarations of Indulgence were promulgated. If this were allowed to prevail, the King's proclamation would become law, as in the later years of Henry VIII.'s reign. James II. looked upon laws as expressions of convenience resumable at the sovereign's will. Charles I. had a higher ideal than this; for whilst denying subjects a share in the government, he said 'their liberty and freedom consists in having government, 'those laws by which their lives and their goods may be most 'their own.'

The folly and stupidity of James II. bring the whole story down to a lower level than that of the Great Rebellion. The seven bishops did their duty; they were not heroes, and in no case would they have been martyrs, though the opportune birth of the Prince of Wales saved them from inconvenience by making their acquittal a certainty. The seven statesmen also, who invited William of Orange to come over and take the crown, were not of the heroic type, but sensible patriots who deserve our thanks none the less because they played a winning game. There is hazard in any such games, and poetry praises those who play unwisely and lose, history those who play wisely and win. The pitiful 'warming-pan' story, which kept that ill-starred child out of his inheritance, was invented and believed because, whatever the parentage of the Pretender, his education would have been committed to the Jesuits. But abstract rights have never counted for much in England in the question

of succession, and as a matter of historical accuracy, indefeasible hereditary right was created by the Act of Settlement.

The Whig view of the Revolution has been memorised by Macaulay, and so remains 'plain to all folks to see.' Mr. Trevelyan does not belong to the Bolingbroke-Disraeli school of political historians, whose doctrine is that a king should be served by ministers, not that ministers should instruct the king. Neither view is incompatible with liberty and parliamentary government. The one makes for effectiveness and continuity of policy, the patriot king (if he could be produced by inheritance) above party, guiding but not coercing, the ideal of William III. and, in his way, of George III.; the other heavily weighted with the 'Venetian' drawbacks of patronage, family interest, and personal quarrels, but more in touch with national wants, and more expansive and responsive to movements from below, since it leans upon the Commons and through them upon the electors, whom sovereigns regard as a troublesome necessity. The present age does not find the perfection of wisdom in party government by the House of Commons, and perhaps would like to revise principles, if it knew how to set about it, and knew how to construct a patriot king. So Bolingbroke's principles, if not his application of them, may have their day again.

'As the balance of parties was kept by William and Anne, party strife came to impregnate all English life. Party spirit was the spirit of the age. Its coarse, free, vigorous breath kept the nation heartily alive. It pervaded the worlds of high society, commerce, and even of scholarship; it inspired literature, religion, and finance; it guided diplomacy and war. It was the motive power of our great achievements: it founded the Bank and the National Debt; it carried through the recoinage; it evoked the genius of Swift; it effected the union of England and Scotland; it won the wars of Marlborough; and it made the peace of Utrecht.' *

This sentence seems to mean a good deal; but, after all, these things would or might have been done without the organisation of party strife within the parliamentary system. Party strife is a necessary evil, not a principle of high policy. That these things were done by one party instead of the other, often means no more than that they were carried out by this statesman instead of that. There were men of business on either side of the Houses who could have dealt with the Bank and the National Debt; the Union with Scotland was marred by party spirit; the framers of the Peace of Utrecht did their best to discredit the war. When, as in 1641 or 1783 or 1789 or 1832,

* P. 449.

men are divided by a difference of principle, parties arise of themselves: but difference of method does not always rest upon difference of principle; whenever there are things to be done, some men will be for doing them one way, some another; and it is a mistake to attribute to party spirit all that took place in a time when party spirit ran high. Political action was coloured and fashioned, not created, by party spirit. There was but one capital interest in England, Popery or Protestantism, despotism or constitutional government; and on this point, though many Tories and some Whigs would have admitted James III. under conditions, England was unanimous. The War of the Spanish Succession was the material answer to this question. It was a Whig war carried on by Tories who turned Whigs as it went on. William III. could rise above it, as when in 1690 the Whigs tried to disfranchise municipal Tories, and 'set up the shambles as in 1661,' at a time when the country was in imminent danger of invasion. The parties were there, and he made use of them to carry through the policy of leniency and compromise, which was best for England, but which the parties severally would have sacrificed to party revenge. To make party the sole end of policy degrades politics into a game played not for the sake of good administration or legislation, but to keep one side in and the other out. We have made this digression, because Mr. Trevelyan seems in this passage to drop below his usual level, and to confound methods of government with principles of politics.

There are few names in history which are more controversial than that of William III. of pious, glorious, and immortal memory, William III. the hated alien, the second curse of Ireland, the oppressor of the faithful. He is generally reputed to have been favoured by fortune at the moment which he chose for interfering in English affairs. But fortune aids the adventurous; and though James quarrelled with Lewis, and Lewis sent his troops to the Rhine exactly at the moment which made it possible for William to invade England, to do so required promptitude, courage, and knowledge of the balance of power in Europe, and particularly in England—that combination of accurate apprehension of circumstances, combined with boldness and swiftness in using the occasion given, which is genius.

In the long struggle between William of Orange and Lewis XIV. the conduct of which was now transferred from Holland to England, the sovereign's skill in balancing domestic parties was more than ever needed. As Mr. Trevelyan remarks:

'Experience gradually taught the first of our post-revolutionary monarchs to obtain unity in the public service by selecting his

ministers from one of the two parties ; and to prefer that one which for the time had the majority, to carry ministerial measures through Parliament.*

And he discusses in a footnote William's claim to be considered the originator of Cabinet government, and shows that 'the principle of closer connection between the executive and legislative . . . was adopted as of practical utility, rather than granted as of constitutional right ;' that William did not always consult his ministers, especially in foreign affairs, and that he sometimes consulted their political opponents. This is natural enough. The limits of the royal power have never been defined. In those days, if a king chose to act as his own prime minister, he could do so, being represented in Parliament by his responsible ministers. It had ceased to be etiquette for the sovereign to take part in debates, though he might be present, and often was. William III. had high ideas of royalty. His father had turned the limited and precarious authority of the Stadhouder into a real sovereignty ; and he had no mind to lower the position which he accepted as King of England. He was also, to say the least, as capable a statesman as any of his ministers, and, as he could neither be intimidated nor corrupted, was more fit to represent the nation than the Sunderlands and Churchills. But the fact that he was a foreigner, and not the right heir, weakened the monarchy during his reign and strengthened the power of party ; Anne's incompetence further enfeebled the crown ; and George I., looking upon himself as a leaseholder, was content to employ and obey a Whig ministry.

William III. understood as well as any of his ministers that the House of Commons was not the nation, and on more than one occasion played skilfully on that instrument, especially in 1701, when he dissolved his Tory parliament, unwilling to prosecute the war vigorously to the advantage of the moneyed interest and the disadvantage of the landed interest, and appealed to the electorate, feeling sure that they would respond with defiance to Lewis's recognition of James III. The Whigs were now the war party ; and without their cordial co-operation with the Grand Alliance Marlborough's triumphs would never have been won.

The reign of a woman of small capacity and little experience, obstinate and narrow-minded, but sincerely desirous to do her duty and warmly devoted to her friends, was a blank canvas ready to the hand of that great historical painter Marl-

borough. Marlborough is so incomparably the greatest name of his day, outshining even such meteoric brilliancies as Peterborough and Bolingbroke, that the history of the reign of Anne generally means little more than the history of his campaigns. It is not at this distance of time a very important question whether or not the Allies should have made peace in 1710; it is a more important question whether it was good policy in 1713, as it was in 1815, to respect the frontiers of France and not punish her lust of territory by removing the German-speaking populations from her rule. But such considerations did not enter into the politics of the early eighteenth century. The Peace of Utrecht was on the whole 'a good settlement, and stood the test of time better than most diplomatic edifices.'* A good settlement is one that clears the cause of war and makes a conclusion in harmony with existing facts. In this instance we may be said to have gone to war to prevent Philip V. from being King of Spain; and after ruining his grand ally we left him in possession of Spain. But the real cause of the war was to humble Lewis XIV., and it succeeded. As for the general character of the peace, it marks 'the end of a period of European history in which wars and treaties of peace professed to be made in defence of some principle or common interest, and the beginning of a period in which self-interest is the only principle.'† The secret history of the negotiations is not much to the credit of the Tory managers. Mr. Trevelyan thinks that we were justified in making terms with France independently of our allies. We do not dispute it as a necessity, though it had an ugly look of desertion; and we cannot but suspect Bolingbroke of having the Pretender in his eye when he made things easy for Lewis XIV. Our treatment of the Dutch was not chivalrous; they had borne more than their share of the war. But William III.'s memory was not loved by the men who made the peace. The independence of Holland was saved, but the country was exhausted by war, and the decline of its prosperity began from this point. No one pretends that we were right in betraying the Catalans. As usual, we extended our opportunities of trade, and with that our empire, and our prospective empire. The cession of North American lands, 'the outworks of Canada,'‡ laid the foundation of our Western empire and of wars with France to maintain and extend it half a century later. We acquired a strong

* P. 508.

† See Gardiner, 'Student's History of England,' p. 697.

‡ P. 511.

position in the Mediterranean; we struck a blow at the Spanish power by the *Assiento*, which gave us the monopoly of the slave trade. England now 'stands out for the first time as 'the supreme maritime and commercial power in the world,' says Seeley;* and he adds the comment, 'Taken together, the 'whole successful development which culminated at Utrecht 'secularised and materialised the English people as nothing 'had ever done before.' We should have liked to hear Mr. Trevelyan on this text.

Mr. Trevelyan's conclusion of the whole matter is the rational opinion, which is none the worse for being a Whig opinion, that in spite of the Stuarts, and in a reactionary age, England became more self-governing and less bigoted, and obtained more and more freedom of action, speech, and writing.

'Never perhaps in any century have such rapid advances been made towards freedom. Whether in the sweat and anguish of that great battle and victory the English lost certain finer spiritual qualities, whether the Whigs were inferior to the Puritans and the Tories to the Cavaliers, whether the value of life was greater among the contemporaries of Shakespeare than among those of Swift, it is profitable to inquire, provided we do not expect a final answer.'

The use of historical inquiry is not only to ascertain facts or to chronicle evolution, nor even to learn philosophy by examples, as the Puritans and Cavaliers read the Bible to put its 'lessons' in practice; it is also a search after ideals, and an exercise of imagination and sympathy. 'By contemplating the famous sages and poets, heroes and martyrs of each conquering or conquered cause, we gain knowledge and love 'of the other inhabitants of the past.' Biography, and the study of institutions and social movements throw light upon each other; we understand our own times and the action of our contemporaries the better by comparing them with those that have gone before. Little is revealed to us of the present and less of the past; and we must accept limitations, both of information and intelligence: we must be content to know little, and to know it ill; or else why write history?

* Expansion of England, p. 137.

ART. X.—GARDEN CITY AND GARDEN SUBURB.

1. *Garden City in the Making*. Hitchin: Garden City Press, Limited. 1905.
2. *Garden City and Agriculture*. Garden City Press, Limited. 1905.
3. *The Example of Germany*. By T. C. HORSFALL. Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes. 1904.

THERE is no doubt that among the most important social questions of the day is the wise direction of the growth of towns. The population of England is to a very large extent a town population; and it seems improbable that any reform of land laws, or of taxation, will materially alter the distribution of the population. It may be true that artificial causes have aided in driving the farmer and the agricultural labourer to towns; but it is equally true that natural and economic causes have had a good deal to say to the movement. The attack on the common field system in the time of the Tudors largely diminished the agricultural population, and put bitterness in the heart of the labourer. The law of entail and the practice of tying up estates by means of family settlements have conduced to keep land in a few hands and often to retard its full industrial development. The fact that the possession of land confers social distinction and the consequent raising of the market against the small cultivator; the rage for game preserving and the resulting desire to keep down the population; above all, the wholesale inclosure of common land which went on during the whole of the eighteenth and half the nineteenth century—all these agencies have combined to drive the peasant, who might otherwise have been a small farmer, into town. But after all there are underlying causes. Even the agrarian revolution of the Tudors would not have taken place had not the market for wool been much better than the market for corn. Land would not be acquired for mere amusement or for social aggrandisement if wealth could be as readily acquired by its cultivation as by mining, trade, or commerce. It is because the means of buying land is supplied by other and more lucrative occupations than that of tilling it, and because land has a value for residence, for amusement, and for many purposes other than the production of food, that the value of land does not depend wholly or even mainly on its utility as an instrument of production. In short, it is because England is a great commercial and industrial country, with valuable mines, facilities for manufacture,

a long littoral, an abundance of safe ports and roadsteads, and many navies on the high seas, that the population of England naturally gravitates to centres where the operations of commerce and manufacture can be best carried on. By all means let every sound and fair method be adopted to woo the labourer back to the soil. But we do not believe that, when all is done, England will ever see a large cultivating population such as that which excites the admiration of Englishmen in many countries of the Continent. Climate is not an unimportant consideration; and England has been blessed with a singularly temperate climate, admirable for health and hard work, but also with a singularly capricious climate, maddening to the man who depends for his livelihood on the produce of his fields.

Whether these speculations be sound or not, it is clear that the present distribution of population in England is regulated mainly by considerations other than that of agriculture. People collect where trade and commerce flourish, and from these centres they spread out again over the adjoining country. Thus the town population is always increasing; but it does not increase merely in density; it is continually extending over a larger area, much of which it occupies but sparsely. In the twenty years from 1881 to 1901, 244 urban districts were created. But these 244 urban districts are not small areas thickly populated, but large districts comprising perhaps a small town, or a couple of villages, and a surrounding country dotted over with cottages, villas, and mansions. Again, every large city peoples the country for miles around it. The more important the city becomes the more valuable is land in the heart of the city for purposes of business and the less desirable for purposes of residence; the more anxious, therefore, are its merchants and traders to plant their houses on its outskirts. London gives the best illustration of what is meant, because in London everything is exaggerated, and therefore easier to observe. What is happening in London we all know, though we do not always fully realise its import. The ten Metropolitan Boroughs which the Registrar-General treats as the central area of London have been steadily decreasing in population during the last thirty years, while boroughs on the edge of the County have been rapidly filling up. The County of London as a whole, stretching from Woolwich to Putney, and from Hampstead to Penge, increased during the last inter-censal period by only 7·3 per cent., while the rate of increase for the country at large was 12·2 per cent. But it would be a mistake to assume from these figures that there is any abatement in the growth of London as a great business centre. The most conclusive

evidence on this point is furnished by the statistics of the rateable value of property in the metropolis.* In the forty-four years which have passed since 1861, the rateable value of the City (the night population of which has fallen during the same period from 112,000 to less than 27,000) has increased from 1,332,000*l.* to 5,107,000*l.*, and the rateable value of the whole Administrative County (including the City) from 12,460,000*l.* to 41,657,000*l.*† The men and women whose activities give rise to this enormous aggregation of property live largely outside the County. Between 1891 and 1901 the outer ring of Greater London—the vast area which may be roughly described by a radius of fifteen miles round Charing Cross—very nearly doubled its population; during the two preceding decades it actually accomplished that feat. And the slight falling off in the rate of increase of this outer ring is due to the fact that the resident population of London goes still farther afield. Outside Greater London there was a large increase. Surrey is perhaps the most popular suburban county as a place of residence; the rural parts of Surrey—omitting boroughs like Croydon and Kingston and all urban districts—increased by 20 per cent. between 1891 and 1901. Figures but confirm what one sees. Such places as Redhill and Reigate, Oxted and Limpsfield, Henley and Maidenhead, Haslemere—places where there are wide commons or beautiful hill-sides, or which look upon the quiet waters of the Thames, and which also have a train service—grow rapidly as suburbs of London, though they are twenty, thirty, even forty miles from town. Electric tramways and motor-cars will quicken the movement, for they will make possible for residence places at a distance from a railway station, hitherto practically prohibitive.

Obviously therefore no question can more vitally affect the inhabitants of England than that of the manner in which its towns are to spread and its suburbs to grow. England, despite its natural tendency to produce towns, can hardly be said to have a genius for producing handsome, or even convenient, towns. As regards man's part in the result, and allowing for the modest scale on which nature for the most part works in England, our rural districts are probably more beautiful than those of any other country. The gentle undulations, the luxuriant trees—allowed to grow naturally and not trimmed into maypoles after the fashion of our French neighbours—the abundant hedgerows, the frequent copses, the winding

* See Report of London Traffic Commission, p. 5.

† Odd hundreds are omitted.

roads, the cosy villages and the tenderly kept village churches and churchyards, form a succession of most agreeable pictures, and may be contrasted to advantage with the wider, barer plains and cruder lines of the landscapes with which one is familiar on the Continent. And an old English market town often has much charm. But the modern commercial town suffers sadly in comparison with the French or German town of like size. Every third- or fourth-rate town in Germany has some definite features—a central market place, round which are grouped important public buildings, often a ring of gardens occupying the site of the old town walls. Many English towns of great size, on the other hand, are mere collections of streets without definite arrangement, their one characteristic a deadly monotony and a uniform ugliness. And when the town extends, it merely repeats itself, submerging fields and gardens under a sea of bricks and mortar. To illustrate again by London, who does not know the dreary wastes of such suburbs as Walworth and Camberwell, Hackney or Camden Town? Something has been done of late years to interpolate a scrap of greenery here and there, and to prevent the complete filling up of every interstice between house and house. But comparatively little can be done; and at the same time the outer suburbs are rapidly deteriorating. The early Victorian residence of the prosperous merchant, such a place as that in which Ruskin's father lived on Denmark Hill—a mansion with out-buildings, spacious gardens and a paddock, covering some seven acres—is rapidly disappearing. Gardens and paddocks are being replaced by streets of small houses with little more space around them than is required by building by-laws; and between the main roads, naturally first colonised, and on the lower and less eligible lands, building is proceeding apace, moderated only by the individual builder's desire for profit. Let any one who remembers such neighbourhoods as Clapham and Tooting forty years ago re-visit the scenes he knew, and he will realise the fashion after which London is extending. Or let the Londoner unfamiliar with the suburbs take a walk about the lower parts of Wimbledon and Merton, or drive about Croydon for a few hours; he cannot fail to be struck with the continuous and rapid multiplication of dull streets of small houses. And the same process accompanies the growth of other large towns. Liverpool once had pleasant suburbs; they have disappeared before the advance of the builder. So rapid is the change that the outskirts of the city house a fleeting population, brought by the builder and yet ever fleeing before him, grasping after the amenities which the first comer

enjoys for a brief space, until his fellows crowd in upon him. Similarly, we are told by the recent Commission on London Traffic,* one-third of the residents in the houses provided by the London County Council for workmen's dwellings change their place of abode every year.

Given that towns must increase in number and in size, the problem is, how is the movement to be guided and regulated so as to give the nation the maximum of benefit? Trade and business produce the town; it is the outcome of the energy and enterprise of the country. In itself it is not an evil; and it need not have evil consequences. It is only when town-building is badly done, that health and beauty are denied to the inhabitants of towns. The health of towns has, indeed, attracted attention during the last fifty years. The study of sanitation took its rise in towns, and as regards diseases which can be prevented or kept within bounds by man's present knowledge, probably a town is now a safer place than a rural district. But there remains a certain lowering of vitality, not merely from what is recognised as overcrowding, but from the congregation of large masses of people in limited areas. This may to a large extent be remedied by the proper regulation of the breadth of streets, of the height of buildings, and of the air-space around them, and by the provision of abundant trees and open spaces. Measures of this kind are no longer neglected. Narrow streets of high houses no urban authority would now suffer to come into existence; and open spaces are recognised as desirable, though they are not yet provided on any system or to an adequate extent. The question has been mainly approached from the side of health. The need of man to refresh his spirit by the beautiful forms and colours of nature, by the sense of space, and by the consciousness of fine proportion in street and building or of picturesque variety of detail, has been less thought of. Puritanism, with its many good works, has had the bad effect of making Englishmen rather ashamed of recognising the enjoyment of beauty as anything but a luxury, perhaps a sinful luxury. Yet few persons will deny that to live in squalid, dreary surroundings is positively prejudicial to the mind and spirit, and that to condemn any section of the inhabitants of a civilised state so to live is a wrong thing. The worst forms of the evil are recognised; it is not a great step to organise means of removing the evil entirely. To ensure to the town-dweller a refreshing as well as a healthy place of abode is

* Report of Commission, p. 16.

the main object both of the Garden City and of the Garden Suburb.

The idea of the Garden City is to commence anew, to leave existing towns alone, and to construct on sound principles, in the midst of open country, a wholly new town. The promoters of the movement, keenly conscious of the evils of overcrowding and of the absence of healthful conditions of living in our large towns, seek to meet these evils by showing at once how a healthy, seemly town—a commercial, manufacturing town—can be constructed, and population may be gradually diverted from existing towns. To the manufacturer they offer cheap sites for his works and for his workmen's cottages (cheap and good cottages tend to improve labour) and low rates, and they suggest that these advantages, if accompanied by ready means of obtaining his raw material and distributing the manufactured product, as well as a market at his door, should lead him to prefer the new town to the old city. If this takes place there should be a check to the growth of the old city. For example, if Messrs. Crosse & Blackwell, and half a dozen other firms, could be induced to migrate to the Garden City, a certain small fraction of the populace of London would follow them, and other persons who might have come to London to be employed by them would go instead to the Garden City; the growth of London would to this extent be checked. On the other hand, the factories and the factory hands would be housed under new conditions. The fresh winds of heaven would blow about them; fields and trees would be before their eyes from morn till eve; and the men would perhaps be induced to supplement their indoor work by cultivating the garden with which each cottage would be provided. Thus a definite shifting of population from town to country, though not from manufacture to agriculture, would be effected.

There is no doubt an artificial smack about the project, for towns are not as a rule deliberately made, but grow gradually from natural causes. But such an experiment is invited by some of the economic results of the growth of large towns. The very high value of land in an old town and the excessively heavy rates are a heavy burden on the manufacturer. Large enterprises (notably, several paper works) are already to be found in rural places; and the Garden City will offer these advantages over a spot chosen at random, that it will, if it succeeds, give a market at home, and that the manufacturer need not fear a constant and indefinite growth in the rates, since it is part of the scheme that the increased value of the land shall be the property of the community. Perhaps then the attempt to form a city which shall spring, Minerva-like, fully equipped from the

green fields, is more in the nature of an evolution of species than at first sight appears.

The pioneers of the movement have certainly proceeded in a most business-like way. First establishing a voluntary society to advocate the principles they had at heart, they next organised a pioneer company to select and acquire a site for a concrete experiment, and then a definite land company to develop a city on the site selected. For the 'First Garden City' an estate of nearly 4,000 acres has been acquired between Hitchin and Baldock. It is not a spot of exceptional beauty—probably other characteristics were thought more important. A rolling chalk country, there is a pleasant sense of space and breeziness, and wide views over open undulating fields to distant low hills. Most of the land is said to be about 300 feet above the sea. There are two old villages on the site, Norton and Willian, and a country house of some size and character, Letchworth Hall, built by one of the Lyttons of Knebworth in 1620. Through the centre of the property runs the Icknield Way, and lying between this and the Norton Road is a bit of rough woodland known as Norton Common. The central part of the property, that which will form the nucleus of the town, is almost destitute of trees; but on the outskirts, near Norton, and where the old lane to Letchworth Hall crosses the Baldock Road, are some fine elms. In developing the city scrupulous regard will be paid to every scrap of natural beauty. Both Letchworth Park and Norton Common will be preserved, and every little shaw and spinney will be fostered and made a feature of the new town. In what is intended to be the town area, some 1,300 acres, one hundred will be open space.

Though the site of the Garden City is not exceptionally endowed by nature, it has advantages of another kind which no doubt led to its selection. Through its centre runs the railway from Hitchin to Cambridge, while from Hitchin Station, but a short distance removed, branch the Great Northern main line and the Midland line to Bedford. A temporary station has already been opened, and it is perhaps a good augury of the future popularity of Letchworth that, attracted partly, no doubt, by the exhibition of cheap cottages which has been cleverly organised on the estate, whole train-fuls are poured out on the new platforms. The permanent station will be in a cutting a little to the north-east, 'conveniently near,' it is claimed, 'to the central square of the town, and yet far enough away for the noise and traffic to cause no annoyance.' The establishment of manufactures being an essential feature of the Garden City, especial care has been taken to allot appropriate sites for

factories. These have been placed adjoining the railway, on the east side of the town, where there is a large area of land suitably level over which sidings can conveniently be spread, so that direct access to the railway can be given to all factories that may require it. This area will be screened from the town by belts of trees, and the prevailing wind will carry the noise, dust, and any smoke away from the town. At Letchworth, as elsewhere, the west-end will apparently be the favoured quarter for residence. The town area, which, as we have said, will contain about 1,300 out of a total of 3,800 acres, is carefully laid out with a view to the realisation of the idea conveyed by the title *Garden City*. Perhaps the following short description will best indicate the lines on which the work is conceived:—

‘For the Central Square of the town a level plateau has been chosen near the existing station. It is marked by three isolated oak-trees, and lies between the contour lines which mark 290 and 295 feet above sea-level. From this plateau the ground slopes gently down on all sides except towards Letchworth. The roads radiating from this Central Square, which will give access to all parts of the town, have been so planned that glimpses of the open country will be obtainable along them from the heart of the town, while they will afford to those approaching from the outskirts good views of the central buildings.’

From this Central Square will run the Main Avenue, varying in width from 100 to 150 feet. Other roads will be from 40 to 60 feet wide, and there will be grass tree-planted margins, in some cases between the roadway and footway, in others between footway and houses. Outside the town area a considerable acreage will be left for cultivation, and as a market for produce will be supplied by the town, it may be anticipated that market-gardening, poultry-farming, and like pursuits, adapted to such holdings, will be lucrative.* It is proposed that the town shall not exceed 30,000 inhabitants, and thus a balance between town and country will be preserved. It is perhaps a little premature to discuss the limits of a town which does not yet exist, and which may, when it grows up, take its future more or less into its own hands. However, a satisfactory beginning has been made. The usual public services of a town—sewerage, waterworks, and gasworks—have been organised. Post offices have been opened, and sufficient roads have been made for present purposes. Sites for from 300 to 400 houses and cottages have been let; about 200 new houses are

* Some experiments in this direction, near Evesham, are very promising.

erected, or in course of erection ; and from thirty to forty are already occupied. About ten shops have been opened during the summer ; there is an excellent grammar school and good private school within call. And—most important to the success of the scheme—four sites for factories have been actually let, and others have been selected.

The Garden City, as we have said, aims at economic as well as social and hygienic benefits. The growth of towns in England has greatly enriched a comparatively small class of landowners. It is a trite remark that London would have saved the 6s. 8d. (or more) in the pound which it now pays in rates, had the community, instead of a few landowners, been in possession of the land on which central London is built. Probably every one would like to municipalise the land of a growing town ; the difficulty is, when and how to begin. The Garden City begins at the beginning. The Company which establishes 'First Garden City' does not intend to let any of the 4,000 acres which it has acquired pass out of its hands. It will not sell a square foot. By some means or other it will secure that the increasing value of the land (apart from the buildings on it), that unearned increment of which we have all heard so much, shall belong to the community. The principle on which the city is founded is thus described in the 'Objects' of the Garden City Association : 'the establishment of garden cities designed 'from the outset to secure healthful and adequate housing for 'the whole population, and in which the inhabitants shall 'become in a collective capacity the owners of the sites, subject 'to full recognition of public as well as individual interests.' This principle is applied by reserving the freehold of the land, and by limiting the dividend to shareholders to 5 per cent., and using any further profits derived from the rising value of the land for the benefit of the inhabitants. It was at first hoped to introduce perpetual leases—nominally for 900 years—with a provision for re-valuation and re-assessment of rent every ten years. But builders are always borrowers, and difficulties are said to have arisen in borrowing money on so unusual a tenure. The company have, therefore, fallen back on the familiar expedient of the ordinary building lease for 99 years. By the first arrangement the lessee would have been secured for ever in all his outlay, while the Company would have participated at once in the unearned increment. By the second arrangement the unearned increment goes to the lessee for a time ; but at the price of surrendering the value of his own improvements at the end of a century, while long before this period the community will have a marketable asset of

growing value. Other arrangements may no doubt suggest themselves. In some way, as between the individual lessee and the Company, the unearned increment will go to the Company, while as between the Company and the lessees and other inhabitants collectively, the Company will take 5 per cent. upon its capital, and will return the balance to the community in the shape of abatement of rates and public improvements. The advantages to be gained by the Company's building tenants are put, in one of their publications, in the following words :

‘ The Company's lease has the great advantage over the ordinary system, that the reversion of the improvements will ultimately go to the community as a whole, and not to private individuals.

‘ It is further to be borne in mind that the rents paid by the tenants are not absolutely outgoings, as rents ordinarily are, but a considerable proportion will be available for purposes which are paid for in existing towns out of the rates. The construction of roads, sewers, and the provision of open spaces, and all costs of development, the burden of which usually falls upon the local authority, and is therefore charged to the tenants, either in the form of a capital charge or as rates, will be met in Garden City out of ground rents. There is, therefore, no comparison between the ground rent payable in Garden City and that payable in other districts, in which the freehold price only covers the actual cost of the land. Moreover, the actual cost of public services will, it is obvious, be less in a city planned from the beginning, and the site of which has been bought at agricultural value, than in ordinary towns, where public services are carried out only after land is at a high price and numerous vested interests have grown up. The supply of water, gas, and other services will be carried out by the Garden City Company in the public interest, and any profits from these supplies will be dealt with similarly to the other profits of the Company. Putting these two facts together, it is evident that rates should remain low in Garden City, the rents proving sufficient to cover many public services ; and as the profit which prospective tenants may hope to derive will depend upon the success of the Company in securing the rapid establishment of the town, it is hoped that intending settlers will recognise that their interests are in common with those of the Company.

The last words we have quoted refer to a lacuna between the company's aims and their realisation by the means proposed which must not be altogether overlooked. In order to give full effect to the idea of a town possessing its own land, all persons who would be rateable for town services and town improvements should be shareholders in the company in proportion to their holdings. Under the system actually designed by the Company, the ratepayers will enjoy the unearned increment of

the land after 5 per cent. has been paid upon the capital of the Company. To make the experiment complete in the direction of municipalisation the shareholders should be paid off, and the Company converted into some body representative of the rate-payers. But in such a case very effective safeguards would have to be taken for the maintenance of the principles of the Garden City ; otherwise the ratepayers of the day might, as they have often done in other cases, barter away the lasting welfare of the new town for the sake of a little temporary profit. However, with all qualifications, Letchworth Garden City is perhaps the first serious experiment in England in the direction of municipalising the land, and from this point of view alone its future will be watched with the greatest interest.

The Garden Suburb is a project on the same lines as the Garden City. The main point of difference is, that, while the Garden City is a creation, a city planted in the midst of a rural district where no city would have come but for the bold design of a few public-spirited persons, the Garden Suburb aims rather at directing into salutary channels a movement already existing. Large towns will grow ; suburbs are certain to be formed ; the problem is to form them on sound lines, socially, æsthetically, hygienically, economically. Let us deal with the concrete case which has been placed before the public. Hampstead Heath has for many years marked, in a sense, the boundary of London to the north-west. To the foot of Haverstock Hill, and round the sides of that steep ascent, streets extend without a break. Villas line the rise of the hill, and connect London with the old village of Hampstead. But beyond the Heath, instead of streets and houses, there were, till recently, fields and meadows, broken only by an occasional country village with its suburban outgrowth. But this condition of things is at an end. A Tube Railway from Charing Cross, past Euston, to Hampstead, and then under the Heath to Hendon and Edgware, was authorised some years ago, and is approaching completion. A station is to be opened at North End, Hampstead, another at Golder's Green. This direct access to London will bring the whole of the meadows immediately to the north of the Heath into the building market. A new suburb of London, and in no long time a fully peopled suburb, will be created ; and the only question is, after what fashion is this extension of London to be shaped ? Is it to be a mere collection of streets and houses with no form, and, with no vestige of open space save the hard-used Heath ? or is this very definite addition to London to have equally definite advantages, as a place where regard shall be paid from the first to the amenities of life and to the permanent interests of the residents ?

Now it happens that the estate immediately adjoining North End and marching with the Heath is owned by a public body, Eton College. It consists of 320 acres, and has a somewhat singular history. Originally it belonged to the Hospital for Leprous Maids, which had its headquarters at Westminster and was dedicated to St. James. Of this institution Eton College were the guardians. Henry VIII. appropriated the endowment of the Leprous Maids and built St. James' Palace on the site of the Hospital; but eventually, in the course of a general bargain with the College (in which that body is said to have had much the worse of it), he gave Eton the Hendon estate for its own enjoyment. From that day to this the estate (known as Wyld's Farm) has remained practically intact, and been held in agricultural occupation. With the advent of the Tube Railway, the College felt that the time had come to make Wyld's Farm grow something more profitable than grass, and a whole colony of 'mean streets,' streets of the kind which are provided for the prosperous artisan and the small clerk, wherever London pushes, was designed. Happily a committee of persons interested in open spaces, and convinced of the necessity of extending Hampstead Heath to cope with the new state of things, was organised by Mrs. Barnett of Toynbee Hall; and the College was induced to give them the option of purchasing eighty of the 320 acres for an open space. The necessary fund for the purchase of this area has since been raised, and, subject to the settlement of some questions of detail, the land will shortly be conveyed to the London County Council, to be held by them as part of Hampstead Heath. The land to be thus permanently preserved as an open space stretches for about half a mile into the midst of Wyld's Farm, having a valuable strip of land on either side. The whole of the College estate runs for a mile and a half through Hendon parish to the confines of Finchley, the average width being about a third of a mile. The land left for developement thus consists of 240 acres; its southern parts having valuable frontages to the new open space, while the remainder rises and falls in gentle undulations, varying from 200 to 300 feet above sea-level, giving the means of picturesque grouping of public and private buildings, and enabling houses to be so disposed that each may have a view of wide expanses and far-off hills. On the north-east the land marches with an estate of the Ecclesiastical Commission, yet undeveloped and abounding in wood and coppice.

This beautiful property Eton College has offered to a small committee, of which Mrs. Barnett acts as secretary, for developement as a garden suburb. The only condition imposed by the

College is that there shall not be more than eight houses to the acre on the average throughout. But the Garden Suburb Trust, as the committee has been popularly called—has much wider views. It aims at the construction of a really beautiful suburb, a district which shall have a certain unity and completeness, shall afford accommodation for all classes—not merely for the artisan on the one hand, or the prosperous city or professional man on the other—and shall give to every resident trees, gardens, and open spaces, a distant view or a striking vista. The Garden Suburb is to have its own public buildings, its own schools, and its own shops, its group of cottages with playing places for children, its medium-sized houses with small gardens and its larger mansions with private grounds and a frontage to Hampstead Heath. There may also be groups of chambers or small flats, with some arrangement for housekeeping in common, standing round great plots of lawn and garden, such as charm us in old college or hospice. It is the object of the Trust to supply every variety of residence, and so to take advantage of the natural features of the land as to give every resident, whether poor or rich, surroundings which may not only secure health but refresh the spirit, and may make the tired worker reaching home at the end of a long day feel his eye and his mind gratified and soothed and his body rested.

There is no reason why relief from the stir and rush and closeness of the business quarters of London should be confined to the well-to-do. A little forethought and arrangement may extend this blessing to workers of every class. Hitherto the provision of park and garden has had in view too exclusively the solace of those who could afford to pay high rents. The suburb of the artisan or clerk has been apt to be a mere collection of monotonous streets without either private or public gardens, or even a tree by the roadside.

It has been said that the true solution of overcrowding in towns is afforded by cheap traction ; and undoubtedly it seems economically unsound to plant artisans' dwellings in the heart of a town where the land is actually wanted for commercial purposes. The recent Commission on London Street Traffic gives some very valuable information on this question. Owing to the unwise requirement of Parliament, that workers dispossessed by industrial undertakings or improvement schemes should be rehoused in the same neighbourhood, the London County Council has been compelled to build workmen's dwellings in the centre of London, while of its own motion it has built similar dwellings in the suburbs. 'The result,' says the Commission, 'is that in the central districts the ratepayers have sustained a loss of

'412,683*l.* in rehousing 7,586 persons on 18.55 acres; in the 'suburbs the Council have already housed 1,797 persons on '14.15 acres without any loss to the rates.'* But this is not all. Notwithstanding the subsidy given by the ratepayer, the artisan still has to pay a higher rent and to live in a crowd in central London, while in the suburb he pays less and has more air. For instance, in connection with the new street from Holborn to the Strand, the Council was compelled to purchase land for housing, the commercial value of which was 201,107*l.* It was absolutely impossible to obtain a reasonable interest on this outlay in the shape of rents which could be paid by the families to be provided for. Consequently more than three-fourths of the purchase-money was charged in the accounts of the Council as expenses of the street improvements, and 44,000*l.* only ear-marked as the cost of artisans' housing, although not one penny of the additional 157,000*l.* thus charged on the ratepayers would have been paid, but for the obligation to rehouse. And even after this was done the Council were compelled to charge the very high rent of 9*s.* 6*d.* to 11*s.* a week for a three-roomed tenement, and the population per acre remains at 148.† At Tooting, on the other hand, after the whole cost of the land is charged to the housing scheme, a three-roomed cottage can be let without loss at 7*s.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* a week; and the artisan lives in a district where, on the average, there are but 54 persons to the acre.† To complete the absurdity of central rehousing, it is ascertained beyond question that the persons dispossessed do not occupy the new dwellings. Thus any personal loss and inconvenience sustained by the old residents is not prevented, and persons who would perhaps not have lived in central London at all are induced to do so. These and other facts placed before the Commission led them to form a very strong opinion that 'in order to relieve overcrowding means 'must be provided for taking the population into and out of 'London, not in one or two directions but in many directions, 'at rapid speed, frequent intervals and cheap rates.' And they add the following remarks, which are very pertinent to the general subject of this article:—

'If adequate and suitable means of locomotion were provided, regulations against overcrowding could be more stringently enforced in the crowded districts. Many persons who could reside at a distance from their work would do so, and where the business

* Report of Commission, p. 11.

† The figures per acre are the average applicable to the whole of the central and suburban districts.

was of such a nature that the workers must live on the spot, and the owners of the business could not afford to pay wages sufficient to enable the worker to pay such rents as would enable suitable houses to be provided, the tendency would be for such owners to move their business to other and more suitable localities.

‘It cannot be right to promote, by an indirect subsidy, the retention of factories and businesses in the overcrowded parts of the metropolis, where without such assistance they can no longer be carried on at a profit.

‘The provision of houses at less than cost price in crowded localities must tend to check the movement, which has already begun, for the removal of certain classes of work to the outskirts of London, or even beyond them.’*

But if any permanent improvement is to be effected in the lot of the workers in great towns, they must not only be removed from the more crowded parts, but the districts to which they are taken must from the first be so designed as to furnish pleasant homes, and to give real rest and refreshment to those who are brought from their work to pass in them their hours of leisure. If the toiler is landed in surroundings which for ugliness and dreariness are but a replica of those in the midst of which he works, without the vital activity which gives a certain attraction to centres of business, then cheap traction will not solve the housing problem, and will only lead in the long run to an indefinite extension into the country of the worst features of the town. And it is not only the artisan who has to be considered. For workers of every grade London must become either a better or a worse place to work in. Its extraordinary growth removes rural sights and sounds further and further away. The growth cannot be prevented, and the utmost pains must therefore be taken to see that it proceeds on right lines. If the best natural features of the country are retained in new suburbs, if they are made agreeable as well as healthy places of residence, London may grow indefinitely, and, by means of the improvements which are constantly being made in its midst, and the outward movement of its inhabitants, may become continuously healthier and more beautiful. But if this is to be the case, fields and meadows must be replaced by really habitable suburbs; it is the aim of the Hampstead Trust to show how this can be done.

Economically the Garden Suburb will be an experiment in the same direction as the Garden City. It will be necessary, of course, to form a company to find the purchase money and to develop the suburb. If possible the company will retain the

* Report of Commission, p. 16.

freehold of the land in its own hands, and grant leases only ; it may even carry out some of its own building schemes, though perhaps as a matter of finance this would be better done by separate organisations. From the profits it may make it proposes to pay a maximum of 5 per cent. to its shareholders, and any balance will be laid out either for the improvement of the suburb or for the promotion of similar schemes elsewhere. One very obvious use of such spare profits would be the purchase of adjoining land for the extension of the suburb ; and it may be hoped that the Ecclesiastical Commission as a public body would not be unwilling sellers. It is a prominent feature of the project, that if it succeeds it will form an object-lesson which one may hope to see followed largely by private agencies, and perhaps by municipal bodies. Some large employers of labour have already set a golden example. At Bourneville and at Port Sunlight Messrs. Cadbury and Messrs. Lever have built workmen's quarters, which conclusively prove that it is possible to provide houses for the recipients of weekly wages which shall be so constructed, so grouped, and so supplied with garden and open space as to be real homes, and to make positively beautiful villages or suburbs. Mr. Lever has built for his own employees, Mr. Cadbury for workmen generally ; and a remarkable fact elicited by Bourneville is, that the townsman coming from Birmingham, with no experience of the spade, yet takes to gardening enthusiastically when he has a little piece of ground for his own cultivation and use. Similar results attained in a London suburb may be expected to attract even more attention than experiments in the provinces. Scale means a good deal in these matters, and if the Garden City near Hitchin and the Garden Suburb near Hampstead are successful, town building and town extension will have entered on a new phase.

This is not the place to enter in detail upon the financial conditions of the Hampstead scheme. It may be said, however, that the price asked by Eton College, though amply remunerative to that body, as the consideration for a large estate sold *en bloc*, is one that will undoubtedly give the developing company an adequate return for the capital invested. The formation of roads is a heavy item in such a case, and to carry out the views of the Trust not less than fifty-five acres must be devoted to highways and open spaces. It will be necessary to raise by shares or debentures something like 250,000*l.* at the least. The fact that large numbers of applications for sites or for houses have been already received, while it shows that the projected suburb supplies a strongly felt want, indicates also that there is not likely to be any difficulty in rapidly disposing

of the land. It may confidently be anticipated that the continuous rise in the value of land on the outskirts of London, and the attractions which a well-planned district of considerable natural advantages at no great distance from the beautiful open space of Hampstead Heath will present, will eventually give those who are disposed to forward an interesting experiment a valuable investment for their money. A quarter of a million is no very large sum to raise at the present day, and it is to be hoped that such success may meet Mrs. Barnett's Committee in their appeal to the public as may enable them to close with the offer of Eton College at an early date.

Bourneville and Port Sunlight, the Garden City and the Garden Suburb, invaluable experiments in themselves, are equally valuable as evidence of the strong and growing interest in town construction. In Germany, where, as we have said, there has always been a feeling for some unity of design, it is now recognised that a growing town should not be allowed to sprawl over the adjoining country at the mere will of the neighbouring landowners. The town council, in such a case, consults experts, and after much consideration and discussion a definite scheme is promulgated. Streets are laid out, spaces set apart for public squares and gardens, the sites of public buildings selected, and the position of factories, shops, and private residences determined. Everything, in fact, is done by the municipality in relation to land in private ownership which the promoters of the Garden City and the Garden Suburb propose to do with their own land. If necessary the municipality even makes compulsory exchanges of land as between different owners, presumably to rectify inequalities which may arise from the mode in which the land is to be used. We are a long way off this in England. One can imagine the outcry that would arise if a private owner in the neighbourhood of a town were told that nothing but private houses must be built on his land. Even though it might be the best possible future for the land, compensation for the loss of free disposition would be demanded, and lawyers and land agents would evolve marvellous figures. But there is something to be said for such a procedure. Land in the neighbourhood of a town derives large increase of value from the growth of the town; it is only fair that the town should have something to say to the manner of its own growth. The land would have no building value at all, were it not for the energy and ability of the community which inhabits the town. If that community, for the sake of its own health and enjoyment of life, makes arrangements for the extension of its town which to some extent affect the building value, what right has the

landowner to complain? As between one landowner and another inequality might arise, the man whose land was devoted to business uses, offices, and shops, might fare much better than he who had to supply public gardens and sites for villas. Again, openings might be given for corruption and favouritism in the corporate body; and the period during which a town extension was being planned might see a kind of gamble in the surrounding land. But it would not seem beyond the bounds of ingenuity to meet these evils. A machinery after the pattern of the Inclosure Commission might be constituted to see fair play and redress inequalities. It certainly seems reasonable, beyond question, that a town should be extended on some well-considered plan, and not haphazard, and equally clear that the open spaces, which, in one shape or another, are absolutely necessary to a well-ordered town, should be supplied at the expense of those whose land is to come into the building market, and to be thereby greatly enhanced in value. German methods may not precisely suit us, but the principle at the root of them seems equally appropriate to all civilised countries.

Meanwhile, it is in accordance with the English preference for voluntary action, and dislike of large schemes, that experiments in the creation of districts in which town and country shall be in some measure combined should be made by private persons. If old slums are to be eradicated, and new slums prevented, if workers who are brought together for industrial purposes are to be happily housed, if our towns are to be rescued from meanness and want of character, and their surroundings from monotony and dinginess—if, in short, that town life which is likely for a very long time to come to be the life of the majority of Englishmen is to be a healthy, enjoyable life, in which the home affections may thrive and the virtues of citizenship take root and grow, it is of the highest importance that such experiments should be made. The industrial success of the country should by some means be made compatible with a healthy, pleasurable life for its workers.

ART. XI.—NATIONAL DEFENCE.

1. *Imperial Defence.* A Speech delivered in the House of Commons, May 11, 1905 (with Corrections). By the Rt. Hon. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, M.P. London, New York, and Bombay : Longmans & Co.
2. *Imperial Defence.* A Speech delivered at the Mansion House, August 1, 1905. By Field-Marshal EARL ROBERTS. 'Times,' August 2, 1905.
3. *Report of the Royal Commission on Supply of Food and Raw Material in Time of War.* [Cd. 2645.] 1905.
4. *The Science of War.* By the late Colonel G. F. R. HENDERSON, C.B., Author of 'Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War,' edited by Captain Neill Malcolm, D.S.O., Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, with a Memoir of the Author by Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, V.C. London, New York and Bombay : Longmans & Co. 1905.
5. *Military Operations and Maritime Preponderance : their Relations and Interdependence.* By Colonel C. E. CALLWELL, Author of 'Tactics of To-day,' &c. Edinburgh and London : Blackwood & Sons. 1905.
6. *The Anglo-Japanese Treaty.* Parliamentary Paper. [Cd. 2690.]

THE great problem of the Defence of the British Empire is evidently not one which can be solved by military and naval experts alone. The subject demands the closest attention of statesmen, who, perhaps, better than most soldiers can appreciate the true sources, moral and material, whence our national power is derived and the foundations upon which our Imperial greatness has been built. Unfortunately it is the increasing tendency of our statesmen to wait upon rather than to lead public opinion, to stand aside with their own beliefs unformed or undisclosed till they see the effect made upon popular sentiment by the vehement appeals of men who, though they may be unable to take a wide survey of the situation, are at least in earnest.

It was a natural result of the severe trials of the South African war to throw into the melting-pot previous conceptions as to the military exigencies of the Empire. The War Office, successive War Secretaries, and our military system have had to bear a great deal of blame which ought to have fallen on other shoulders. The root error in the whole business was

committed by our statesmen and their civilian advisers rather than by our soldiers. It consisted in the complete misconception in the years preceding the war of what a war with the Transvaal would mean for South Africa and for Great Britain. One of the most distinguished of our military authorities and authors boasted in these pages at the time,* of the extraordinary completeness and rapidity with which in the autumn of 1899 a perfectly equipped army of 50,000 men was despatched to South Africa from England, and a force of nearly 6,000 men from India. This reflected, he declared, the greatest credit upon our military system. It had been the fashion, especially in military circles, to sneer at Lord Wolseley's reforms and our 'paper' army. Our reserves, however, turned out to a man. 'Within six weeks of the day the reserves reached London the brigade of Guards was storming a position 7,500 miles distant from Chelsea Barracks. Even German critics might be impressed.'

But an army of sixty or seventy thousand men could not conquer two huge States in the interior of Africa inhabited by men, few though they were, of Dutch blood determined to struggle to the last for the independence of their race and nation. The conquest of the Dutch States was found to require an army of some 350,000 men, at a cost to the British taxpayer of some 200,000,000*l.* of money. A department established and provided with means for despatching at the most three army corps could not be expected successfully to cope with such a demand as this. The nation was not ready in 1899 and 1900 to send to the front an army four times as large as our statesmen had deemed it necessary for the nation to maintain. This fault, if it were a fault, should be laid on the Ministry, on Parliament, on the people for not taking an adequate view of the military requirements of the country, not on the Department. Blunders, indeed, numerous enough were committed by the War Office, and subsequent inquiry has brought to light much gross mismanagement throughout the course of the war; but it is important that it should be recognised that our military system did succeed in providing us at short notice with the army which the responsible leaders of the nation had advised it was sufficient. The army system, so far at all events, did not break down. But whether that system was or is now at all adequate to the real wants of the nation is a very different question. What these wants really are is the question about which men's minds are sorely perplexed at the present time. It has been raised by the South African war. But it can be answered only after taking

* *Edinburgh Review*, January 1900.

a wide survey of the national and Imperial position throughout the world.

In India and in North America alone is our Colonial Empire assailable by land. For the United Kingdom and for the rest of the Empire the first line of defence is the sea. The wise policy of English statesmen in recent times has gradually withdrawn Imperial troops from our great Colonies. As they have grown into sister nations they have learned to lean upon themselves, and thus to bear a share in what is really Imperial defence by undertaking to provide land forces for their own security. The last step in this direction has just been taken at the instance of the Dominion of Canada, to whom the very important stations of Halifax and Esquimalt have been made over. Let us hope that the day will come, unhappily postponed by the sad consequences of a racial war, when South Africa as little as New Zealand or Australia or Canada will require the presence of Imperial troops, and when a completely self-governing and loyal South Africa will take ample measures for her own military security.

Nowadays, far more than half a century ago, it has thus become possible to concentrate our army at home, so as to make it at once available wherever it may be required. In this very practical fashion the growth of the spirit of nationhood in our great Colonies, intensely loyal as they are to the British connection, has largely contributed to the defensive strength of the Empire.

Tell us what it is that our army is intended for, and how it is to be employed, is a demand made over and over again by men who, in spite of experience, apparently repose an almost unlimited faith in the foreknowledge of British statesmanship. It is comparatively easy for the Frenchman or the German to take military measures for the defence of his frontier. With them the locality and the conditions of anticipated war are largely fixed. With us it is otherwise. In all our past wars with Continental nations the part which our land forces have taken has been necessarily dictated by our alliances and the existing political condition of the Continent. In our great struggle with Napoleon, who would have anticipated such defensive measures as the capture of Copenhagen or the Peninsular war? With regard to the naval defence of the Kingdom and Empire it is different; and our naval strategists and commanders do well to meditate beforehand on the best methods by which they can make their power available throughout the world. There is but 'one sea,' the sailors tell us. *That* is their field of battle, wherever the enemy may be. The enemy has to be driven off the sea. It is not impossible to measure more or less accurately our naval strength against that of our probable or possible foes; but when soldiers

urge that in some sort a similar attempt should be made to provide an army bearing some numerical relation to the armies of the Continent they lose sight entirely of the absolutely different conditions under which British and Continental troops are likely to be employed.

The different points of view from which danger to the Empire from foreign foes can be regarded are well illustrated by the very important speeches lately delivered by Mr. Balfour and Lord Roberts, and by the report of the Royal Commission on the subject of the supply of the United Kingdom in time of war with food and raw materials. The Empire may be attacked at its heart or at its extremities. The United Kingdom, it is urged, may be invaded or may be starved out. India is, however, the only distant possession whose land defence appears to cause any anxiety to the Prime Minister or to the Field-Marshal; the great Dominion of Canada, with its long and exposed border, being left out of sight. Perhaps its security has been mentally relegated (and very reasonably so) to other measures than the despatch of an Imperial army to its frontiers. Even as regards the frontier of Afghanistan some may think that better means may be found of securing India or punishing an aggressor than by endeavouring to outnumber him on the point of attack which he has chosen.

In the opinion of the Prime Minister invasion of the United Kingdom is impossible. As he truly says, our great generals over a long series of years have usually believed in its possibility, whilst our admirals have felt equally confident that it is impossible. It is certain that the Duke of Wellington no less than Napoleon believed in its possibility, whilst Nelson held the opposite opinion with equal certainty. It deserves notice that our statesmen and people have never abandoned themselves to the extremist views of the 'blue water school.' It may be that our admirals are right; but the consequences of error, through over-confidence on their part, are so incalculably great that the nation has wisely determined to be on the safe side and make vigorous preparation on shore to supplement, if need be, the efforts of our first line of defence. Even in the very heyday of Nelson's fame, invasion seemed to his contemporaries a very real and pressing danger indeed. In that hour of seeming peril almost every able-bodied man was under arms. The volunteer force of to-day, though its members have recently done splendid service abroad, owes its origin and continued existence to the public belief in the *possibility* of its services being required at home. Mr. Balfour's reasoning in support of his conclusion hardly carries conviction, though he certainly succeeds in showing that invasion

would be for the enemy a highly hazardous undertaking. Is it *impossible* that for two or three days, or even longer, the British fleet should lose command of the Channel to an enemy's fleet? Is there anything either in our naval history or in modern naval warfare that should make us think this not only unlikely but impossible?

Mr. Balfour says that, given the absence of the army abroad (as lately in South Africa), given also, for the sake of argument, the absence in far distant seas of all 'our organised fleets' (those of the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Channel), we should still be safe, because

'under the new Admiralty system we should have ready for sea in half a dozen hours six first-class battleships, six first-class cruisers, now in reserve, kept ready to put to sea as soon as steam could be raised, and manned by crews specially trained to manœuvre and fight them, in addition to the twelve cruisers, eleven torpedo gunboats, twenty-four destroyers, and twenty torpedo boats stationed in home waters; and in reserve, with nucleus crews ready for rapid action, six first-class battleships, nineteen cruisers of various classes, fifty-eight destroyers and twenty-eight torpedo boats.'

This reasoning seems to evade the problem rather than to solve it. The question is, on the assumption of disaster or other cause which would give temporary superiority in the Channel to a French fleet, would it be possible for the French to land an army of 70,000 men on our shores? Of course, as in the days of the Armada, if a British fleet capable of defeating the enemy rules the Channel, the hostile expedition, if it sails at all, will suffer destruction. But naval warfare, it must be confessed, is just now in a very experimental condition, and a very few hours may suffice entirely to change the relative strength of navies. Mr. Balfour is not convincing when he declares that modern invention has told heavily in favour of insular defence. The natural and physical difficulties of collecting together and transporting a large army across a narrow strip of sea have been greatly diminished, since the days when Napoleon marched his soldiers on foot from every part of France to Boulogne, in the hope of transferring them in sailing ships and barges to the coast of Kent. What then required many months may now, so far as the natural difficulties of the operation are concerned, be accomplished in a few days. This at least is certain. That torpedoes and submarines will tell greatly in favour of the defence is probable. But in warfare of this nature we have yet much to learn. Many Englishmen remember the simple faith reposed by the French public during the early summer of 1870 in their great invention of the *mitrailleuse*.

British common sense will hesitate to base the safety of the kingdom against invasion either on the 'new Admiralty scheme' or on novel instruments of war; and it will be much to be regretted if the confidence of our naval experts and the optimistic opinions of the Prime Minister tend to diminish the efforts of Englishmen to maintain for their own defence at the highest pitch in efficiency and numbers the Volunteer forces of the Crown.

The Prime Minister and Lord Roberts are chiefly concerned at the vulnerability of India. Russian railways, built for strategic purposes, have reached the borders of Afghanistan. One line from Russia *via* the Caspian is complete to within 100 miles of Herat, another *via* Orenburg and Tashkend will soon be open to within 400 miles of Kabul. This, as Mr. Balfour says, places the military situation in the East on a wholly new footing.

'We must therefore consider it in all seriousness, and endeavour soberly to estimate what can and cannot be done by our great neighbour in the Middle East; not of course because we need suppose an invasion of India probable, not because it forms any part of the policy of the Russian Government, but because, where national defence is concerned, even the improbable must be taken into account.'

After having discussed the subject with Lord Kitchener, Mr. Balfour believes that we shall be reasonably secure if we forbid the making of Russian railways within Afghan territory, and hold ourselves ready to despatch during the first year of invasion, in addition to drafts, a force amounting to eight divisions of infantry with corresponding numbers of other arms.

Lord Roberts's estimate is a less 'sober' one than that of the Prime Minister. Since the Russians, he says, have with a single railway sent half a million of men into Manchuria, some five or six thousand miles from St. Petersburg, much more easily could they send that number by their two railways for little more than half the distance to the very borders of Afghanistan.

'In the event, therefore, of a war with Russia we ought to have at our disposal a force superior to that which could be brought against us; and this number should, I think, be independent of the contingent which the native army could provide; for that army, or its equivalent in strength, would be needed to impress the frontier tribes and the Afghans, whose attitude will inevitably be more or less uncertain till they see which side is most likely to win and are able to decide which side it would be most to their advantage to join.'

Coming from so great an authority, these words cannot but greatly impress Englishmen. For what do they mean? We

are told that we must outnumber with white troops in Central Asia the armies of the greatest military nation (in numbers) of the world. Lord Roberts places their supposed invading army at half a million of men. There is no apparent reason why he should have so limited it. Again, it appears to Lord Roberts that we must look to the native Indian army only to impress the frontier tribes and the Afghans. Assuredly this speech, if it is well founded, justifies, and more than justifies, the fears of those who for the last two generations have solemnly warned Englishmen of the inevitable danger to British rule in India due to Russian advances in Asia. Lord Salisbury's allusion to 'big maps and little maps' and the jokes about 'Mervousness' are still in men's minds, and the recollection does not tend to increase our belief in the foresight of responsible English statesmanship.

Lord Roberts proceeds to consider our means of providing the half-million of men he deems necessary. Having regard to what happened in the South African war, he thinks, under our present military system, we could not do more than mobilise 200,000 British troops on the Indian frontier, after providing for the internal security of the peninsula. Even this would leave the United Kingdom denuded of regular troops. We might, he thinks, look to the militia for 50,000 more, to the volunteers for an equal number, and to the Colonies for 30,000. We should thus be short of Lord Roberts's minimum by 170,000 men. These vast numbers would not be wanted quite at the beginning of the war, and Lord Roberts seriously maintains that his estimates of our requirements are even more moderate than the facts entirely justify. After referring to the existing most grave 'shortage' of officers he concludes with a solemn warning to the nation of the dangerous condition of affairs in which the country finds itself.

'It is not a matter which will admit of delay; and the people of this country must decide at once that it shall be remedied, or they must hold themselves responsible for any disaster that may occur. Neither the army nor the Government will be to blame, but the people themselves, whose lack of patriotism prevents their taking any interest in the condition of the armed forces of the country.'

A less well-founded charge was never made than that of British indifference in the present day to the military condition of the nation. When Lord Roberts first went to India, what would the generation that then governed England have thought of the military expenditure in times of peace which the British people now annually takes upon its shoulders? In still earlier days

would Wellington, or Pitt, or Liverpool have supposed it possible that nearly 400,000 men should be despatched to fight their country's battles in the interior of South Africa? The military budget of the year, the fact that service in the army and militia is voluntary, and the existence of the volunteer force amply prove a popular determination, and at the same time a martial spirit in all classes such as the people of no Continental State can show. There is every readiness to make sacrifices in order to provide for the military defence of the nation. British common sense, however, demands that the military system must have regard to the special genius, idiosyncrasies, and circumstances of the people, and that the military burden upon the State must bear some reasonable relation to the dangers to be encountered.

Lord Roberts of course sees that the half-million of men which he proposes to place on the north-west frontier of India cannot be obtained without an entire change in our military system.

'I consider,' he says, 'that there is now no option but to introduce universal training and service for home defence. . . . It may be objected that neither a voluntary system nor universal service for home defence would provide for the despatch abroad of the large force that might be necessary. To this I would reply that it is our duty now to make such arrangements that when the emergency occurs there may be a sufficient number of properly trained and organised men in this country to meet the military wants. Whether these men go to the seat of war or not must depend on the will of the nation at the time.'

Now *universal* service can have no other meaning than *compulsory* service; and, though Lord Roberts says he is not an advocate of conscription, that which he presses upon the public is in English eyes conscription and nothing else. To compel people to become soldiers under pain of fine or imprisonment, and to hold them, when trained, liable 'at the will of the nation' to be despatched to overwhelm half a million of Russians on the frontiers of Afghanistan, is Lord Roberts's proposal. It is impossible to attach any other meaning to his words. Universal compulsory service comes necessarily in substitution, not in supplement, of a voluntary system. It means good-bye to the voluntary system alike as regards regulars, militia, and volunteers. On one principle or the other the nation must take its stand; it cannot rely upon both.

To the gallant soldier and distinguished general who has served forty-one years in India it is natural enough that the question of the north-west frontier should loom so large as to obscure his view of the general interests of a world-wide Empire.

Indeed, the main merit of the Empire, in his eyes, appears to be that it provides a large reservoir from which unending streams of troops may pour upon the Russian invaders as soon as they take the field in Afghanistan. There is some lack of proportion in all this in the opinion of the average Englishman. It was bad enough to have to spend millions in 'strategic railways' and in establishing a 'scientific frontier;' but the nation believed the military assurances that these measures would make us safe. And now, after all this has been done, we are told that we must have a larger number of men to meet the advancing Russians than they can bring against us! That is not a frontier for which very much can be said from the point of view either of science or common sense. In military circles there is to-day undoubtedly a leaning towards conscription, though there is a certain dread of using that unpopular word. By all means let physical training and drill be part of the curriculum in ordinary schools. As to this there would be very general agreement; but when it is proposed that men should be compelled by law to give military service to the State, all kinds of questions arise which demand and will receive the consideration of civilians not less than of soldiers. One very practical detail is the rate of pay of those who abroad would be called 'conscripts.' Is it to be less than the market rate of wages?

To most English statesmen, unless we are greatly mistaken, a system of compulsory service will seem in the highest degree inexpedient, and likely to injure the very cause it is intended to serve. To many it seems so unpractical as to be unworthy of serious discussion. Even on purely military grounds some of our more thoughtful soldiers have been strongly opposed to it. The late Colonel Henderson was better qualified by experience than most men to compare the conscript with the volunteer.

'If,' he writes, 'it is impossible to class our army in South Africa of regulars, militia, and volunteers in the aggregate as a fine army, according to modern ideas, there was no reason why with time it might not become one. Certain virtues were common to the mass. Not a man amongst them was either a conscript or commandeered. The spirit of *noblesse oblige*, the pride of freedom and independence, inspired the rank and file. They were in South Africa because they were eager to fight the Queen's enemies, not because they had drawn a number; and the Anglo-Saxon who becomes a soldier of his own free will, even granting that he is sometimes attracted by high pay, does far better service than when he acts under compulsion.*'

* The Science of War, p. 385.

In another work Colonel Henderson fairly loses patience with the criticisms of foreign soldiers who refuse to see that

‘the war in South Africa, like the war in the Peninsula and the Civil War in America, is a triumph for the principle of voluntary service. The *moral* of conscript armies has always been their weakest point, and it is the hope that the *moral* of the volunteer is no longer of a higher type that accounts for the unwarrantable inferences and the unscrupulous manipulation of flimsy evidence.’

Let us now turn to a different branch of the all-important subject of national defence. Neither Mr. Balfour nor Lord Roberts referred to the risk to which war must expose our world-wide commerce and the transport to our shores of the most absolute necessities of life. Yet there are many whose apprehensions of the principal dangers that war with a powerful enemy, or combination of enemies, would cause to the Empire are of this nature. To them it is not the advance of Russia through the mountains of Afghanistan, still less the invasion of the United Kingdom itself by a Continental enemy, that is to be dreaded so much as the attack upon the commerce, the food supplies, and the raw material by the manufacture of which the nation exists. Why should an enemy make the enormously hazardous attempt at invasion when it is open to him far more easily to starve us out? How are hundreds of thousands of our working population to live if the supply of cotton, of wool, and of iron ore that come to us across the seas is put an end to? Nay, considering that nowadays our foodstuffs—more especially wheat, the most important part of it—are sent to us in such very large proportion from abroad, and that under modern conditions our home supply is totally insufficient to maintain us for more than a very short time, the mere interruption of the stream of wheat constantly flowing into our ports would, if it could be continued for a very few weeks, suffice to bring the nation to its knees.

How far the Ministry itself attached weight to these fears we do not know, but in any case it did well to cause the whole subject to be examined by a Royal Commission, and to place at the head of it so able and long-headed a statesman as Lord Balfour of Burleigh. This Commission, which included amongst its members the Prince of Wales, was asked to inquire into

‘the conditions affecting the importation of food and raw materials into the United Kingdom in time of war; into the amount of the reserves of such supplies existing in the country at any given period; and to advise whether it is desirable to adopt any measures, in addition to the maintenance of a strong fleet, by which such supplies can be better secured and violent fluctuation avoided.’

The Commission report that the consumption of wheat in the United Kingdom is, speaking roundly, about 30,000,000 quarters annually, and that of this 20 per cent. may be taken as home-grown; as to meat (beef, mutton, and bacon), of rather more than 2,250,000 tons consumed, the home production rather exceeds one-half; and that whilst the existing stock in the country at any one time of the principal raw materials previously mentioned might, at the present rate of consumption, last some months, the supply of wheat at home, either at the ports or in the hands of the millers and growers, at certain seasons of the year falls as low as seven weeks' consumption. Is, then, the danger a real one that the United Kingdom may be reduced in a few weeks by starvation to capitulate, like a fortress that has stood a long siege? If so what steps should be taken to protect us against so great a danger? Ought we to accept the analogy between the United Kingdom and a great fortress, and deliberately and in time of peace store ourselves at the least with food and the absolute necessities of existence, in order that the nation may live during the time that it remains cut off from the rest of the world?

The reports of the Commission—for there are several—and still more the evidence it has published, will go far to reassure reasonable men that so long as the nation maintains a powerful navy there is little fear of such calamitous consequences as have been anticipated. No doubt, a war against one or more of the great Powers of the world would entail in many ways and under any circumstances hardships and suffering on the great mass of our people, whilst on the other hand many individuals would make their fortunes. This is necessarily the effect of every great war. The alternative of peace may sometimes be an impossible one, but in itself war cannot but be a great calamity to the commercial and industrial nation which engages in it. The reference to the Royal Commission assumed, it will be observed, 'the maintenance of a strong fleet,' and it was asked what *additional* security was required. Virtually the answer given by Lord Balfour and the majority of his colleagues is to the effect that a *sufficiently strong fleet* is our true safeguard. With such a fleet we need have little to fear from the serious interruption of our supplies or the destruction of our commerce. Into the sufficiency of our naval preparation it was, of course, not the province of the Commission to inquire. That is the business of the Admiralty, of Parliament, of the nation. It is there that national effort should be concentrated; and it would be a waste of power to take measures both dubious

and costly, to protect ourselves from dangers against which a 'strong fleet' is a complete protection.

Sir James Mackay, President of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom, expressed an absolutely boundless confidence in the ability of a strong British fleet to protect, during war, our shipping, and to keep open almost without let or hindrance the flow of food and merchandise to our shores. So long as the 'fleet was supreme' even the rate of insurance of British shipping would not be materially increased. 'If the navy declared the Mediterranean to be safe there would be no difficulty in British ships going there.'* Sir John Hopkins, formerly in command of the Mediterranean fleet, spoke less confidently. Were we at war with France and Russia, even 'assuming that our Channel and Mediterranean fleets were masters of the situation to a certain extent,' he held that a British ship coming through the Mediterranean with provisions 'would run great risks.' It was highly probable, he had been informed, that in such circumstances the P. & O. would not come up the Mediterranean at all. On this matter Sir Cyprian Bridge, formerly director of Naval Intelligence at the Admiralty, who has served in the Mediterranean, and who has more recently held the chief commands on the Australian station and in the China seas, held a different opinion. Here and there doubtless a ship would be captured; it had always been so in past wars, though British naval supremacy was established. There had been captures of Japanese ships in the recent war with Russia; but these captures could not be on a large scale, such as would tell perceptibly on the fortunes of the war. Sir Cyprian held strongly the prevailing doctrine that our primary duty would be to destroy the enemy's naval power, and that when this had once been accomplished, there would be little injury done to our commerce or home supplies by the occasional and almost chance capture of a British trading vessel. He had very little fear of the policy of 'commerce-destroying' with which we had been threatened. Our policy would be to concentrate our battle fleet and establish our superiority of power; but we should maintain also a sufficiency of cruisers to enable us to hunt down or render harmless any 'Alabamas' which might threaten our trade. A considerable number would be required. 'You do not hunt a fox,' observed the Admiral, 'with a single hound, and when he is being hunted he leaves the henroosts alone.' The evidence always comes round to the same point. 'I cannot conceive,' says Sir Cyprian, 'of any national insurance or

* Evidence of Sir James Mackay, G.C.B.

‘indemnity which would be equal in good effect to keeping the ‘navy up to the proper strength. There is no way in which ‘money can be spent so effectively to insure the security of our ‘merchant navy in time of war.’ And this is the view which recommended itself to the majority of the Royal Commission.

When we contemplate the risk of the invasion of the United Kingdom we assume that through some disaster the navy has lost command of the Channel for at the least several days. But the danger of destruction, which some people consider still greater, from the hostile interruption of the national supplies of necessities from across the seas, presupposes that, for at least some months, our navy is powerless to keep open our ports to the vast imports which high prices would naturally bring to our shores. It is held by *all* the Royal Commissioners that anything like a blockade of the United Kingdom is impossible. The extent of our coast line, the geographical position of the British Islands, and the assumed existence of a ‘strong fleet’ put this entirely out of the question. The Commissioners understand by a strong fleet ‘a fleet which is always strong enough to take ‘the offensive against the enemy’s ships.’* The conclusion of the Report seems inevitable (par. 148), viz.—

‘Whatever our naval strength might be, some captures would certainly take place. But with a strong fleet we find no reason to fear such an interruption of our supplies as would lead to the starvation of our people, nor do we see any evidence that there would be any serious shortage.’

Still, danger might accrue from a rise in the price of food due to exaggerated alarm, and the consequent effect upon the people. Can this be avoided either by a great system for the national storage of grain, or by the nation undertaking itself to bear the cost of captures, and so guaranteeing shipowners and merchants against all loss at the hands of the enemy? Sir Henry Seton Karr disagrees with paragraph 148, and holds, logically enough, that its approval involves the conclusion that beyond a strong fleet *no* additional security need be sought; and an important minority of the Commission, including the Duke of Sutherland, Mr. Chaplin, and Mr. Wharton, concur with Sir Henry Seton Karr in advocating, as a far better protection than national indemnity or national insurance, the free storage of grain in this country. This might be achieved, they think, by placing an import duty of 2s. a quarter on wheat, and remitting it in part, or entirely, ‘when’ the wheat, stored free of charge, has been retained in national store-

* Paragraph 115, Report of Royal Commission.

houses a shorter or longer time. Thus wheat taken out of store within a month would pay the full duty of 2*s.* After four months it would escape the duty altogether ; and a proportionate reduction of duty would be made on grain taken out in intermediate periods. The minority of the Commission report accordingly in favour of the adoption of a proposal of this kind made by Mr. Cunynghame, himself a member of the Commission. His own recommendation involved a 4*s.* duty on imported wheat and flour ; but on further consideration, we presume, he has seen his way to believing that a 2*s.* duty would suffice to secure the ends aimed at. It has, it seems, become increasingly the habit of exporters of grain, especially in the United States, to store their grain on their own side of the Atlantic, and not to transfer it to England till it is needed to satisfy the immediate demand ; and the object sought is to induce exporters to England, by the offer of free storage here, and the consequent saving of storage expenses there, to keep very large stocks in England, and so provision us beforehand for the contemplated siege.

Now all this requires a good deal of thinking out. As the main Report suggests, it may well be that the proposed national granaries will be largely filled at the expense of the stocks at present held in this country at the ports and by the millers and bakers. And on general principles we should be disposed to question whether the placing of a 4*s.* or a 2*s.* import duty on corn would tend, on the whole, to fill England with grain. Mr. Chaplin, the Duke of Sutherland, and Sir Henry Seton Karr are, as becomes leading members of the Tariff Reform League, anxious on quite other grounds than those of national defence to impose a corn tax ; and it may be that their leanings in that direction colour their views as to the general benefits to be expected from the acceptance of the 'first plank' of Mr. Chamberlain's policy of fiscal reform. Mr. Jeffreys* proposed that farmers should be induced, by Government subsidy, to keep their corn unthreshed in ricks from one harvest to another. The farmer would receive 4*s.* 6*d.* for every quarter retained in rick for twelve months certain, of which amount it was calculated that 1*s.* 6*d.* would be for loss of interest, 2*s.* for loss caused by rats, and 1*s.* remuneration to the farmer. The burdened taxpayer, ignorantly impatient of taxation, might grumble not a little at what he would undoubtedly consider the establishment at the public expense of a handsome provision for the maintenance of rats ! Doubtless the majority of the Commissioners are, on the whole, right, whilst they do not deprecate

* Evidence of the Right Hon. A. F. Jeffreys, M.P.

experimental attempts at storage, to bestow greater attention on the proposals of national indemnity and national insurance.

These projects, whilst aiming at the same result, proceed on different lines. The nation may take into its own hands the business of insuring British ships and merchandise against war risks in return for a moderate premium ; or it may undertake, without making any charge for so doing, to indemnify shipowners and cargo-owners for their actual loss by hostile capture or destruction. If the insurance plan were adopted, since the nation would not need to make a profit out of the business, and as the premiums would be calculated upon the total of expected losses, and would not be forced up by panic, the rate of insurance would remain moderate and steady ; and one cause of the enhancement during war of freights, and consequently of the price of food and other supplies, would be avoided, to the general benefit of consumers.

It is impossible to examine these proposals at length on the present occasion. The majority of witnesses, and the Royal Commissioners themselves, prefer the proposal of 'National Indemnity' to that of 'National Insurance.' It is recognised that in all probability a 'panic' rise of price of staple articles of food will take place at the outbreak of a maritime war, though this will, of course, at once increase the exertions made to pour supplies into the country. Should these high prices and the consequent suffering to the people continue 'it might result 'in danger to calmness and self-possession just when these 'qualities would be of the greatest importance' (see paragraph 254). We quote the concluding paragraphs of the principal report (paragraphs 266 and 267) :

'We are of opinion that a system of National Indemnity against loss from capture by the enemy would operate both as an additional security to the maintenance of our over-sea trade and as an important steadying influence upon prices, and we wish to place distinctly on record our opinion that the advantages to be gained from some well-considered scheme of the kind seem to us very largely to outweigh any objections that have been stated to us. We do not feel ourselves competent to draw out the precise terms of such a scheme, but we look rather in the direction of National Indemnity than in that of National Insurance. We recognise that National Insurance may at first sight appear more attractive, since the amount received by the State in premiums would be something to set against what might have to be paid on account of losses. But this economy seems to us to be more apparent than real when it is remembered that the amount paid in premiums, both on the goods carried and the ships in which they come, is almost certain to be paid by the consumer. Similarly it has been suggested that National Insurance, owing to the payment of a premium by

the shipowner, does not to the same extent as National Indemnity imply preferential treatment of a single industry ; but, even granting that some preference would accrue to the shipowner, the importance of maintaining efficient means of transport in times of war, and of keeping rates of freight so far as possible at a normal level, is so great as to outweigh this objection. Moreover, it appears to us that a scheme of National Indemnity will leave it more open to the Government, acting through the Admiralty or otherwise, to impose conditions, to prescribe rules, and to keep greater control of the risks that in one form or another will have to be run.'

After recommending the appointment of a small expert committee to investigate the subject further and form a scheme, they wind up the Report by reiterating that the main security of the country is the strength of the navy.

' But we rely only in a less degree upon the widespread resources of our mercantile fleet and its power to carry on our trade and reach all possible sources of supply wherever they exist ; and we believe that a guarded and well-considered scheme of National Indemnity would act as a powerful addition to our resources, because it would tend to keep down the cost of transport, and therefore would go far in preventing high prices in time of war, whilst at the same time it would be a stimulus to the enterprise of British ship-owners' (par. 269).

Notwithstanding the great weight which attaches to this finding of the Royal Commission, there are many reasons which will make prudent men inclined to reserve their opinion on this subject till the proposed committee of experts has produced its scheme. As Sir Cyprian Bridge said in evidence, the attempt to indemnify for losses 'seems to put people off the right track,' which is to provide a fleet of sufficient strength to reduce the losses to a minimum. If our efforts in this direction are successful, and the actual losses inflicted by the enemy should prove very small in comparison with the vastness of our trade—and this, we have already seen, is the belief of the Royal Commission—surely the British people would recover, before much mischief had been done, from panic fears, themselves the cause of the danger, fears which a very short experience would show to be almost groundless !

In sober truth, is there reasonable ground for anticipating the occurrence of a life - and - death struggle between the British Empire and a combination against it of the great nations of the Continent ? Is it quite rational to anticipate a future in which the United Kingdom, the centre of the commerce of the whole world, will be perforce entirely dependent upon its internal resources, and will glare out, so to speak, from behind its moat,

and with its drawbridges raised, against millions of encircling foes panting for its destruction? It is sufficiently lamentable that in the early years of the twentieth century so gloomy a prospect should loom before the eyes of Englishmen. We have, assuredly, no right to calculate on perpetual peace. It is possible, on the other hand, to give too much rein to the imagination in picturing the dangers of the coming years.

There is nothing more unwise than that over-confidence which tempts men to neglect precautions. Nevertheless, when we weigh everything that can be urged on the side of the exposure to destruction of our Empire, either by direct invasion or by the attack of European Powers upon our colonies, or upon our commerce, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that our position is, in truth, an extraordinarily strong one; so long as the nation is willing to maintain a powerful fleet at the highest pitch of efficiency, always ready for action. The enormous naval estimates of recent years prove the readiness of the people to bear without grumbling whatever burden of taxation may be thought necessary for our security. But for the vastness of our naval preparations it is very far from improbable that the South African War and the Russo-Japanese War would have led to a general European conflict, with results which it is impossible to estimate. It is, moreover, now clearly recognised that it is not merely in excluding an invader from our shores, in protecting our own commerce and in destroying his, that a predominant fleet makes its power felt. An efficient army, small indeed in comparison with the great hosts of the Continent, may prove, as history has often shown us, a decisive factor in terminating a great Continental war. Thanks to the sister service, such an army can exercise a choice over its field of operations denied to any European Power at war with us. Lord Cardwell once boasted, in conversation, that in 1870 he could have raised the siege of Paris. Let no one dream that in a future war with a Continental nation we shall be able any more than in the past to confine our fighting to 'blue water.' A party to a great struggle cannot conduct it successfully on principles of limited liability. The struggle has to be brought to an end by the entire discomfiture of the enemy. To dominate the seas has never by itself been found sufficient to give us complete victory over a great military Power. In all probability we shall, as in the past, have allies to assist, and great ports to make secure against attack. If we contemplate future war on a great scale at all, let us not shut our eyes to the certainty that as heretofore a British army will have to do its share of the fighting.

It is this power of combining military operations with maritime preponderance that Colonel Callwell has made the subject of his interesting book. It has often happened that the most distinguished men in the one service have been unable to understand the special difficulties with which the other has to contend. When Wellington complained from the Peninsula of the naval commanders for not absolutely securing his over-sea communications, Lord Melville wrote, 'I will take your opinion in preference to any person's as to the most effectual mode of beating the French army, but I have no confidence in your seamanship or nautical skill.' Napoleon showed himself again and again unable to appreciate naval conditions, and to his cost disregarded the advice of naval experts. On the other hand, in the Mediterranean during the great war our distinguished sailors had very little patience with the military difficulties of the commanders of the land forces; and misunderstanding between the two services rose to a pitch highly injurious to the success of our joint operations. The weight which an 'amphibious Power' can throw into the scale is very great, if the advantages and limitations due to its peculiar nature are borne in mind. It has of course always been the practice for a British Ministry to take counsel in time of threatened or actual war with the commanders of the land and naval forces of the Crown as to the operations to be undertaken; and the present Government has taken a step in advance in providing for the systematic consideration, by statesmen in combination with the chief men of both services, in time of peace, of those joint measures which war would render advisable. Colonel Callwell has no difficulty in adducing many witnesses to prove that a land force is often required in order that a maritime Power may get full value for the services which its fleet is capable of rendering. To leave the army out of account and to imagine that a powerful navy will do everything that the nation requires to be done in time of war is to make a fundamental mistake both as to the strategic advantages of the position, and of the temper and spirit of the British people.

In Colonel Callwell's volume will be found a very useful enumeration of the joint operations of soldiers and sailors in past and recent wars, and the conclusions he draws from them. Oversea invasions, landings in the face of the enemy, maritime sieges, Lord Torrington's much-discussed theory of 'a fleet in being,' all receive consideration by the light of experience. Napoleon's policy had been to drive the British into the sea:

'He had driven them into the sea at Toulon, but they had sailed away to Corsica. His generals had worsted them amid the dykes

and dunes of the north of Holland, but they had been obliged to let the enemy embark and return to England. To a commander accustomed to decisive victories like Marengo and Austerlitz and Jena, these islanders with their appearances and disappearances, their flittings to and fro, their intangible and irritating strategy, presented a perplexing and vexatious problem.*

So it was even with Moore after Corunna—operations vexatious rather than fundamentally important, till Wellington, by securing his base upon the sea, showed that ‘the islanders’ had it in their power to *stay*, and ultimately with a comparatively small force to wear out and defeat the much more numerous army to which they were opposed. If the nation has well learnt the lesson of its own history, it will avoid the two extremes; on the one hand, of attempting to create a huge army based more or less on Continental models and compulsory service; on the other hand, of ignoring the army altogether, of trusting that it can completely overthrow its Continental enemies solely by means of a powerful fleet.

True reform and real progress in the right direction are, in truth, greatly hampered by the extravagant expectations of that by no means insignificant number of military men who nowadays see, in conscription or compulsory military service, the solution of all our difficulties. As we have shown, the late Colonel Henderson was not amongst them. In his concluding chapter on ‘the British army,’ † he dwells but little on the insufficiency of its numbers, whilst he impresses on his readers that in a competent staff, in the military education and practical training of our officers, in an organisation that can make use of the materials we have got, the nation is lacking. ‘The first necessity, then, of Imperial defence, so far as the army is concerned, is the maintenance of at least three army corps of ‘regulars, ready to render immediate support when the navy ‘asks for it.’ Speaking of the system in force at the beginning of the Transvaal War, Colonel Henderson declares that

‘the Militia, the Yeomanry, the Volunteers, and the Colonial forces, which provided an immediate reserve of 500,000 men, might, under a comprehensive system, have furnished a secondary reserve, a Landwehr and a Landsturm combined, of as many more, at an exceedingly small price. It was here that that system was so defective. . . . The remedy lay in the organisation of the secondary reserve. Not a man who had borne arms, whether in the army or the auxiliary forces, should have been suffered to disappear into civil life. Every trained soldier should have been registered, and cadres should have been established in which every veteran who

* P. 301.

† Science of War.

was still willing, in case of emergency, to serve his country should have been enrolled.' *

It is always taken for granted that our first line of defence is the navy. Surely with proper organisation and with competent officers our auxiliary forces should be strong enough, with a very small nucleus of regular troops, to constitute a sufficient second line of defence for the British Islands. If so, in case of emergency we should be able to spare substantially our whole army for service elsewhere. Nothing can be more short-sighted or mischievous than to diminish the numbers of the Volunteers as a purely home defence force, in the hope that in a smaller number of better-drilled men we may obtain a sort of imitation regular army competent to fight across the seas the highly disciplined troops of the great military Powers. True that in South Africa the reinforcement of regular battalions with Volunteer companies answered admirably, and that after a little experience Volunteers became hardly distinguishable from regulars. In this way the Volunteer service was of the greatest use across the seas ; and so doubtless in another emergency of a similar kind it would be again. But the Volunteer force is one to which, by reason of its very nature, it is impossible to apply emergency measures in times of profound peace. It is composed of men who cannot make soldiering their profession. They have been brilliantly successful in creating a citizen army ; they can in times of stress render the most important help to the regular forces of the Crown, but they cannot, we venture to think, be regarded as part of that service army of the Crown, always ready to respond to the call of the nation ' to go anywhere and do anything.'

The nation is bound to do what is needful in defence of the Empire, though the expense of taking due precautions may, and must, lay a heavy burden of taxation on the people. The naval estimates of recent years have been on a scale that would have seemed hardly credible to Ministers of either party twenty years ago. Yet that expenditure has been wisely and providently incurred ; and has in all probability saved us from losses impossible to estimate. Both as regards military and naval expenditure, however, whilst nothing should be left to chance, British statesmen must act with a view to guarding against *real* dangers, and must resist the pressure of alarmists whose imagination is always painting the condition of the country as one of great and imminent peril. If we compare the present time with the past it is not easy to see in what respect our national security has been lessened. There has never been any period of peace in

the history of our country during which such extensive preparations have been made to defend the country in time of war. Yet there probably never was a time when it would have been less safe for a European nation to attack us. The danger of that great combination against us of several Continental nations which is to bring ruin to British power never seemed more remote than it does to-day. It is recognised throughout the world that our influence tells strongly in favour of the maintenance of international peace, and it would certainly not suit all the Great Powers that that influence should be diminished. We remember that since 1815 Great Britain has only once been at war with a European Power, and the exception of the Crimean War is not an instance where the results achieved or the judgement of history offer much temptation to British statesmen lightly to leave the paths of peace. Is there any reason to suppose that the responsible leaders of the nation during the present century will be less anxious or less successful in their efforts to preserve peace with our neighbours than have been their predecessors of the past three generations?

What is the position in which the nation stands towards its great neighbours, as compared with that which it occupied, say, at the death of Lord Palmerston? Whether we consider America, Europe, or Asia, it is difficult to deny that the circumstances of the time, if only a rational and peace-loving policy is pursued, give us a right in 1905 to take a more hopeful view of the future than would have been possible for our ancestors forty years ago. With the United States our relations have become happy for the best of all reasons—that there has grown up between the people of the two countries a common sentiment of friendship which it would outrage the feelings of the vast majority of reasonable men on both sides of the Atlantic to see disturbed. A generation or two ago, odd as it sounds, a close combination between the United States and Russia seemed far more probable than hearty friendship between the great Anglo-Saxon nations! We have had during these years our difficulties, our relations have at times even become strained, but a spirit of good sense and conciliation have enabled us to surmount them; and on both sides of the Atlantic men are reaping their reward.

In Europe the great changes that have come about are the fall of the French Empire, the consolidation of Italy, the military primacy of Germany, and the entrance of the latter upon its career of a great industrial and commercial State. Whilst the Napoleonic régime lasted, and Imperial France was the predominating military Power of the world, it was natural enough that Englishmen from time to time should look with jealous distrust

at their nearest and most formidable neighbour. Certainly Lord Palmerston and Sidney Herbert believed that the will was not wanting to the French Emperor to try once more conclusions with his uncle's old foe. Since the days of the Armada France has been the only Power which has been able even to threaten invasion of these islands. The events of 1870-71 changed the bent of patriotic and military ardour amongst Frenchmen, not less than it altered the balance of power; and the rise of Germany to the first position amongst military nations was for England not fraught with the consequences that must have attended the warlike triumph of Napoleonism. It is probable that neither the purchase of the Suez Canal shares nor the British occupation of Egypt would have been accomplished in peace had a Bonaparte still sat upon the throne of France. And what, on the other hand, would Lord Palmerston have said to those recent arrangements regarding Morocco, which have received the almost universal approval of Englishmen? France must necessarily, we rejoice to think, remain amongst the most powerful of European States; and the warm spirit of friendliness that prevails to-day between France and England gives fresh hope of the long continuance of European peace.

The rise of the Italian nation has had throughout the sympathy of this country; and the existence in the Mediterranean of a powerful Italian fleet is regarded with more than complacency by most Englishmen. During all the variations of sentiment amongst the nations during the past fifty years, the friendship between England and Italy has remained steadfast; and there is little reason for apprehending that either supposed national interest or change of sentiment will intervene to disturb the admirable relations existing between them.

It is, we believe, in the growth of German power that we are invited to see fresh danger to the British Empire. For good reasons or bad, a soreness of feeling between the two nations has arisen in the last seven or eight years, and a certain section of the Press in England and Germany, with a strange lack both of wisdom and patriotism, has done its best to exaggerate and inflame the bitterness that unfortunately exists. It is hardly possible to conceive a more monstrous folly than a war between Great Britain and Germany, from whichever side it be regarded. The material interests of each must suffer greatly, whilst compensating advantages for either are hard to seek. But unfortunately national rivalries and national antipathies have quite as often led to war as the conflict of material interests. There is between the two nations no cause for quarrel, and there is both in England and Germany

a certain solidity in the mass of the people that prevents them from being carried away by the excited language of irresponsible reckless speakers and writers. A strong Germany, the great central Power of the Continent, is in itself in no way a danger to the British Empire; and as the Germans have developed into a great industrial and commercial Power, as they have acquired distant colonies, as they have covered the seas with their merchantmen, so since 1871 they have given fresh pledges for peace, largely no doubt to all Europe, but in a very high degree indeed to the predominant naval Power of the world. An Englishman must indeed be an alarmist who dreads at the hands of Germany either invasion or destruction of commerce, or loss of colonies!

Our geographical position very largely frees us from the ambitions and the fears which the possibility of territorial changes in Europe must create amongst Continental nations. Since 1815 how great have been the alterations in the frontiers of European States! These have resulted from wars in which (always excepting the war of 1854-55) we felt, and felt rightly, that British interests forbade us to take part. It has been our policy to abstain from entangling alliances on the Continent of Europe. Great antagonistic combinations of rival nations have been formed from which we have held aloof, satisfied if we could make it understood by all the world that our influence would be steadily used for the maintenance of peace. That influence depends on our power, which is not the less felt because it is held in reserve. An almost unassailable position at home, freedom from selfish ambitions in Europe, a love of peace both for its own sake and for its material advantages, constitute favourable conditions which should surely enable our statesmen to preserve 'peace with honour,' even if they do not suffice as yet to make Great Britain the trusted arbiter of Europe, 'the appropriate object,' in Mr. Gladstone's words, 'of the general confidence as the sole comparatively unsuspected Power.'*

Outside Europe, it must be confessed, if extension of territory be a just cause of irritation to others, it is not surprising that our progress should have excited the jealousy of our neighbours. Even under Mr. Gladstone himself there was no slackening in the steady process by which we enlarged our territorial sway. But the period of delimitation amongst the Great Powers of remote and unoccupied territories has been reached, and it is generally recognised that consolidation, not further extension, is now the policy of the British Empire. No one in England covets the colonies of any other nation. Our interest not only in Europe,

* See the *Edinburgh Review*, October 1870.

but throughout the world, lies in the maintenance of the *status quo*. It is to Asia that Lord Roberts and others point as the quarter of the globe where peace will almost certainly be broken. Military ambition and national hostility will tempt Russia to advance against the North-West Frontier of India, and this, as we have seen, is the imminent peril to encounter which the Field-Marshal invites Great Britain to make such extensive preparation.

Is that danger increased or diminished by the events of the Russo-Japanese War, by the peace that has followed it, and by the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Japan? Russia as a naval Power has almost disappeared from the Pacific; and Japan has shown the enormous superiority enjoyed by a fleet operating in its own waters against a fleet of almost equal numerical strength arriving from the opposite side of the world, and without any base or even refuge beyond what could be obtained from a friendly neutral. Russia as a naval Power in the Further East, for the time being, counts no more. She has emerged from the struggle with entire loss of prestige, no small matter in Asia; burdened with debt, and with diminished credit for fresh borrowings, with her army demoralised and her people at home disaffected almost to the point of revolution. It would not appear to be a favourable time for Russia to enter upon the conquest of India! The heavy defeat of Russia has, it can hardly be doubted, enormously increased the probability henceforth of continued peace in Asia; and in addition to all this comes the treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Japan.

This agreement, signed on August 12 last, deals with the 'consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India,' and provides that 'if by reason of unprovoked attack or aggressive action, wherever arising, on the part of any other Power or Powers, either contracting party should be involved in war in defence of its territorial rights or special interests' in the said regions, 'the other contracting party will at once come to the assistance of its ally, and will conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it.' Art. IV. runs as follows: 'Great Britain, having a special interest in all that concerns the security of the Indian frontier, Japan recognises her right to take such measures in the proximity of that frontier as she may find necessary for safeguarding her Indian possessions.' The treaty is to last for ten years, after which it can be terminated at a year's notice by either party to it. It has been in all probability largely due to the previous agreement between England and Japan that the Russo-Japanese War has ended

before other Powers had been drawn into its vortex. And Lord Lansdowne has now earned the further gratitude of his country and the world at large, by entering into a treaty which must go far to secure the future peace of Asia. The alliance is purely a defensive one. There is in it no vestige of a threat to any other Power. We have done nothing in regard to Russia that should make it incumbent on us to encourage any schemes she may wish to indulge at the expense of other people. Outside the Asiatic interests of the contracting States, things rest where they were. But within Asia, if Lord Roberts and others are right, as they may well be, in thinking that beyond the borders of Afghanistan the hosts of the Tsar are a menace to British India, this treaty cannot but be a great additional security both for our own frontiers and for peace. No one supposes that yellow troops will be poured into India to defend the Indian army and the British army from the forces of Russia. The treaty will not operate in that way. But Russia now knows that aggression would entail not only the sufficiently disagreeable result of war with Great Britain, but the further result of the renewal of war on the Pacific coast which could hardly end without her being compelled to quit those shores for ever. The hopelessness of any attack upon India is the best basis upon which future good relations with Russia can be built up. When we take a general survey of our own position in either hemisphere, we are quite unable to see that it necessitates the taking of such gigantic measures as are recommended to us. Lord Roberts is unjust in suggesting that the British people are either indifferent to military matters or that they are unwilling to make sacrifices. But reasonable men ought at least carefully to weigh the real danger of their condition before they saddle themselves with burdens which must greatly hamper the growth and prosperity of the people.

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